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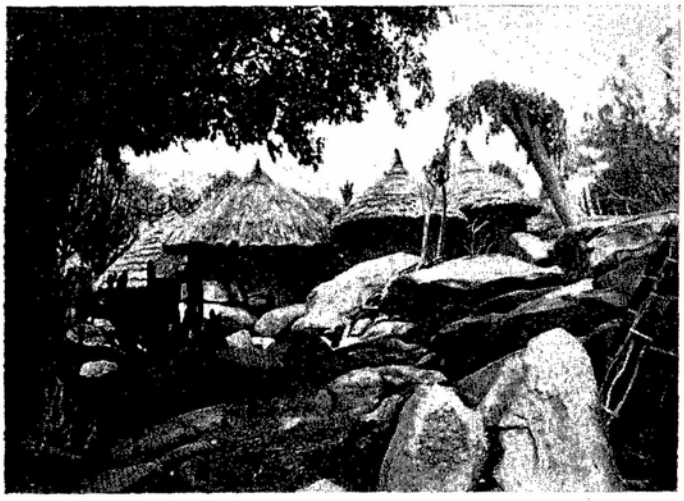
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(a) *A cluster of Birom huts near Vom*



(b) *Building a Jal hut in the 'folk park' at the Jos Museum*



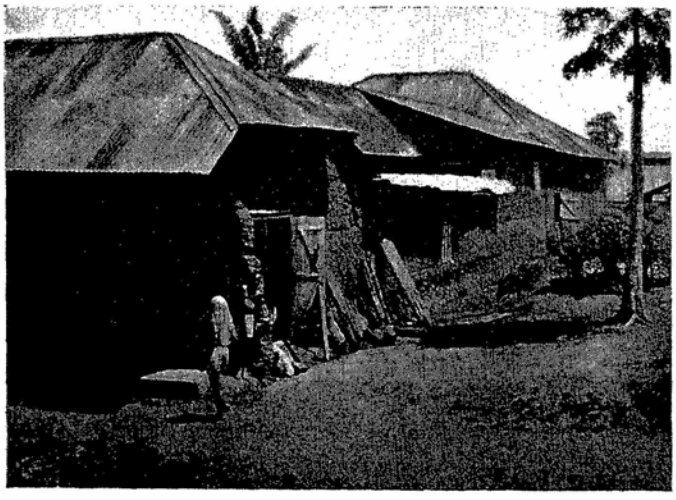
(c) *The builder forming the walls of a Jal hut*



(d) *Several types of huts under construction in the Chief's compound at Jal*



(e) *A courtyard in the house of Chief Iyase the Elder, Benin*



(f) *The exterior of the house of Chief Iyase the Younger, Benin (see fig. 2)*



(g) *A courtyard in the house of the Enogie of Egban-En, near Benin*

PAGAN HUTS AND BENIN HOUSES

Photographs by A. M. Foyle, 1949

SOME ASPECTS OF NIGERIAN ARCHITECTURE*

by

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PAGAN HUTS

Mud is the universal building material in Nigeria, and nowhere is it used to better advantage than among the Pagan tribes of the Jos Plateau. The landscape here is impressive, consisting of rolling downland, while here and there the ground rises higher in great masses of rock like huge cairns, worn smooth at the top through centuries of erosion. Pagan villages are invariably cleverly placed to take the utmost advantage of these natural features. Usually the top of a commanding hill is chosen and the huts are perched on the flat upper surfaces of the gigantic jutting rocks whose sides are so steep that only one way of approach is possible. Often the siting is so skilfully contrived that the village merges in the landscape so as to be hardly visible even from a short distance away, and the effect of concealment and security is completed by surrounding it with a thick, impenetrable cactus hedge, the actual entrance being carefully concealed from the intruder. These hedges must have been a formidable barrier against the slave-raiding Fulani horsemen, and in conjunction with the careful concealment of the villages account to a large degree for the survival of the Pagans as a compact group in the face of a hostile world.

Near Vom the villages are usually composed of a series of clusters of beehive huts (Plate A*a*), each group being arranged in an informal way around a central open space which is used for communal activities. The irregular shapes left between huts are filled with rough stone walling, and there is but one low entrance with the threshold set well off the ground. Few of the huts are used for sleeping purposes, most of them serving as kitchens, granaries or buildings to house livestock.

The huts themselves are built of solid mud and covered with a thatched roof (Plate A*d*), the whole building being set up on squat stilts to minimize the danger from ants and to prevent the interior being flooded by the torrents of water which cascade down the rocky slopes during the rainy season. There are two main methods of constructing the roof. Either a light framework is made on the ground and then lifted into position to be thatched, or alternatively a domical mud roof is built with projecting pegs ready cast into it to receive the thatch as soon as the mud has hardened.

The design of the granary varies considerably from village to village, sometimes being in the form of a separate hut with a removable conical roof, sometimes for greater safety being incorporated into one of the sleeping huts. At the Jal (Aten) village of Ganawuri, near Vom, a distinctive type of hut is found which is worthy of a detailed description. Here the granary is conceived as the most important room, and the hut is planned in such a way as to prevent any possibility of its contents being stolen; indeed, so intricate is the arrangement that the owner has some difficulty in reaching his own storehouse (fig. 1). The circular granary, about five feet across, is placed in the centre of the ground floor so that its walls give added support to the first floor above. A small opening in the ceiling of the ground-floor

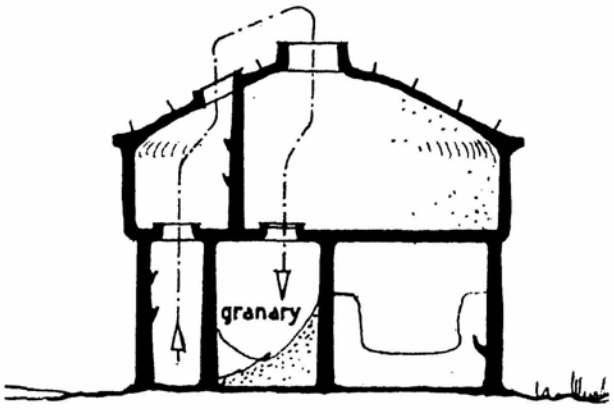


FIG. 1. SECTION THROUGH A JAL GRANARY
Drawn by A. M. Foyle, 1949

room enables one to reach the first floor, from which, however, the granary is still inaccessible. The first floor is divided into two rooms, and to get to the second one it is necessary to pass through an opening in the roof and to drop down through another opening. One is then back again in the first floor and the granary is at last accessible through a hole in the floor beneath. To convey the contents back to the ground floor it is necessary to go through the whole procedure in reverse.

In building a hut of this kind it does not matter if the ground is irregular since the floor is raised slightly above it. The mud used for the walls is mixed with a little chopped straw or twigs to give it strength and gradually worked up by hand into the shape required (Plate A*c*). As the wall is built up in thin layers it is dashed with water at frequent intervals to prevent it cracking in the sun and to ensure a gradual and hard setting. The work is carried out in short lifts and a rough area is left at the top of the finished work to act as keying for the next stage (Plate A*b*).

It is in the finishing-off of the hut that the craftsmanship of the builder is best seen. All corners and edges are neatly rounded so that the intersections of roof, walls and floors are well reinforced, while the roof is domed and stiffened by cross walls. The whole structure thus becomes truly monolithic and well able to withstand the gales that sweep across the Plateau in winter time. Internally shelves and seats and even the footholes for climbing up to the first floor are all built out of the solid mud and smoothed over to an almost streamlined appearance. This may be mud building in its simplest form, but great natural skill and ingenuity is shown in dealing with a most unpromising material.

* *Part of the substance of a communication to the Institute, 4 December, 1952. With Plate A and three text figures*

In recent times the general economic development of Nigeria has begun to have its effect on the Pagans' hitherto secluded life. Opencast tin-mining is now carried out over an ever-increasing area of the Plateau, and this has restricted the amount of land available for some of the tribes, who now find it difficult to maintain their villages as self-supporting communities. Many Pagans have had to leave their cultivation for work in the mines, while the women venture into the towns and take up petty trading. No longer can the people of the Plateau look down from their mountain fastness upon the plains below with complete detachment, for the Colonial Development Plan is now slowly but surely penetrating where the Fulani raiders failed to force their way. Thus the danger that the construction of some of the most interesting types of huts will soon cease is a real one, and there is an urgent need for records to be made of a type of building which may through force of circumstances soon be rendered obsolete.

BENIN HOUSES

The primitive huts of the Plateau may hardly deserve the name of architecture, but at Benin a highly developed method of mud building and a traditional and formal way of house-planning have combined to produce buildings of real architectural quality.

At the height of its power Benin was the prosperous capital of a powerful empire. The city was laid out on a formal pattern of broad streets running at right angles to each other along which the houses were built to a regular frontage, a rare thing for Africa. After the punitive expedition of 1897 the major part of the city was destroyed by fire, but in the modern town the ancient formal plan is still recognizable, while around the perimeter can be traced the outline of the great wall. This was originally double-palisaded with thick tree trunks, against which were laid spars five or six feet long fastened together and plastered over with red clay, while in front of it was a ditch and a hedge of thorns. The wall is now entirely ruined and in many places is so overgrown with bush that the traces of it are practically lost. Most of the buildings in the African town are little more than mean shacks, sub-divided over and over again with a separate family occupying each compartment, but there still remain a few chiefs' houses planned in the traditional manner, while in the surrounding villages there are some important buildings which certainly antedate the Great Fire (Plate A*g*).

The houses of Benin chiefs are planned so that the rooms are arranged around a series of internal courtyards (Plate A*e*), leading one into the other much on the pattern of the Classical Roman house with its sequence of atria. In the centre of the roof of each courtyard is a hole which serves to admit light and air, while immediately below it in the floor is a sunken impluvium with an outlet to carry away the storm water. Indeed, so striking is the resemblance to Roman examples that theories have been advanced linking the Benin plans with Roman sources *via* Egypt. The internal courtyard, however, is a typical Mediterranean feature and here is more likely to be due to Portuguese influence. Or perhaps the Portuguese simply introduced some formality into the courtyard arrangement which in itself is common throughout southern Nigeria.

The various courtyards may be with or without a peristyle of columns, depending on their size, but a common feature in them all are couches and shrines constructed entirely of mud, the surface of which is polished to a high glaze and has a remarkable quality of endurance so that even the oldest examples appear to have been but recently built. The sequence of courtyards culminates in the private apartments of the chief, while on each side are arranged the wives' and boys' quarters.

Externally the mud walls are finished in a pattern of horizontal ribs, a fashion of building which has now practically died out, and old houses are usually recognizable by this kind of work. The roofs were originally of thatch—it was through one of these roofs catching alight that the Great Fire began—but this has now been replaced practically everywhere by corrugated iron, although the old method of providing a thatched coping on a light wooden framework to the tops of courtyard walls still persists. In contrast to Yoruba and Ibo houses the roof construction is of heavy timbers carefully framed together around the opening in the roof, and they are sometimes ornamented with carving. Doors and their jambs and the wooden posts supporting the peristyle around the larger courtyards are often ornamented in the same way.

Behind the rather unimpressive exterior (Plate A*f*) of the house of Chief Iyase the Younger lies one of the best preserved examples of a chief's house still to be found in the city, although various alterations have been made to it from time to time, particularly to the street frontage where a small brick portico has been added. The general lines of the plan (fig. 2) show a central block in which there is the

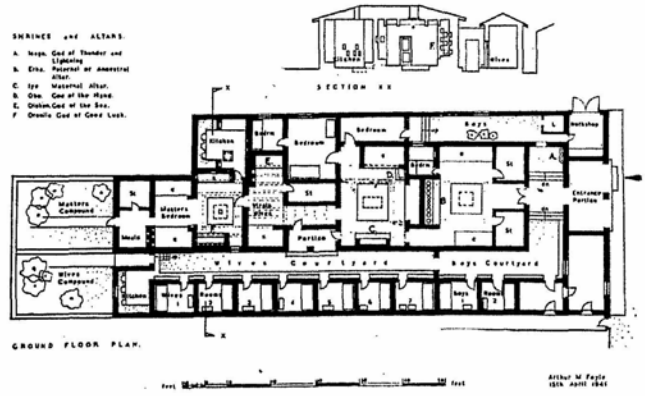


FIG. 2. PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF CHIEF IYASE THE YOUNGER, BENIN

main sequence of courtyards and apartments, surrounded on each side by rooms of lesser importance for the womenfolk and the boys, while the odd corners are taken up by numerous small rooms without windows which are used for storage. In this particular house the courtyards are small, being little larger than room size, and the first contains the shrine of Erha, the Paternal or Ancestral Altar. On it stands a row of brass-plated wooden heads, shown wearing coral-bead collars, in front of a line of rattle sticks.

The next courtyard contains two small shrines, while in the third is the shrine of Orunmila, the spirit of Good Luck (fig. 3), the most imposing in the whole house, consisting of a series of recesses like pigeon holes built in the solid mud

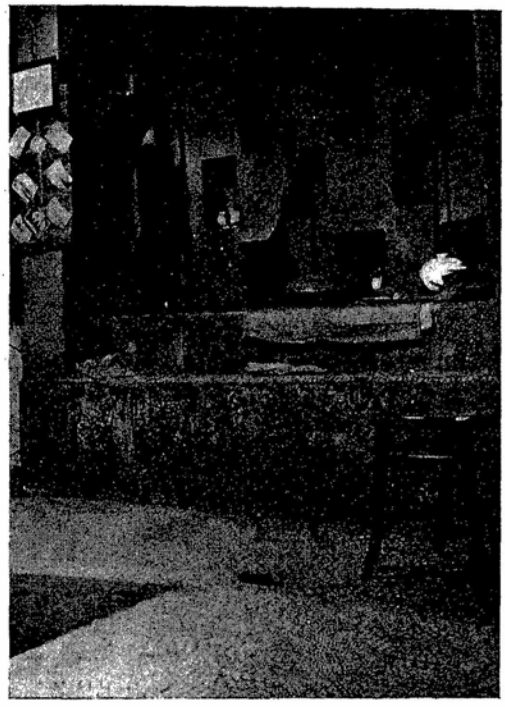


FIG. 3. THE SHRINE OF ORUNMILA IN THE HOUSE OF CHIEF IYASE THE YOUNGER, BENIN

in chessboard formation and stretching right up to the ceiling. These recesses are typical of Benin work and this particular house abounds in them, there being several over the chief's couch in the next room where he keeps his personal charms and fetishes, while in the kitchen rows of them have been let into the thickness of the walls to take pots and kitchen utensils. The lower half of the shrine and the narrow walk around the impluvium are decorated with patterns and designs in cowrie shells illustrating figures from Benin mythology walking in procession and carrying strands of coral and other emblems of the Oba's authority.

Benin builders are justly famed for their craftsmanship, and there are several other houses in the city which would well repay detailed exploration. In some the courtyards are of much larger dimensions than in the house described above and one example has a peristyle of squat mud columns covered with figures in relief work running round them in parallel bands, while others have Brazilian Classical loggias (*cf.* MAN, 1952, 165) running across the whole of the frontage.

Unfortunately the traditional methods of building in mud are fast dying out and no more houses of this kind are likely to be built in the future, while many of those that remain are now becoming dilapidated, for after a certain time the cost of maintaining a mud building becomes prohibitive. When this happens the doors and windows are stripped out for re-use and the building is left to tumble into ruin. In her long history Benin has been rebuilt many times, and one traveller in the eighteenth century describes great areas of waste land in the centre of the city covered with the ruins of houses so that those that remained 'stood far apart like poor man's corn.' That the same conditions prevail at present need not be regretted, for the growing commercial prosperity of Nigeria will ensure that a new Benin will arise on the ruins of the old. What is a matter of concern, however, is that no accurate records have yet been made of a method of building and a system of planning which is without parallel in the whole of Nigeria.

EKEIGOROIGORO: A GUSII RITE OF PASSAGE*

by

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2 *Ekeigoroigoro* is a rite centring on the revelation of images. It is sometimes loosely called 'the last of girls' initiation mysteries (*chinyangi*),' but though like those it is a mystery revealed by adolescent girls, it is separate both in performance and in function.[1] The initiation mysteries proper are revealed to one or more novices on a night called *esubo*, while they are being secluded after circumcision or clitoridectomy. Each sex has its own mysteries which it jealously conceals from the other. *Ekeigoroigoro*, on the other hand, is organized without reference to any particular novice or novices; it is in charge of a different team of instructors; it is revealed to both sexes; it is witnessed an indefinite time after the completion of initiation proper.

Only in one respect does it add to the far-reaching advance in status already gained by initiation: nobody should conclude marriage by the *enyangi* ceremony without having witnessed *ekeigoroigoro*. This does not mean that without having seen it he or she cannot marry. Marriage (by transfer of bridewealth) can take place any time after initiation; the *enyangi* ceremony, a last solemn ratification, need not be held until many years later, or even at all. If a person who happens never to have seen it

* *With 3 text figures*

is about to undergo *enyangi*, a team of instructors may be specially commissioned to make a set of images for his or her benefit, on payment of a goat. Whether even in former days *ekeigoroigoro* was ever considered as a strictly obligatory qualification for *enyangi* I cannot say: today at least the main reason for the survival of the rite seems to be the enjoyment and pride it affords to the girls in charge. (Characteristically enough, it first came to my notice when I was enquiring into children's games.)

It may be remarked that the use of images is far from being as common in this part of East Africa as it is in areas further south. Indeed, so far as I know, *ekeigoroigoro* is the only occasion for which images are constructed, whether among the Gusii or among any of their neighbours. They play no part in Gusii initiation proper, though common objects such as cooking utensils are used in the mysteries of girls.

The name *ekeigoroigoro* is itself of unknown derivation. It actually denotes the images, which are seven in number; three of them are more particularly regarded as the *ekeigoroigoro* proper. Girls, initiated but unmarried, construct the images together and reveal them ritually on payment of a small fee. This is done independently by girls in each neighbourhood, but always at the same time of year, namely at the end of the resting season which follows the main harvest.

Not every girl has the right to make or reveal *ekeigoroigoro*. One entitled to set the proceedings on foot is called a 'tamer' (*omosichi*).[2] She works with four girl assistants chosen by herself. The right to be a 'tamer' is hereditary. It can pass only from mother to daughter: if a woman acted as 'tamer' in her own youth, any of her daughters may do the same, though none of them is obliged to. Normally a girl only acts as 'tamer' once. However, she may repeat the procedure a second and last time on the eve of her own marriage *enyangi*.

Of the four assistants, two are entitled '(person) of the great beast' (*nyang'iti nene*) (fig. 1), the other two '(person) of the small beast' (*nyang'iti nke*).[3] The five girls together may spend anything up to a week in collecting the necessary materials and making the images, during which time they are excused from their routine work at home. It is an enjoyable task, conducted in a leisurely spirit, with intervals for singing and playing. More particularly the girls sing at evening some of the songs proper to girls' initiation—the songs of *esubo*.

It is in the hut of the 'tamer's' mother that the images are built and revealed—in the smaller, unfurnished apartment (*eero*) normally used for receiving guests. However, as no married persons still capable of having children are allowed to enter the hut where *ekeigoroigoro* stands, the mother's hut can only be used if she is past childbearing. Otherwise the 'tamer' uses the hut of another woman of the homestead. In either case, the father of the 'tamer' is of all persons the one most rigorously excluded.

The three principal figures which constitute the *ekeigoroigoro* proper are built to stand in a row: the 'man' or 'husband' (*omosacha*) on the right, the 'woman' or 'wife' (*omokungu*) on the left,[4] and the 'child' (*omwana*) between them. Each is made in the same way. Two branches of the trees *emetagara* are dug into the earthen floor, and a horizontal bar three or four feet long—usually a piece of banana palm—is laid on top of them. The two upright poles are respectively the hind and fore quarters, the horizontal bar is the body, and a lump of clay is added at one end for a head. The whole timber framework is thickly covered with the yellow clay called *ebundu*. The 'man' and 'woman' are each two or three feet high: the 'child' is lower though just as long.



FIG. 1. THE 'TAMER' OF 'EKEIGOROIGORO' WITH THE TWO 'GREAT BEASTS'

Photographs by Philip Mayer

The sex of the 'child' is not supposed to be determinate. As a matter of fact that of the 'parents' themselves, though known to the makers, was not visibly indicated in the displays I saw. This was not due to lack of skill: there was no attempt to indicate it, nor to heighten the naturalism of the animal form in any way. What takes time and trouble is the decoration. Close together in the soft clay covering are put literally hundreds of long thorns, their sharp points outwards. No part of the 'body' is left bare of them. Strings of beads are hung round the 'neck,' and finally the figures are decked with bright flowers.

While the display I saw in Getutu consisted of these three principal figures only, I found another in Bonchari having the whole range of seven. The four additional images are modelled of clay alone, without any framework. They lie on the floor or are propped up against the wall, being much smaller than the three main figures. Their names are: 'Dead man (or husband)' (*omonto okwete omosacha*); 'dead woman (or wife)' (*omonto okwete omokungu*); 'dead girl (or daughter)' (*omonto okwete mosubati*); and 'snake' (*nyamaondocha*). The 'dead girl' in this display had been dubbed by its makers 'Marinda Safi,' a praise name such as a girl chooses for herself at her initiation. They said that this image is always given some such name; but an older woman maintained that it was not so in her days.

The 'woman' and 'daughter' were alike except that the latter was smaller. They were crude models of a human body, with conspicuous breasts. The 'dead man' was less naturalistic. Oddly foreshortened, it had no arms, and consisted mainly of two legs with a large and conspicuous penis (fig. 2). I was assured that this was its proper form,

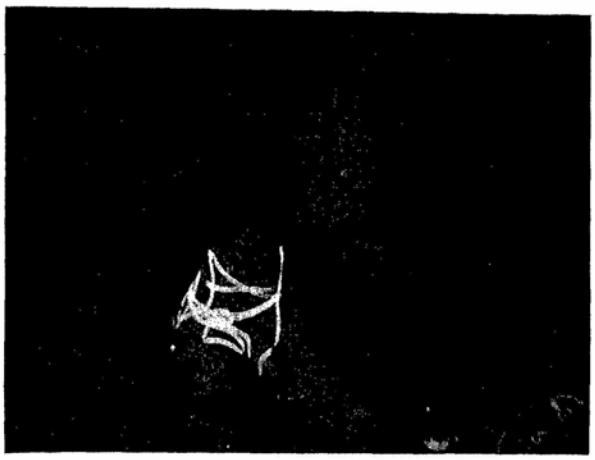


FIG. 2. THE 'DEAD MAN' AND THE 'EKEIGOROIGORO' (IN THE BACKGROUND)

not due to the makers' fancy or lack of skill. All three were decorated with beads. The winding 'snake' was decorated along the spine with beads, cowries and beans, and lay in front of the standing images, with its head towards the partition wall, as if it would make its way through the opening into the living apartment (fig. 3). The 'dead man'



FIG. 3. THE 'DEAD MAN' AND THE SNAKE

lay on the floor near it, while the two 'females' were propped against the wall to the left of the standing images. The total effect, in the half darkness, was impressive—the beads and cowries gleaming, the prickly monsters lowering in the background.

I was told that in many cases only the 'man' is made, or sometimes the 'man' and the 'snake,' but that it is unusual to omit the four clay figures altogether, as in the first display I saw. Variations in the set of figures are of course perpetuated by the fact that every 'tamer' learns to copy what her own mother did.

Some other objects have also to be prepared. They are: 'things for the head' (*ebimotwe*), consisting of small baskets [5] decorated with snail shells and beans; two lumps of clay from the river, to which is given the name *amanono* (sing. *rinono*)—a word of unknown derivation; a 'marriage headdress' (*ekiore*),[6] made by twisting a thorny branch into a circlet; and some canes (*ebiranya*), sticks, and cords, to which are attached prickly balls, each made by twisting a pliable thorny twig tightly round upon itself.

Ekeigoroigoro is now ready for revelation. The fee for admission was formerly paid in metal coils or rings; nowadays small sums of money are given. A person admitted is called a 'novice' (*omware*, pl. *abare*)—the same term that is applied to a boy or girl during the period of initiation. Each novice is led in singly, through the door from the cattle pen (*egesaku*).[7] He or she looks at the images for a couple of minutes. The girls put the decorated basket headdress on the novice's head. Then they blindfold him or her. The next part of the ritual differs according to sex. A girl is told to kneel in front of the images and to stretch out both her hands towards them, palms upwards, as if begging or humbly offering. The two clay lumps are put in her outstretched hands. The 'tamer' meanwhile leads off the singing of the *ekeigoroigoro* songs, in which her assistants join. Suddenly the singing stops and gives place to grunting and snuffling noises. At the same moment the decorated headdress is taken off the novice's head and replaced by the thorny circlet, and her body is struck with the prickly balls swinging from the canes. 'She thinks she hears the "beast of initiation"[8] and feels it scratching her.' Then her eyes are uncovered, and she is taught to repeat the *ekeigoroigoro* songs herself.

A boy does not kneel or beg towards the images, and the clay lumps are not put into his hands. He is tricked by the change of headdress and scratched with the prickly balls in the same way as a girl. He does not learn to repeat the songs.

The texts of the songs are given below. The first appears to be an invitation to young people to leave their herding and come to see *ekeigoroigoro* in its hut 'where restraint is necessary.' The others obviously refer to the actions being performed: the giving of the clay lumps (No. II); the beating with the canes laden with prickles (ironically called feather decorations) (No. III); the substitution of the thorny for the decorated headdress (No. IV).

I

Refrain

Yes, *ekeigoroigoro*, yes, *ekeigoroigoro*!
All those who herd have now appeared,
From the place of goats, from the place of cattle,
They have appeared; yes, *ekeigoroigoro*!
Yes, the giddy cow, yes, the giddy cow,
Let it go giddily about the houses where restraint is necessary,
The houses where respect is necessary; yes, the giddy cow!

Yes, the snake, yes, the snake!
Let it wind about the houses where restraint is necessary,
The houses where respect is necessary; yes, the snake!
Yes, the person who does not see, yes, the person who does not see,
Let him come and see, in the houses where restraint is necessary,
The houses where respect is necessary; yes, the person who does not see! [9]

II

O, I found my lump of clay (*rinono*) at the place where I herd,
O, I found my lump of clay behind the door of our house where I grind.
O, I found my lump of clay, let granny put the headdress on me![10]

III

A small boy asks me for a cane;
Come and see the cane,
(A cane) for a cow, (a cane) that has been decorated,
(A cane) for a fertile cow;
Come and see the feathers! ([11])

IV

Yes, the (things on my head) have bitten me, have bitten me!
O, the things on my head, the things on my head, have bitten me!
Mother lifts off for me the thing of snail shells,
O, the things on my head, the things on my head, have bitten me!
Granny puts on for me the things on my head,
O, the things on my head, the things on my head, have bitten me! [12]

The *ekeigoroigoro* display is left in place for some time—usually a few weeks—after which it is destroyed by the girls who made it. While in being it is kept strictly secret from children who have not yet passed through their initiation. I have already mentioned that the hut of *ekeigoroigoro* must not be entered by married people (except women past childbearing) and particularly not by the 'tamer's' father. Another rule considered specially important is that all girls or women who are menstruating or pregnant must be excluded. If one were to enter she would 'spoil *ekeigoroigoro*'; she would 'make it crack.'

None of my Gusii informants could make any suggestion as to what kind of animal the principal images represent. They denied that it might be cattle, or the imaginary 'beast of initiation.' 'It is just *ekeigoroigoro*, that's all.' They were equally sure that neither the 'dead people' nor the 'snake' (a creature which Gusii associate with spirits) have anything to do with the spirits of the ancestors.

Notes

[1] An account of Gusii initiation ceremonies is to appear shortly in the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

On the Gusii—a Bantu people of the Nyanza Province of Kenya—see also my *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society* (Internat. Afr. Inst. Memoir XXIV); *Gusii Bridewealth Law and Custom* (Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 18); 'Privileged Obstruction of Marriage Rites among the Gusii' (*Africa*, April, 1950); *Two Studies in Applied Anthropology in Kenya* (H.M.S.O., for the Colonial Office); and 'The Joking of Pals in Gusii Age Sets' (*African Studies*, March 1951).

[2] The same title is borne by the person who reveals the mysteries to a girl or boy novice on the *esubo* night of initiation.

[3] Similar though not identical titles are given to two of the six girls who officiate during the initiation of a girl novice.

[4] In Gusii custom right and left are regarded as the sides of husband and wife respectively.

[5] This sort of basket, the *ekee*, though properly used for holding beer, flour, etc., may sometimes be seen in use as a hat for a small child.

[6] The *ekiore* proper is the special headdress worn by a bridegroom during the *enyangi* ceremony, and is made of hide elaborately decorated with cowries.

[7] Entering the apartment through this door, rather than from the living room, is the normal sign of restraint or respect observed by visitors who have to stand upon ceremony and by kin of certain degrees.

[8] *Eng'iti y'ogosuba*, the 'beast of making *esubo*.' (As already explained, *esubo* is that part of initiation during which the mysteries are revealed to the novice.) An imaginary 'beast' figures largely in Gusii initiation rites, being supposed (for example) to produce the noise of the bullroarers, and to swallow and regurgitate the boy novices.

[9] (Refrain) Eee keigoroigoro eee keigoroigoro.
Barisia bonsi mbarochereire
korwa rwa mbori korwa rwa ng'ombe
mbarochereire eee keigoroigoro.
Ee nyamosiororo ee nyamosiororo
tiga esiorere nyomba chia nsoni
nyomba chia mbaga ee nyamosiororo.
Ee nyamaondocha ee nyamaondocha
tiga aondoche nyomba chia nsoni
nyomba chia mbaga ee nyamaondocha.
Ee otana korora ee otana korora
ache korora nyomba chia nsoni
nyomba chia mbaga ee otana korora.

Nsoni and *mbaga* (lines 6, 7, etc.) denote the conventions of restrained or respectful behaviour which are obligatory in certain kinship relations; avoidance of certain parts of the house is an important element.

[10] Ae nkanyora inono riane ase nkorisia
ae nkanyora inono riane sumi minto ase ngosera
ae nkanyora inono riane goko antweke chimotwe.

[11] Moisia amborie ekeranya
nchwo orore ekeranya
eki eng'ombe gekenyire
eke eng'ombe mosarara
nchwo orore amauge.

[12] Ee, biandomeire biandomeire
aye biamotwe biamotwe biandomeire
baba antora ekiriaroma
aye biamotwe biamotwe biandomeire
goko antweka biamotwe
aye biamotwe biamotwe biandomeire.

SHORTER NOTES

A Note on Ghostly Vengeance among the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. *By Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D., Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford*

The Anuak, like most of the Nilotic peoples, have very little magic (*gyath*). Nevertheless, they have a number of specialists who would generally be classed under the heading of magicians. These are called *ajua*, and their homesteads are often marked by branches stuck in the earth. One kind, who may be men or women, are called *ajuan wäri*. These are diviners who divine by throwing strips of leather (*wäri*), cut from the skins of various animals and decorated with brass rings, into the air and observing how they

fall on to a goat's skin. Another kind of specialist is called *ajuan awal*. She, or less commonly he, cures sick persons by locating and removing objects shot into their bodies by witches. She massages and oils the patient's body and then places a gourd (*awal*) containing water on it. She runs her hand round the gourd and taps it and eventually produces the objects of witchcraft from the water: pieces of skin, pieces of shell, and other small objects. Another kind of *ajua* cures people of sickness caused by *acieni*, ghostly vengeance. This conception, denoted by one or other form of the word *cien*, is common to all the Nilotic peoples about whom we have information, but, if one may judge from these accounts, it plays, as is evident from Col. Bacon's short paper on the Anuak in *Sudan Notes and Records* (1922), a greater and more prominent part in the lives of the Anuak than perhaps of any other Nilotic people, sickness and death being commonly, possibly even usually, attributed to it. The purpose of this note is to record what little I know about it to aid a comparative study of the conception among the Nilotic peoples.

It is quite a complex notion, involving not only the vengeance of a man who has died with a grievance on the person who wronged him or on one of that person's relatives, but also, at any rate sometimes, a kind of ghostly feud between families and groups of kin. A dies and his ghost kills B; B's ghost then kills a member of A's family or kin; and so on. Each man avenges his own death. I was told that the relatives of a man who dies discover by divination the name of the ghost who has caused his death, and that they wait for their dead kinsman to avenge himself. When one of the ghost's kinsmen dies they are satisfied. The Anuak seem to be of the opinion that people are frequently killed in this way and avenge themselves in the same manner, and the notion would appear to cover deaths incurred in fighting, for I was told in 1935 that the reason why many people had recently died of sickness in the village of Pocala was that there had been much fighting there in the years before, connected with struggles for power between various nobles, and that many of the men who took part in attacks on the village had been slain in it and their ghosts were taking vengeance. As I have explained in *The Anuak* (p. 73), a corpse is sometimes placed in a tree, instead of being interred, in order, so I gathered, to hasten vengeance.

When a person falls sick from *acieni* a doctor, the third kind of *ajua* I mentioned, who is usually, if not always, a woman, is at once summoned to treat him. It is thought that if he is not treated at once he may die because it is characteristic of sickness caused by *acieni* that it is speedily fatal, unlike sickness caused by *Jwök*, God in one or other manifestation, which is prolonged. Another of its characteristics is that it is highly infectious, attacking one person after another, though the same *acieni* does not attack unrelated persons for it is seeking vengeance on a particular family or group of kinsmen. The doctor removes *acieni* from the patient by placing her hands over various parts of his body and snatching it away. When she has caught it she rubs it between the palms of her hands and then, holding it enclosed in one hand, she places it under the palm on the top of her head and thumps the back of this hand with the fist of the other. This drives the *acieni* into her own body and makes her crazy, so she rushes to drop it in a fire. *Acieni* is said to be like a small fly, but only an *ajua* can see it.

I witnessed a *séance* of this kind at Pocala. The household of Abula, next to which I had pitched my tent, was afflicted with *acieni* sickness. A young woman with a baby at the breast had fallen rigid to the ground and shortly afterwards another girl of the household had collapsed. The first casualty recovered under treatment by a doctor, but while the doctor was attending to the second casualty she collapsed again and both women lay rigid on the ground, their muscles taut and their arms stretched over their heads. The doctor treated them in the manner I have described. She also stooped over them and sucked their necks and mouths, then sprang aside with *acieni* in her mouth, transferred it to her hand and thumped it into her head. Meanwhile the patients uttered groans and showed other signs of distress. A little later they relaxed and sat quietly on the ground, turning their heads this way and that in bewilderment. Their relations spoke to them, telling them who they were and trying to bring them to their senses. They put the baby in its mother's arms and coaxed her to nurse it.

At this point the doctor became so full of *acieni* herself that she had to retire quickly. We heard a crash and the snapping of branches at the back of a hut and found her collapsed there. In the meantime a second doctor had arrived and she began to treat the first doctor. While she was doing so, the girl who had been treated earlier and had been sitting quietly on the ground suddenly leapt into the air and fell rigid on her back. The second doctor rushed to treat her and soon afterwards the first had sufficiently recovered to lend a hand.

When I returned to Pocala some days later the two women were still undergoing treatment. Their relatives were consulting a Nuer diviner who was visiting Anuakland from Gaajok country. He divined in the Nuer fashion with mussel shells and a gourd. He said that the women were better and would not die, and he told Abula to sacrifice a goat. When Abula said that he had not got a goat the Nuer told him to treat the patients in the usual Anuak manner. That night many of the people of the village collected and formed a wide circle of about two hundred persons near Abula's homestead. They clapped their hands and sang while first one doctor and then another performed in the centre of the circle. The doctors danced round and round the ring of onlookers, shaking bottle gourds containing grain. After a while they rushed up to the sick women and snatched *acieni* from their bodies and ran with it and thrust it into the embers of a big fire. After about half an hour the two doctors had danced themselves into a frenzy and each had to be held firmly round the waist by a man as she danced round the circle of people removing *acieni* from a number of them, generally from their foreheads. They sometimes seized members of the audience by their heads and dragged them to the fire. Whenever they went to the fire to drop *acieni* into it they were held by their escorts to prevent them from throwing themselves into the flames, and sometimes their escorts carried them to the fire and held them upside-down over it while they deposited the *acieni* in it. As night lengthened the singing and dancing and clapping of hands grew wilder and the men in the audience stood up. The doctors were now so uncontrollable when dancing that their escorts gave up the attempt to hold them, taking charge of them only during intervals in the singing when they went to hunt for *acieni*. Excitement was caused from time to time by the doctors dashing to the fire and either scattering its embers or swinging one of its blazing logs among the spectators, who ran for safety till men were able to pin the doctors' arms from behind. On several occasions the doctors fell prostrate to the ground. The *séance* continued till close on midnight.

Man's Place among the Primates. *By Professor Adolph H. Schultz, University of Zurich, Switzerland. With a text figure*

4 In attempting to reconstruct the evolutionary pathway of man and to determine his proper place within the large order of primates anthropologists must rely extensively on the work of palæontologists, comparative anatomists and taxonomists. The results of the latter, however, have not yet reached a stage of general agreement in regard to the precise classification and nomenclature of and the phylogenetic relations between all the extinct and recent primates. Thus one encounters still many widely differing family trees of primates in recent literature and

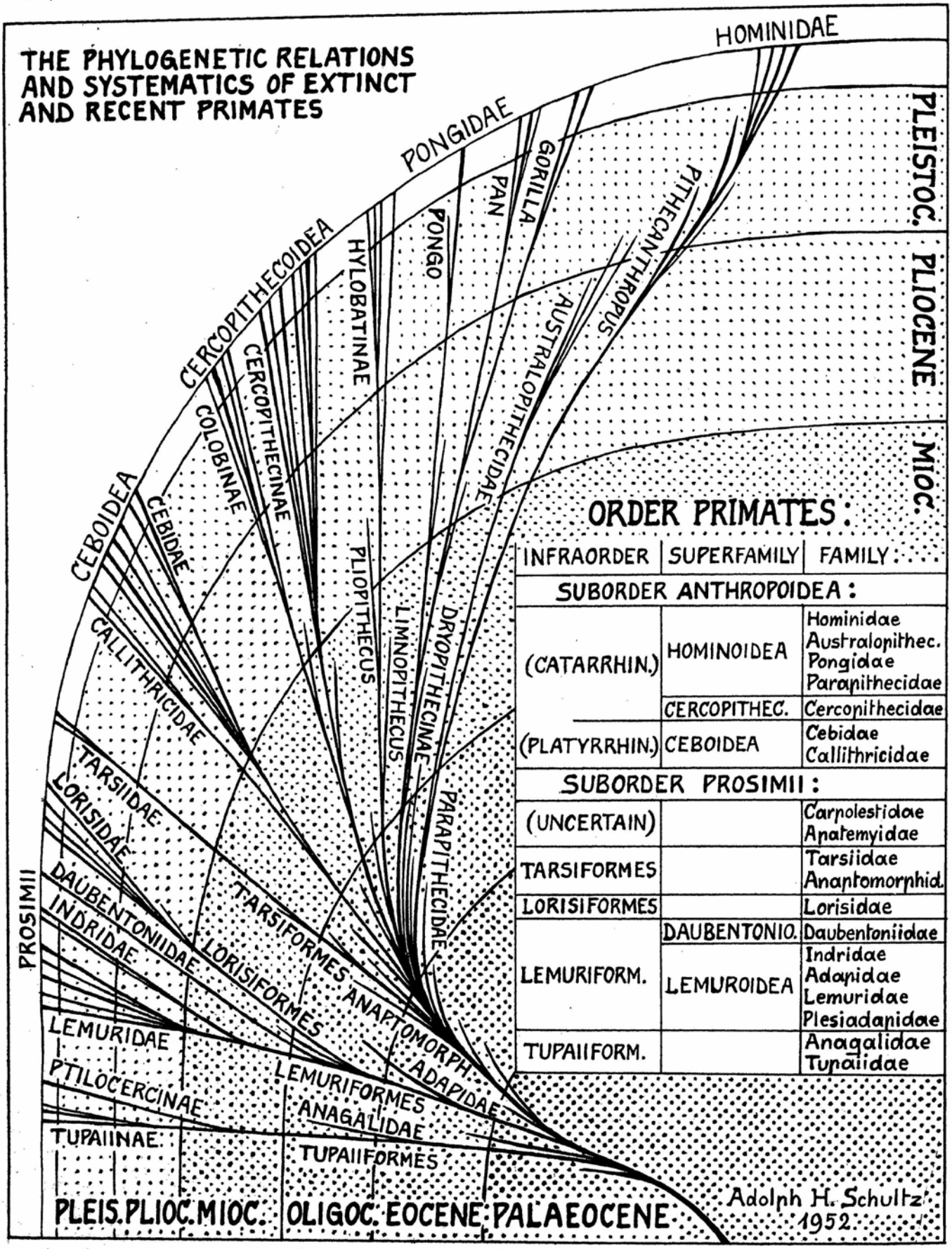


FIG. 1. A FAMILY TREE OF PRIMATE EVOLUTION

only few which deal with the entire order in an even manner. A reasonably complete family tree is of interest to anthropologists, who are usually familiar with only the 'higher' primates, at least as a scale for the evaluation of human specializations, past and present, and as a reminder of the vast variety of divergent evolutionary experiments within the single mammalian order which has produced man as only one of the many discarded and surviving variants.

I have tried persistently to summarize my views on primate evolution in the form of a comprehensive family tree, accompanied by a list of all the main taxonomic divisions of the order. The need for this became acute in last year's preparation of a permanent exhibition of human evolution for the new anthropological museum at the University of Zurich, where wall space was available for such a pedigree chart. The finished large wall chart (120×170 cm.) serves as key or guide to the systematic exhibits of the main bodily characters of fossil and recent primates which are gradually being installed in the same museum room. For the construction of this chart I have made use first of all of such great works of reference as those by Weber (*Die Säugetiere*, 1928), Le Gros Clark (*Early Forerunners of Man*, 1934), and Simpson (*The Principles of Classification and a Classification of Mammals*, 1945), as well as of many of the special primate studies by Gregory, Broom, Weidenreich, Heberer, and others. In reaching compromises between the differing conclusions of these authors or in deciding to use some innovations I have naturally relied on my own knowledge of primates gained during a period of well over thirty years of primatological studies. I had intended to publish this family tree only together with a full account of my reasons for every detail. As the final preparation of this will have to be postponed for some time and since numerous visiting colleagues have urged a prompt publication of the family tree, I have redrawn it in India ink for the accompanying figure. In the large original coloured chart the lettering could be held to proportionately smaller size so that the 'branches' stand out more clearly and space is available for the inclusion of all subfamilies in the tabulation on the right. This family tree is being published now in the hope that it will be freely criticized and that specific changes will be proposed wherever they may appear necessary.

The Sickle-cell Trait: Not an Essentially Negroid Feature.

By Dr. H. Lehmann, Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, London

5 Professor R. R. Gates[1] has recently been good enough to refer to a paper of mine[2] in which I quoted Raper's suggestion[3] that admixture of non-Negro blood might have caused the high proportion of sickle-cell anæmia cases among North American sicklæmics. Work in this field has been moving so rapidly that it may be appropriate to bring this article up to date. It gave various reasons why it did not seem possible that all homozygous sicklæmics should become automatically sickle-cell anæmia cases as had been suggested by Neel[4] and Beet.[5]

Since then the strict homozygous sickle-cell trait→sickle-cell anæmia theory has been abandoned generally. Too many cases of anæmia have been found of whom only one parent was a sicklæmic, and although these were usually the fathers, Singer[6] has reported sickle-cell anæmia in children of normal mothers. Even this could possibly be explained as a poor penetrance of the gene in the mothers; however, Kaplan, Zuelzer and Neel[7] have recently described an abnormal hæmoglobin which did not itself cause the sickling phenomenon but gave rise to sickle-cell anæmia when it was inherited by a heterozygotic sicklæmic.

The finding at high frequency of the sickle-cell trait in the Veddians of South India[8] has altered our view that the gene is essentially African. The universal African blood feature is the Rhesus-gene combination Rh_0 (*cDe*).[9] This chromosome is rare in other populations but south of the Sahara none has yet been found where the frequency was below 50 per cent. The only exceptions to this are some Malayan Negritos where a high Rh_0 incidence may well suggest a relationship with the Negroid race.[10]

Unlike high Rh_0 frequency the sickle-cell trait is only patchily distributed in Africa. The highest incidences have been reported from East Africa[11] where they varied from 30 to 45 per cent. in some Bantu tribes. Other Bantu tribes in East Africa have lower incidences of the trait and in Uganda this seems to go parallel with the degree of dilution by recent Hamitic-speaking invaders. If one considers the highest incidences only, one finds that they fall towards the west[12]; at the coast they are 20–25 per cent. They also decline the further one goes south and are about 10 per cent. in Northern Rhodesia,[5] to become practically nil in South Africa.[13] The Bushmen have no sickle cells at all although their Rh_0 frequency is high.[13 14] Similarly the 'yellow' pygmies of Central Africa are virtually free of sickle cells.[15] Thus the trait is not a universal African feature and one may suggest that it entered the continent with Veddian blood well after the African races had established themselves. Most Veddians are found today in South India, but pockets have been described in Persia[16] and in the Hadhramaut[17] which brings them to the former land bridge between Asia and Africa in the region of Aden. The trait seems to have entered Africa from the north-east, has been spreading southwards and westwards, and seems still to be in the process of establishing itself.

While measurement of Rh_0 frequency may be used as a 'tracer' of African ancestry,[18] the sickle-cell trait cannot be used for that purpose. Even the assumption that the occasional sickle-cell-trait-carrier found in Italy and Greece must have inherited the gene from an African forebear can no longer be maintained. Veddian blood may have found its way into the Mediterranean peoples: Cipriani[19] reported Veddian skull features in the Sardinians of today; small dolichocephalic people were discovered among the remains of predynastic Egypt and the piriform opening of the skulls of the children found in the Grimaldi cave in Monaco has Veddian features.[20]

Notes

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The Queen's Wedding Gift from Mexico: A Coronation Reminder. *By Betty Ross. With a text figure*

6 A reproduction of one of Mexico's finest pre-Columbian jewels, made in the original materials, is in the possession of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II, having been sent by its then President, Lic. Miguel Alemán, as his country's wedding gift on the occasion of Her Majesty's marriage to the Duke of Edinburgh in 1947. The jewel is a pendant, made of gold and turquoise to reproduce the Mixtec pectoral excavated at Yanhuitlán, Oaxaca, the ancient seat of the Mixtecs, whose goldsmiths and silversmiths excelled all others of their time and had astonished the Spaniards with the skill and excellence of their craftsmanship.

The design on Queen Elizabeth's pendant is identified in the Codez Mendoza in the feather shields, pierced by four arrows, which were worn by Mexican warriors of the highest rank.

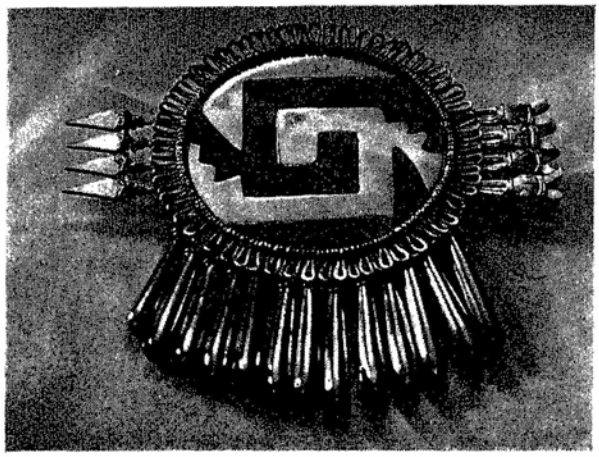


FIG. 1. THE REPRODUCTION OF THE YANHUITLÁN PECTORAL

REVIEWS

AFRICA

City of Shepherd Kings. *By W. M. Flinders Petrie.* Ancient Gaza V. *By Ernest J. H. Mackay and Margaret A. Murray. Brit. Sch. of Egypt. Arch., Vol. LXIV. London (Quaritch), 1952. Pp. vii, 44, 52 plates. Price £2 10s.*

7 The appearance in the well-known format of a new volume of the publications of the British School of Egyptian Archæology after their enforced cessation for years is a great event, and one that will cause much pleasure to the School's many supporters. It is to be congratulated on having overcome numerous difficulties, which include the regretted deaths of two out of the three authors of this volume since the appearance of Vol. LXIII. No doubt much is due to the inspiration and initiative of Lady Petrie, who contributes an introductory chapter.

The first part of the book (by Petrie) summarizes the five seasons' work at Tell el Ajjul, ranging through periods of Canaanite, Middle Kingdom Egyptian, and Hyksos domination. It discusses objects recently found, including the famous imported gold objects, of which there are two coloured plates, and compares them with previous finds. The second part describes the last season's excavation of the two Hyksos towns; and to it is added a geological study of the Wadi Ghazzeh by Elinor Gardner and some notes on rock-cut tombs near Jerusalem and remains on the plateau above Amman.

In his final summary of his work Petrie concludes that his work in Palestine and notably Tell el Ajjul has filled in gaps in his work in Egypt by throwing light on the two Intermediate Periods. The mouth of the Wadi Ghazzeh had formed an early harbour for Canaanites of the Copper Age down to the end of the Sixth Dynasty. It had then been the fortress and royal residence of Asiatic invaders from the Caucasus, whose most characteristic relics are ribbed bronze daggers and toggle pins, and who left their palace unfinished because, as Petrie thought, they went on to give Egypt its Seventh Dynasty. There is a tantalizingly brief reference to evidence of climatic change to be drawn from the severe erosion of the site which took place in the interval before the place was occupied by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom. The third palace is interpreted by Petrie as having been built by the Hyksos on their way to found the Fifteenth Dynasty of Egypt, and the fourth as a Late Hyksos reconstruction, while the fifth and last was an Egyptian re-occupation in the reign of Hatshepsut, soon abandoned for modern Gaza four miles away, because the old port had become useless. Egyptian burials, however, continued at Tell el Ajjul into Ramesside times.

The excavation at Tell el Ajjul has not, however, solved all the problems of the First Intermediate. The complete absence of button seals at that site is important negative evidence, on which Petrie did not comment here, but which rules out his suggestion in *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (1925) that they were introduced into Egypt 'by Central Asian invaders of Babylonia' who 'passed down Syria into Egypt during the VIth and VIIth dynasties.' We are, however, only this much nearer the truth about the origin of this widespread and important institution.

The relation of a gold headband with cinquefoil rosettes from the gold hoard to similar objects found at Maikob Kurgan in the Caucasus is important.

In view of the attitude to the stars revealed in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts and the still earlier Gerzean palette, which suggests a possibly sidereal origin for Hat-hor, I wonder why Dr. Murray in her interesting study of beliefs and ritual (p. 31) thinks that star-worship was too sophisticated a cult to have existed at Tell el Ajjul as early as the Middle Bronze Age.

The next volumes in this series, *Protodynastic Corpus* and *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, will be eagerly awaited, but it is to be hoped that the editing of them will avoid slips such as have occurred in the one under review. In Plates VI, VII and XXV–XXVII the figure numbers have been omitted, and on p. 34 the statement that Major Connolly will report on shells from the Wadi Ghazzeh has been allowed to stand despite his death several years ago; and is it advisable to retain (p. 5) Petrie's extra-long chronology which can no longer be accepted?

A. J. ARKELL

Natal Archæological Studies. *By O. Davies. Pietermaritzburg (U. of Natal), 1952. Pp. 44. Price 4s. 6d.*

8 Until Professor Davies was appointed to a chair at Pietermaritzburg in 1949 prehistoric studies in Natal lagged far behind those in the other provinces of the Union of South Africa. The balance has now been more than corrected through Davies's work of the last three years. This small book contains four papers, the first of which, *The River Terraces of Natal*, is of first-rate importance in presenting in a very condensed form a mass of facts relating to the Earlier Stone Age cultures in Natal. The general correspondence between the Natal and Vaal sequences is shown and on one site the lower E.S.A. cultures have been correlated with estuarine beaches: pre-Chelles-Acheul at 350 feet, Chelles-Acheul I at 200 feet and Chelles-Acheul II at 160 and

100 feet. The author does not comment on this correlation, presumably owing to the paucity of his evidence. In his Introduction he mentions that in 1950 he was pressed to contribute a chapter on the prehistory of Natal in the Economic Survey of that province and expresses regret that it was necessary to write so general a paper when his fieldwork was incomplete. The paper just reviewed goes far to fill the gaps in the earlier publication, and taken together they add a notable chapter to South African prehistory.

The other three papers are of more localized interest. The second describes a site, probably Sangoan, from which comes evidence of a new technique for chipping flat pebbles, whilst the third and fourth papers describe in detail, with illustrations, Smithfield assemblages from Northern Natal. ROGER SUMMERS

Native Administration in the British African Territories. *By Lord Hailey. London (H.M. Stat. Off.), 1950–51. 4 vols. Pp. xv, 358; vii, 168; ix, 350; iii, 61. Price £2 10s. 6d.*

It is probably true to say that, apart from Asia, no other continent in the world today is undergoing more rapid development and change than that of Africa. Thus what is today very rapidly becomes a matter of immediate history. Any retrospective review of Lord Hailey's latest work will suffer as a result, for we are inevitably criticizing and assessing in the light of recent developments and the present. The period on which the author writes includes material collected in 1939, 1940, 1947 and 1948, with added information obtained just before going to press in 1950. It covers the war years and the inevitable attendant changes, as well as changes 'not merely of practice but of policy.' No one is more aware of the drawbacks of such changing scenery to a student of Colonial affairs than the author himself. Since the book appeared, Nigeria and the Gold Coast have taken the first step towards self-government and in Central Africa the question of Federation has become a topic of immediate urgency and great controversy. It is against such a rapidly changing background that we must attempt to assess the contribution of this encyclopædic exposition.

The survey sets out to give colonial administrators information concerning the practices followed in areas other than those in which they are working or with which they are personally acquainted. It therefore provides us with a fount of information, often in very great detail. It will no doubt stand, as indeed has its predecessor, on its masterly handling of such varied material. Hailey's grasp of the essential factors at work in the growth and change of native administration shows outstandingly clear thinking. Each territory is reviewed in detail and in each he concerns himself with what he considers to be the main functions of native administration, *viz.* 'the supervision of the tribal and other institutions which regulate the domestic affairs of most African communities, the maintenance of law and order, the assessment and collection of a native tax, the provision of local government services, and the establishment of tribunals for the adjudication of a wide range of the issues to which the natives are parties.' In each case he analyses the indigenous social structure or structures and the peculiar circumstances which have moulded the present administrative machinery. No one territory is similar to another and yet a pattern emerges which enables him to distinguish between two distinct groups, *viz.* those territories in which agencies with authority are 'created' for lack of efficient or suitable indigenous institutions or complete absence of them, and those in which the agencies derive their authority from their traditional status in their community. It is in this particular analysis that Hailey's greatest contribution lies.

However, to those interested in the almost revolutionary changes which have taken place over the last few years, particularly in West Africa, the work will be disappointing. It is true that it aims at dealing only with native administration and not the wider field of African affairs, yet it is to be wondered whether we should not have been given more than he has given us concerning the growth and activities of political associations and national movements. The problem does after all appear to be directly related to that of the nature of native administration. Hailey himself frequently deplores the fact that the progressive and educated elements find little opportunity to make their voice heard in or through the existing channels of administration, and in particular in the different types of local councils with which he is chiefly concerned. This has certainly been a causal factor in the emergence and creation of endless political associations and movements. Progressive elements are being absorbed into the administrative machinery as civil servants but they were, until very recently in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, seldom given responsibility in the running of their own affairs. It is this constant conflict between the conservative elements, generally represented in the traditional institutions recognized by the administration, and the progressive elements, generally represented by political associations with no recognized status, that the basic and greatest problem in British African Territories is found. Hailey does in fact make this clear, but he fails, first, to give us a more comprehensive analysis of these movements and to relate them to the peculiar type of native administration in each given territory, and, secondly, to suggest practical means by which these very forces could be advantageously used in the rapid development of the territories towards either eventual self-government or representative government in a multi-racial society. It would seem as if the solution lies not only in more representative local government, a point Hailey seems to imply, but also in the development and recognition of other democratic institutions such as trade unions and political parties.

Two small points are left: first, one wonders why those territories the control of which is being heatedly contested by the Union of South Africa at present have been left out? I refer to Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland. Could it be that Lord Hailey, like a seer, has seen into the future? Finally, a matter of presentation which may disturb the more facetious reader: the work appears in four volumes in which the chapters are numbered consecutively from beginning to end, but in which the pages are numbered afresh for each volume. Checking on cross references leads to unnecessary confusion, and it is to be understood why, during the editing process, a few errors were made. VIOLAINE JUNOD

Akan Traditions of Origin. *By Eva L. R. Meyerowitz. London (Faber & Faber), 1952. Pp. 149, 8 maps. Price £1 10s.*

This, the second part of Mrs. Meyerowitz's trilogy on the Akan-speaking peoples, is a contribution to the ethnology of West Africa. It contains traditions which she has gathered in the Akan States together with material which she collected in states of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. Using these data as well as the works of previous writers, she seeks to trace the remote origin of this group of peoples.

The most valuable part of the book is the lists of chiefs of a number of states, for these lists yield a chronology. The chiefs of Bono were buried each with as many pieces of gold as there had been years in his reign, and so the chronology should be an accurate one. Mrs. Meyerowitz records the rites in which each piece of gold was put aside to mark a year of the reign but does not describe the method of guarding the shrine in which they are deposited after the death of the king. The chronology of Bono is the longest of five similar chronologies quoted and takes the foundation of the Bono State back to the year A.D. 1295. She assigns the foundation of other Akan States by this method to dates between the late fifteenth century and the early seventeenth century. The details of the later states and their histories are of great interest to students of the Akan.

Of wider interest is Mrs. Meyerowitz's attempt to trace the earlier traditions of the Akan. In this she starts from the claim of the Bono to have come from the 'great white desert' and uses varying forms of clan and tribal names to show that the Akan once inhabited the Fezzan.

This difficult argument, as I understand it, runs as follows (with some comments of my own from time to time in brackets).

The Bono people came from the great white desert and went to Diala or Diula; thence some went to a region north of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and there founded a great kingdom; others went to Bono and founded that state. The state north of the Northern Territories was N'Gwa or A'Gwa in what is now Gurma (it is not made clear whether or not there is any confirmatory evidence of the existence of this state). N'Gwa was overrun by the Bozamfari and 'Dagomba was conquered by mixed descendants of

the Bozamfari from Mamprusi in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Following these conquests thousands of refugees poured into what is now the Northern Territories when those who did not cross the Volta settled in the region now known as Gonja.' (It should be noted at this point that both Mamprusi and Dagomba are in the Northern Territories and that the establishment of these states, if they in fact were created by the expulsion of previous occupants, might well have pushed these occupants out of the Northern Territories, but could not have pushed them into the region from the north. The Moshi and Dagomba accounts appear to suggest a dispersal point for the Mole-Dagbane-speaking peoples somewhere in the north-eastern corner of the Northern Territories, a point said by Dagomba to be the present Pusuga. There is the further evidence from the reports on the Dogon of the region of Hombori that the Moshi invasion came from the south and thrust peoples from what is now Moab to the north towards Bandiagara.)

A 'Section' of the Gonja, Mrs. Meyerowitz continues, claim that their ancestors, the N'gwa, came from Dja or Dia and that this region is that which lies between Djĕnne, or Djani, and Timbuktu. Gonja as Gbon-Dja, Gban-Dja, Guan-Dja or Guan-Nia is therefore derived from Gbon, Gban or Guan *plus* Dja, Nja or Nia, the country of origin of its 'chief' inhabitants.

The former Dagomba capital was at Djani or Njani, the ancient N'Gwa capital of the region. (The authority for this identification and for the existence at any time of such a N'Gwa state is not made clear.) It is now known to Dagomba as Dia*ɽ*i (it had better be written thus, for the second consonant is a flapped *r*) and Dia*ɽ*i is, she says, the same as Djani. The Dagomba moved their capital to Yendi or Yandi, a word itself a corruption of Djani. (The Dagomba do refer to their capital as Yandi, but more commonly perhaps they use the form Naya, literally Chief's Town; the word *ja* is the plural form of *yinga*, a house, and is often used as 'town.' But further, the former Konkomba occupants of the region used the name Yaa for the area around the present Yendi, and many towns in Eastern Dagomba are known by forms that seem to be corruptions of Konkomba words, though in some cases two different names are found: *e.g.* Sambuli (Dagomba) or Saambwer (Konkomba), Saboba or Tshabob; but on the other hand Miong or Saambu, Kworli or Nakpal. While Yandi could be a Dagomba usage of this kind, Mrs. Meyerowitz suggests that it could also be a corruption of Yaa.)

In this way Mrs. Meyerowitz seeks to establish that the form Dja or Dia connects Akan-speaking peoples and the Gonja among whom the form occurs with the regions around Timbuktu.

Now let us take the form Bono. Bono, she says, equals Gbon or Gban or Gwan or Guan. The names of the Akan clans Anana, Agona and Eguana are derived from this form. The position now is, then, that the Akan clans are derived from the Bono and the Bono come from around Timbuktu.

The form Guangara equals Gwangara equals Wangara equals Guan *plus* Gara. Another name for the Gara people (I can find no mention of the Gara people before the antepenultimate page of the book), and one which is particularly used by Arabs, is So. So-nke, Soninke, or So people of the Djenne area are descendants of the So people of ancient Dia. The Asona or Nsona clans of the Akan may therefore be regarded as Gara descendants from the Djenne-Timbuktu area. (At this point Mrs. Meyerowitz also says, on p. 127, that the ancient Dagomba called the Asona or Nsona clans of the Akan Sosi. The argument, I take it, would run as follows: the present Dagomba (p. 53) call the N'gwa Sosi; the Asona or Nsonsa are descended from N'Gwa, therefore the ancient Dagomba called the Asona Sosi. No one, in fact, knows what the ancient Dagomba called anybody.)

Wangara equals Guan *plus* Gara or Kura or Koro or Kora or Kore. Therefore Nkoran or Koromantse of the coastal regions are descendants of the Gara. Koromantse may equal Garamantes mentioned by Herodotus as being in the Fezzan in the fifth century B.C. The Garamantes were in the second century A.D. 'subdued by the matrilineal Lemta Berbers who called themselves Dia or Dja with whom they fused.' 'The oasis of Djado, the earliest home of the Koromantse . . . has been considered by many scholars as the ancient territory of the Garamantes.' Djado is called Agura by the Tuareg; therefore as far north as Djado we find the combination of Guan, Gara and Dja.

I have tried to summarize the argument accurately. If I have succeeded, it will be seen to be tenuous in the extreme. It rests on the statement, 'we came from the great white desert,' made by the Bono but apparently unconfirmed by the traditions of, at least, the Asante. Speaking of Asante Mrs. Meyerowitz says (p. 104): 'the early Bono traditions appear to have been lost and their present traditions go back no further than the first kin of the second dynasty.' Such an assertion is invalid: one cannot say of a tradition that it is lost where there is no evidence that it ever existed.

The scheme with which we are presented appears to rest on a number of linguistic identifications of peoples and places which involve passing from one language to another or even to different linguistic families and referring to places that may, in the course of centuries, have changed hands many times. Only one versed in the phonology, the historical phonetics of West African languages, can pronounce upon the value of this scheme. Nonetheless, the slightness of some of the arguments is apparent. Mrs. Meyerowitz says, in conclusion, that 'the Akan people, like their maternal ancestors the Guan-Gara, were neither a tribe nor a race—the matrilineal institution with its law of clan exogamy made this impossible—and aimed from the outset to weld peoples of various origins into a state.' I do not understand this statement.

Mrs. Meyerowitz collected a great deal of valuable material in the form of texts on the traditions of the Akan. The problem of what to do with such texts is one that confronts all of us who collect and write down traditions. It seems to me that the primary task is to establish a text rather than to plunge into conjectural history. We have not, in this book, been told how the texts are transmitted, who knows them, how they are learned or on what occasions, by whom and before whom they are spoken, recited or chanted. In short, the texts are valuable material that can be placed in a social context and used for linguistic study. This material is still in the author's hands and we look forward to its presentation.

DAVID TAIT

Ethnographic Survey of Africa: The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria. *By Daryll Forde. London (Int. Afr. Inst.), 1951. Pp. 102, map. Price 8s. 6d.*

This volume gives us as complete and comprehensive a picture of the Yoruba as the nature of a Survey permits. Concisely summarizing our present knowledge of Yoruba tribal groupings and offering directives where gaps appear in that knowledge, this book should provide an excellent jumping-off ground for beginners and a useful reference book for students of comparative ethnography, and it may send the specialists back to recheck their findings or to investigate new fields. There is a splendid bibliography which aims at being exhaustive rather than selective. It includes a list of many unpublished manuscripts compiled by Government officials. There are certain omissions, however: the major work of S. Farrow, for example, studies by M. l'Abbé Desribes, Lafitte, and R. P. Holly, reference to the West African newspapers of the sixties which dealt almost exclusively with the Yoruba, etc. Nevertheless, together with a fairly full catalogue of works on the language, this bibliography contains perhaps the most complete tabulation of books and articles on the Yoruba that has yet appeared.

The book is divided into two parts. The 30 pages of the first part contain a scholarly synthesis of the whole of Yoruba life from the cradle to the grave. The remaining fifty-odd pages analyse in fair detail the nine major Yoruba tribal groupings, together with their sub-tribal divisions. Included here also is a section on the Yorubas who live in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria and in Dahomean territory. The traditional tribal origins and the known historical beginnings are briefly outlined; the main features of the economy, the social organization and the political structure of each tribal group are separately discussed; and any distinctive features in culture and dialect are noted. There is also a useful summary of population estimates for the various divisions as well as for the more important towns within the divisions.

In the text also the specialist may point to errors, omissions or inequality of treatment in his own particular field. He may ask for

example why the wealth of Yoruba proverbial lore and love of riddles have been glossed over; why there is no mention of their fundamental belief in a life after death and transmigration of souls; why references to religion and education in Yorubaland today are omitted; statements with regard to marriage and divorce may be questioned, etc. Yet in spite of these minor omissions, Professor Forde offers us in this Survey the finest overall summary of the Yoruba way of life that has yet appeared in print. From the point of view of content, accuracy and list of sources, the author may well be said to have given us a valuable guidebook to the very heart of the Yoruba.

MICHAEL J. WALSH, S.M.A.

A Preliminary Survey of the Turkana: A Report Compiled for the Government of Kenya. *By P. H. Gulliver. Univ. of Cape Town, Communications from the School of African Studies, N.S., No. 26. Cape Town, 1951. Pp. viii, 281, 8 maps, 6 diagrams. Price 15s.*

12

Students of East African anthropology have reason to be grateful to the Cape Town School of African Studies for publishing new material in these difficult days. The present volume gives us, for the first time, a general picture of the social and political organization of a people who have hitherto been neglected by anthropologists. This neglect has been due largely to the difficult political situation that existed in Turkana for many years, and it is much to the credit of Mr. and Mrs. Gulliver that they chose this tribe as the subject for their fieldwork.

The Turkana of north-west Kenya belong to the central group of Nilo-Hamites. They are nomadic pastoralists, living often near starvation level, but none the less happy in their isolation. The 1948 East African census estimates their numbers as 76,930 (Gulliver gives 80,000), spread over some 24,000 miles of what to most Europeans is extremely unpleasant country divided into a large expanse of lowland plains, nearly all desert of one sort or another, and a little mountainous country where most of the grazing is to be found. The Turkana keep cattle, camels, goats and sheep; these are 'livestock' from their point of view. Donkeys, which they keep for transport, are in a separate category. The attitude of the Turkana towards their cattle is like that of other Nilo-Hamitic pastoralists in East Africa. A certain amount of agriculture is practised.

The first part of the book (pp. 15–56) deals with livestock and environment, and there is an interesting chapter (5) on seasonal movements and 'the general principles of migration,' with a physiographical survey of the Turkana country.

The study of the social and political structure (pp. 57–184) includes rights in land and stock, age sets and warfare as well as social regulations and political matters. The life cycle is presented under the heading 'The development of the individual' (pp. 185–227) and includes an account of bridewealth, marriage, divorce and widowhood. There are two methods of marriage, by 'discussion,' when the girl's father agrees, and by 'seizure,' when he does not; something similar seems also to have been the custom among the Nilo-Hamitic Kuku of the Sudan. Part IV is entitled 'The Magico-Religious,' a term which it is hoped will not succeed in gaining a permanent foothold in the already debased form of language that is becoming the medium of expression in certain fields of anthropology.

The book is a preliminary study and must be accepted as such; detailed criticism would therefore be out of place. But it may be said that Mr. Gulliver has given us a clear and interesting picture of one of the few really 'wild' tribes still left in East Africa. The weakest part of the book is undoubtedly the 'Magico-Religious' chapter. Religion is often the stile over which the short-term fieldworker falls, and it usually takes more than 27½ weeks (p. 12) to get to know a people and their language well enough to deal with this subject satisfactorily. This, however, does not detract from the value of the rest of the book, though we hope to see in his next publication on the Turkana a somewhat more precise treatment of a number of points, in particular the clan and age-set organizations, and the use of kinship terms, of which a full list is now available for the first time. It is interesting to note among them the occurrence of the Hamitic sex-determinant T, *e.g. apar*, fem. *atar*, 'grandparent' (*cf.* Sudan Lajo *pafai*, father's and mother's father, *tatai*, father's and mother's mother), and as a distinction between men's and women's speech, *lopapait*, w.s. *natotait*, 'son's daughter.' The term *-komar*, for a bovine with one horn pointing forwards and the other backwards or upwards, already recorded from Nandi and Suk, occurs also in Turkana.

The general description of the Turkana on pp. 7–12 is good, and is a necessary element in the understanding of a people of whom so little has been known hitherto. A book of this size (280 closely printed foolscap pages) needs an index, even if it is only an interim report.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Ethnographic Survey of Africa: East Central Africa: Part IV, The Nilotes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda. *By Audrey Butt. London (Int. Afr. Inst.), 1952. Pp. x, 198, 1 map. Price 15s.*

13

This is a carefully prepared summary of the existing material dealing with the Nilotes, including the Luo of Kenya Colony. It begins with a comprehensive introduction surveying the Nilotic area as a whole, and attention is paid to material culture. There is a considerable body of literature on the Nilotes of the Sudan, and Miss Butt has produced a useful and readable account which would have been still more useful if it had been provided with even a short index: the table of contents, though fuller than in some previous volumes of the Survey, is still no substitute for an index. Nevertheless, students of African ethnography will be grateful for these summaries, as they condense the essential facts in an easily handled form. It may be objected that there is sometimes too much condensation; but the inclusion of too much detail would overload the text, and in any case one of the main objects of the Survey is to present a clear picture of existing knowledge, and to point out deficiencies in it. This object has been achieved by Miss Butt, and I for one am grateful for a clear and comprehensive survey of the Nilotic peoples.

It may be mentioned that the Luo of Kenya (p. 8) call themselves Luo, rather than by the grammatically correct plural Joluo; that their total numbers are about 709,481 according to the 1948 census; and that some Bantu Kavirondo call them *Ababo*. The bibliography should have included Professor Evans-Pritchard's 'Nilotic Studies,' *J. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXX (1950), pp. 1–6; and Tothill's *Agriculture in the Sudan* (1948). The Dinka section of the bibliography has been split in two owing to a printing mistake. But these are minor blemishes and do not materially detract from the value of a welcome addition to the reference literature on East Africa. The printing is perhaps the worst defect of the book, especially in the manner in which the tribal headings in Part II are set out.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

Marriage in a Changing Society. *By J. A. Barnes. Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 20. O.U.P., 1951. Pp. ix, 136. Price 10s. 6d.*

14

Dr. Barnes has recorded here some excellent ethnographic material on marriage among the Fort Jamieson Ngoni, which shows—as does all his work—thorough and scholarly field research. He has recorded carefully the relationship between husband and wife, in all its various aspects—economic, domestic, sexual, legal and mystical. He has carefully set marriage into its social milieu, giving material on affinal relationships and on the relationships between the two sets of kinsmen affected by a marriage. He has considered the effect of labour migration on Ngoni marriage at some length, and has given full accounts of marriage in relationship to the courts, the administration and the missions. His treatment of bridewealth is thorough.

These considerations, however, comprise only the middle section of the monograph, which begins with an account of marriage in pre-British days (before 1898) prepared from the literature, reference to other Ngoni peoples and statements of aged informants. It continues with a short chapter on the Processes of Change (which might better have been called the history of some of the social changes of Ngoni life) and ends with a section called Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis. The main conclusion reached is that a strong agnatic orientation based on kinship and residential values was correlated, in pre-1898 Ngoni society, with stable marriage and

difficulty of divorce, whereas present-day Ngoni society has suffered the loss of its agnatic gyroscope, thereby crumbling the stability of marriage. The author notes that this conclusion parallels that of Professor Gluckman's comparison of Zulu and Lozi marriage and kinship. Although it is not the purpose of this review to examine the 'correctness' of this hypothesis, it should be said that it seems to be extrinsic to the data.

The much more important theoretical point which this study raises is that of the 'diachronic study.' Assuming that Dr. Barnes had actually made a diachronic study (and actually, his synchronic study of pre-1898 Ngoni society is not strictly 'comparable' with his own carefully controlled field research) we must ask 'Does this actually lead us any closer to an understanding of social processes?' We now seem to have—in part as a result of this study—some scope for wondering whether the idea of the 'diachronic study' does not overlook the necessity of separating—at least for analysis—history from social process, much as the 'synchronic study' so often overlooks the necessity for separating culture from social process. The *cul de sac* of synchronic and diachronic studies seems to arise from considering social process as something different from social interrelationships; it seems roughly analogous to the school of physical thought which said that the way to measure the speed of an electron was to plot its position at two different times, measure the time itself and then compute the speed.

Dr. Barnes's data will be used by students of African sociology for many years to come, but his theoretical framework seems to be a posthumous child of 'functional anthropology.'

PAUL BOHANNAN

Experiment at Edendale; A Study of a Non-European Settlement with Special Reference to Food Expenditure and Nutrition. *By the Department of Economics, University of Natal. Pietermaritzburg (U. of Natal P.), 1951. Pp. 246. Price £1 10s.*

15 This work, which is published as an Additional Report of the Natal Regional Survey, is a painstaking and straightforward socio-economic survey of an African and Indian slum settlement six miles from Pietermaritzburg. The word 'experiment' is introduced to describe the activities of the Local Health Commission which was created in 1941 because of the threat of disease spreading from Edendale to Pietermaritzburg, and has since become in effect the local authority for the neighbourhood. Except for information regarding the Commission's activities, the report presents a lifeless picture of Edendale, for while it analyses income minutely it avoids considering the position of the wage-earners in the labour market, their social life or the forces among them making for social change. Within its terms of reference it provides detailed information which will be of interest to the specialist.

MICHAEL BANTON

ASIA

Caste in India. *By J. H. Hutton. 2nd Edition. O.U.P., 1951. Pp. x, 315. Price Rs. 10*

16 Both Professor Hutton and the Oxford University Press are to be congratulated on bringing out a second and an Indian edition of *Caste in India*; and it is gratifying to learn that 'it was largely the appreciative reception of the first edition by Indians that encouraged the author to publish a second. . . .' It is a tribute to the scholarship and the expository gifts of Professor Hutton, and what is even more important, a recognition, in Indian scholarly circles at least, of the importance of caste in contemporary India. One wishes that this recognition extended to the politicians and social reformers who seem, at present at any rate, only interested in pointing out the 'defects' of caste. There is no attempt to understand how the system works and what part it plays in Indian social life.

The importance of caste to the student of comparative sociology can hardly be exaggerated. It is unique, and even now it governs the lives of 230 million Hindus in many important respects. What makes its study particularly urgent is that it has begun to change rapidly. The practice of untouchability has been declared illegal, and what is as important, the country is being rapidly industrialized and urbanized.

But it is essential to stress that caste is an institution of enormous vitality and that it has proved its ability to survive all attempts to overthrow it. Professor Hutton has done well to stress its organic nature (p. 169). The popular belief prevalent among reformist Indians that it is an invention of the diabolical Brahmins is as far from the truth as possible though it cannot be gainsaid that Brahmins have taken every advantage the institution offered them. Caste is a product of growth of many centuries, and without doubt has undergone modifications in the past as it is undergoing them today.

Caste is much stronger than its adversaries give it credit for. It is common to come across Indians who appear extremely westernized in their ways and thought, but who underneath it all retain caste values in a surprising manner. In spite of the propaganda against caste, caste organizations and journals continue to flourish; and the recent elections gave a great fillip to caste. Voting was to some extent determined by caste considerations. According to a report in *The Times of India* of 19 August, 1952, the main obstacle to the formation of a United Karnatak is the fear of the Okkaligas, the great peasant caste of Mysore, that they will be swamped by the Lingayats, who dominate the Kannada-speaking areas to the north of Mysore. Caste, in a word, dies hard, and like the giants of Hindu mythology assumes innumerable forms.

Educated Indians are anti-caste, and the prevalent climate of opinion is not favourable to a detached appraisal of the institution. Under these circumstances, Professor Hutton is performing a service when he writes: 'It will be understood then that one important function of caste, perhaps the most important of all its functions, and the one which above all others makes caste in India an unique institution, is, or has been, to integrate Indian society, to weld into one community the various competing if not incompatible groups composing it' (p. 119). S. C. Hill showed great insight when he said, 'His intimate life . . . the life which to the Hindu really matters, is altogether independent of the political conditions which happen to prevail' (Hutton, p. 120). Caste and the village community absorbed —as they still do to some extent—most of the loyalties of rural folk. The two together tended to lessen the importance of political loyalties.

In the past, caste has shown a great capacity to absorb new groups. Even non-Indian groups, belonging to religions other than Hinduism, have been regarded as castes by the Hindus. Any dissident sect was regarded as a caste, and in course of time such a sect reproduced within itself a miniature caste-system. This is true of the Jains of South India, and the Lingayats and Sikhs. Indian Islam as well as Christianity bears the impress of caste. Buddhism, which rejected both ritualism and caste, is an exile from the land of its birth, a land which houses within its hospitable frontiers members of practically every other religion.

'Indeed, it seems possible that caste endogamy is more or less incidental to the taboo on taking food cooked by a person of at any rate a lower, if not of any other caste, and in the view of the writer this taboo is probably the keystone of the whole system' (p. 71). Professor Hutton is right in stressing the crucial importance of the concept of pollution in the caste system, but even the taboo on food is only one instance of the general operation of the idea of pollution. Contact is banned between castes because it results in pollution, and contact is culturally defined. There is defilement if a certain minimum distance is not maintained between castes, there is defilement by sight, shadow, touch, drink and food, and by the practice of some occupations. It is necessary to stress, however, that pollution also operates in the sphere of kinship, and in the ritual life of an individual. Prayer requires the devotee, whether Brahmin or Harijan, to be pure.

The idea of pollution is not as strange as Westerners commonly believe it to be. Professor Hutton rightly points out that that idea is to be seen in germ in the attitude of whites towards negroes in the southern states of the U.S.A. 'There is generally a strong feeling against eating or drinking from dishes used by negroes, and most of the whites provide separate dishes for the use of their servants . . .'

(p. 173, note 4). Lévy-Bruhl's idea of 'mystic participation,' which he characterized as a feature of 'savage' thought, is also prevalent to some extent among the 'civilized.'

The ideas of pollution and hierarchy underlie caste, but caste cannot be reduced to these two alone. It bears some relation to the occupation followed by a man. The ideas of *karma* and *dharma*, fitted into the system ingeniously, made the social order a divine order. Stability was thus ensured.

Caste is still the 'biggest thing' in India from the point of view of the theoretical sociologist. But the institution is undergoing change, and in spite of the 6,000 publications said to exist on it, we know very little about how it affects day-to-day relations between persons. Our ignorance is vast. It is most urgent to undertake intensive studies of caste in the different culture areas in India with a view to eventually making a typology of caste.

India is also the land *par excellence* of hypergamy, and it, like caste, to which it is intimately related, differs from region to region. Detailed studies of hypergamy in such different areas as Kerala, Gujarat and Bengal need to be undertaken in the very near future.

This brief but scholarly work of Professor Hutton suffers, however, from a very grave defect which runs right through the book. I must confess to a sense of uneasiness while reading it. Professor Hutton lives in a sociological world that is decidedly pre-Durkheimian. His conceptual tools are the same as those of Morgan, Maine and McLennan. He regards marriage with the mother's brother's daughter as 'clearly suggestive of a survival of a matrilineal system' (p. 153). The institution of *ghar-jawai* by which a woman's husband becomes a member of his conjugal joint family and the children of the marriage are regarded as members of their mother's natal joint family is regarded by Professor Hutton as 'another possible survival of matrilineal or at least of matrilocal customs' (p. 160). The simple truth is that where there is no son to continue the patrilineal joint family either a boy is adopted (frequently a daughter's son), or the son-in-law stays with his wife's relatives, and the children of the marriage are regarded as belonging to their mother's joint family. The determining principle here is continuity of the patrilineal lineage. That anyone should write as Professor Hutton does after Professor Radcliffe-Brown's studies of kinship is a matter not for surprise but for amazement.

On pp. 166f. Professor Hutton states that cremation is the favourite method of disposal of the dead among Hindus, including Hindus in southern India. This is not true. In south India only the three twice-born castes burn their dead, while the rest, the bulk of the inhabitants, bury them. Again, the belief that some whorls in the hair are lucky while others are not is found probably throughout southern India and is not confined to the Kurubas (pp. 12f.).

In spite of these criticisms, Professor Hutton's book is one of the best—and briefest—books on a vast and complicated subject. It is the fruit of many years of patient study and thought, and students of caste are grateful to him for it. M. N. SRINIVAS

Die Nomaden von Tibet. *By Matthias Hermanns, Wien (Herold), 1949. Pp. 325, illus.*

17 The subtitle of this book is: *Die sozialwirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Hirtenkulturen in Amdo und von Innerasien: Ursprung und Entwicklung der Viehzucht.* The book is only the first part of a work treating of the author's experiences and investigations in Amdo during the decade beginning with the year 1935.

The author is a physician and a Catholic priest, a member of the Societas Verbi Divini.' He has, so he states, gained the confidence of the population in general as well as of the Buddhist monks, including some of the higher incarnations. Besides this he has consulted literary sources: there is a bibliography of about 230 works. Among these are Tibetan block-prints, some of them inaccessible to me. As an introduction Hermanns speaks of the country and the people in general. He then treats of their prehistoric and historic development, dwelling at length on the social conditions. Finally he gives a summary of the results. A number of very well chosen illustrations add to the value of the book.

Amdo has belonged to China since 1928. The nomadic population, earlier called Tanguts, is of Tibetan stock. These nomads are Amdo's aboriginal population, and their influence can be traced far around. Hermanns considers them to have been originally herdsmen and cattle-breeders, the cattle-breeding state having developed from an earlier hunting state. Besides the Tibetan nomads Amdo is inhabited by Tibetan peasants, Mongols, Mohammedans, Chinese and others. This book deals only with the nomads.

The first animals the nomads bred were the sheep and the yak, says Hermanns, and they are still of the greatest importance. The ox and the horse came later. The preparation of real yoghurt is described. Parallels, chiefly with the alpine population, as to food, clothing, feasts and songs are given. The diet is well balanced, though lacking in vegetables. The nomads are healthy people. As to religion Buddhism proper is not treated of in this volume. The Amdo-pa are said to believe in a high god (*Hochgott*) called Di (p. 124). They venerate the great 'land patron' (*Landes-Schutzherr*) *rma-rgyal-spom-ra.* At the autumn sacrifice the God Of Heaven receives the *gnam gyi lug*, 'sheep of heaven.' Hermanns points out parallels to certain mythological conceptions such as the High God (*Hochgott*) and Primitive Man (*Urmensch*) in the Pamir-Hindukush territory. One thinks of Wilhelm Schmidt's opinions on the concept of the High God found in the religious thinking of all primitive people, opinions recently voiced by Herbert Kühn ('Das Problem des Urmonotheismus,' *Mainz. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Abh.. d. geistes- und sozialwirtschaftl. Kl.*, Vol. XXII, 1950).

In some respects the author's experiences differ from the experiences related by earlier writers. He finds almost no polygamy and polyandry among these Tibetans. He has seen no occult or parapsychological phenomena. He doubts the sincerity of earlier recorders claiming to have witnessed such, and of some contemporaries on the same as well as on other matters. An answer from some of these writers would be highly desirable.

One looks forward to the next volume. TONI SCHMID

Armenier: Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie der Kaukasusvölker. *By J. Weninger. Vienna (Rudolf Pöchs Nachlass), 1951. Pp. 64, 6 plates*

18 The present study comprises metrical and descriptive details of a sample of 189 Armenians, prisoners of war measured at Austro-Hungarian camps during the 1914–18 war. The subjects, more than half of whom were under 25 years of age, originated chiefly from the districts of Elisabetpol, Tiflis and Eriwan. Means, standard deviations, errors, etc., are given for a number of head and body measures. Correlations unfortunately are restricted to a few head characters, but provoking comparisons are made with other Armenian, and Montenegrin, Serb, and Albanian, samples. This is an interesting contribution to some of the problems of brachycephalization in south-east Europe. D. F. ROBERTS

OCEANIA

Property, Kin and Community on Truk. *By Ward H. Goodenough. Yale Univ. Publ. in Anthrop. No. 46. New Haven (Yale U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. 192. Price $2.50*

19 'This volume,' writes Dr. G. P. Murdock in the foreword, 'represents the first major publication to issue from the participation of Yale University in the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA), sponsored by the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council during 1947 and 1948.' After some four or five months of field investigations Murdock and Goodenough published a preliminary report 'Social Organization of Truk' (*Southwestern J. Anthrop.*, Vol. III, 1947, pp. 331–43); thereafter Goodenough continued the investigations, and all of the results are embodied in the present volume.

Apart from the ethnographic material which the book contains, the author raises several points which will be of interest to a wider audience. The first concerns the order in which the material is presented. Goodenough agrees that the study of a single problem in the field will lead the investigator into areas further and further removed from his original subject. In setting down his results he aimed at formulating definitions and rules which are as precise as

possible, and he did not find that this interdependence of cultural elements necessarily leads to a never-ending circle into which one may enter indiscriminately at any point. Instead, he concludes 'that the empirical determination of logical starting points is a requisite for rigorous ethnographic description' and suggests that such treatment would provide the basis for the isolation of those elements which are 'functionally linked to a given set of initial definitions to form what may be called a structural system within the larger culture.' It is one such system which forms the basis of this book, and the 'starting point' is the system of property relationships.

Goodenough distinguishes five matrilineal kin groups of differing span, only two of which, the lineage and the descent line, are corporate groups. The Trukese think of all of these genealogically, but the descent line and the lineage were found in fact to be defined in terms of corporation membership. Collateral relatives who are not direct matrilineal descendants of the founders of a corporation belong to the descent line of their fellow corporation members and not that of their closer genealogical kin. In other words, the 'kinship' group is not determined primarily by descent, but by the holding of property as a corporation.

A child is automatically a member of the corporation of its mother, and the corporation is patterned on the relationship between true siblings. The children of the men of a corporation are considered to be the children of the corporation itself; they are the natural 'heirs' should the corporation become extinct, just as a man's children are his heirs to any property to which he holds full title at the time of his death. The Hawaiian or generation-type kinship terminology is converted to a Crow type in accordance with the redefinition of 'generations' on this basis. The question of definition of the kin unit is therefore not merely a verbal quibble. (The close connexion here noted between kinship groups and property rights is well documented from many primitive societies and it may well be that there has sometimes been an over-emphasis on the kinship aspect in the definition of such groups, and a corresponding under-estimation of other social relationships. Greater stress on the latter may perhaps at times be more fruitful.)

The formation of a new corporation depends on the acquisition of enough property to enable a group of sufficient size to establish itself as an autonomous unit. There are two main ways in which this is achieved. If a man is the last survivor of a lineage with ex-tensive holdings his children inherit jointly; if he is a leading member in his own lineage he may be able, with the approval of his lineage mates, to give his children provisional title to large portions of his lineage's corporate land holdings. Just as in some patrilineal societies in Africa the offspring in the agnatic line of co-wives may establish new lineage segments, so in this matrilineal society it is usually inheritance from a father which allows of the formation of new segments.

The holding of property does not in itself give membership in a political district, for a corporation (lineage) may hold land in several political districts, but it is a member of only one. The links between lineages within a political district are of the father-child type which obtains between a corporation and the children of its male members. The highest ranking lineage within the district is considered the oldest, and all others are related to it by one or more links of this type. 'A Trukese district is structured therefore as a consanguineal kin group composed of patrilineally related matrilineal lineages.' The use of the matrilineal rule of descent to affiliate individuals, and the patrilineal rule of descent to affiliate the resulting kin groups into a larger kin group is, as far as the author knows, not previously reported and is therefore of considerable theoretical importance.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the analysis is extremely clear. It was not the author's intention to make the Trukese people 'come to life,' but to present an analysis of Trukese social organization in terms of rules and 'to state the conditions governing their application in such a way that none of the available information contradicts them at any point.' 'Should the writer be accused of misrepresenting Trukese culture, his defence is that he does not intend to present it as the Trukese see it, but as his analysis reveals it.' In this he has succeeded admirably.

M. McARTHUR

CORRESPONDENCE

Death Masks in Ancient China. *Cf.* MAN, 1950, 92; 1952, 20, 209

20 SIR,—Since the letter published in MAN, 1952, 209, was written, the first results of radiocarbon dating of specimens from Ipiutak have been published by Frederick Johnson (*Amer. Antiq.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, July, 1951—I am indebted to Dr. H. L. Shapiro in New York for the reference); and also in Willard F. Libby, *Radiocarbon Dating*, Chicago and Cambridge (England), 1952, p. 89, Nos. 260 and 266. The results show that the Ipiutak culture is much more recent than had been tentatively suggested. The result of test No. 260 is 973±170 and that of test No. 266 is 912±170, so that on an average the date is between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Thus the gap between the Ipiutak specimens and their Chinese parallels is considerably wider. For a discussion of the problem of genetic relationship it will be necessary to await radiocarbon tests of specimens from Honan as well as from sites in north-eastern Siberia.

The University of Melbourne, Australia LEONHARD ADAM

21 SIR,—Referring to Mrs. Brenda Z. Seligman's letter concerning death masks in ancient China (MAN, 1952, 20) it may be of interest to note that the custom of using death masks is still, or was until recently, in vogue in Siam. My friend Phraya Anuman Rajathon, well-known for his cultural and folkloristic studies, whose attention I have drawn to Mrs. Seligman's letter, writes that in Siam death masks are only (now) used for people of high rank such as kings, high princes, other high dignitaries and some very respected temple abbots. The masks (rather face coverings) for the king and high princes are made of thin gold plate, and when not used are kept in a strong room in the Treasury Department. After use and prior to cremation the masks are returned to the Treasury Department.

Formerly well-to-do people also had gold masks made for their deceased relatives; these masks were likewise removed before the cremation of the corpses and melted into small images of the Buddha. At present death masks for ordinary people are made of beeswax pasted with gold leaf but this custom too is waning, and death masks now seem to be reserved for high Buddhist dignitaries.

The custom of using death masks in Siam most probably hails from China and is also known in Cambodia and among the Môn people.

Sorgenfri, Denmark ERIK SEIDENFADEN

A Correction. *Cf.* MAN, 1952, 227

22 SIR,—In rereading my review of *Marriage and the Family in Caucasia*, I notice a slip which I should like to correct. I imply that the Morfill collection of Caucasiana is at the Bodleian (with the Wardrop collection). In fact, the Morfill collection is at the Taylorian.

Cappagh, Co. Waterford W. E. D. ALLEN

Senior Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute: A Correction. *Cf.* MAN, 1952, 248

23 The Hon. Editor much regrets that an error of fact which had been noticed before going to press in the congratulatory message to Dr. Harrison was, through an oversight, not corrected. The senior Fellows, according to the Institute's records, are in fact at present: Sir J. L. Myres, F.B.A. (elected 1893); Sir A. Keith, F.R.S. (1896); Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth (1899); Sir A. H. Gardiner (1901); Mr. W. W. Skeat (1901); Mr. S. H. Warren (1902); Dr. H. S. Harrison (1904); Mr. G. J. M. Atkinson (1905); Mr. E. B. Haddon (1905); Dr. W. L. Hildburgh (1906).

Until his death early this year, Dr. Edward Lawrence (elected 1885) had for many years been the *doyen*.—ED.



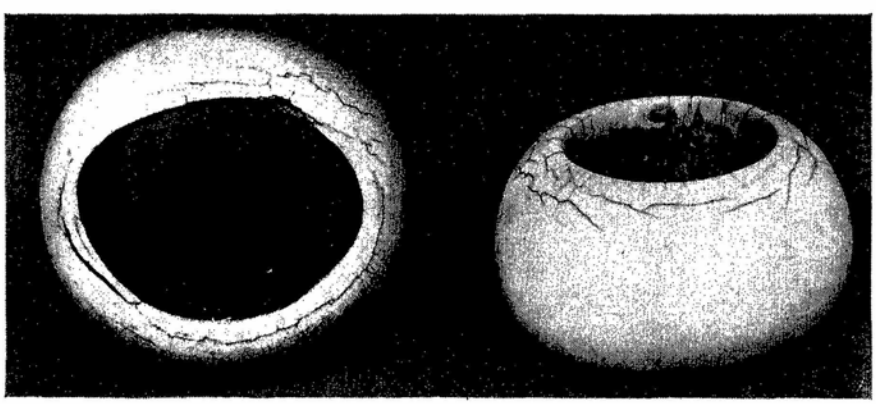
(*a*)



(*b*)



(*c*)



(*d*)

GURO CARVINGS

(*a*) *Guro dance mask in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. H. 20½ inches.* (*b*) *Figure attributed to the Guro, in the collection of Mr. R. H. Tannahill. H. 20½ inches.* (*c*) *Guro dance mask, Zuenolé sub-style, formerly in the collection of M. Charles Ratton.* (*d*) *Ivory armlets from the south-east Ivory Coast, formerly in the collection of M. Charles Ratton. D. 4¼ inches*

A NOTE ON GURO STATUES*

by

LEON SIROTO

New York

24 The dance masks and ornamented heddle pulleys of the Guro [1] are quite distinctive among works of tribal sculpture from the Ivory Coast of West Africa. The student of art forms of this region soon becomes familiar with statues in wood made by the Baule and Senufo, tribes which adjoin the Guro; and an acquaintance with these leads to a desire to see examples of the Guro style of figure-carving.

The first step in the search for Guro figures will probably be a consultation of comprehensive literature on the styles of African sculpture. If the seeker is not careful, these sources will lead his search to a speedy and unsatisfying end. Eckart von Sydow seems to gloss over this aspect of Guro sculpture: 'In relation to sculpture in the round, we know nothing of Guro figure-carving.'[2] About six years later, Carl Kjersmeier claims only a slightly greater awareness of the existence of Guro figures: 'According to administrators, there are Guro statues, but even to this day we do not know any of definite provenance.'[3]

Some reassurance may be found in reports of those who have studied the Guro in the field. Regrettably, neither illustrations nor verbal descriptions accompany these statements. L. Tauxier [4] mentions casually that both masks and statues are carved by an artist class of the Guro. Dr. Hans Himmelheber, whose studies were concerned with this particular class, states that he learned of 'fetish figures' in communal use by the Guro.[5] These were situated in places difficult of access, and outsiders were forbidden to look upon them. This would suggest that religious practices, rather than the non-existence of statues, are responsible for this gap in our knowledge of Guro sculpture. Dr. Himmelheber seems to imply that statues are far less common among the Guro than among their neighbours, the Atutu (a Baule sub-tribe), who carve multitudes of them for sacred and profane use.

A conversance with sculpture's role in the old religions of West Africa should serve to make one somewhat sceptical of the view that masks or full figures can be overlooked or proscribed by sculpture-producing peoples. The Guro religious beliefs seem no weaker than those of contiguous tribes. Short of an inexplicable squeamishness, there seems to be no reason for a total absence of full figures from Guro art. Of course, their statues may indeed be rarer, or more jealously guarded, than those of the Baule and Senufo. Perhaps masks are needed and made to such an extent that few statues can be produced, and those not of outstanding quality, as seems the case in the Ngere, Wobe and related tribes to the west of the Guro.

Often it is rewarding to press this sort of search into publications not exclusively concerned with ethnography. For example, a certain auction catalogue contains a photograph of a statue (Plate B*b*) over the caption 'Gouro . . . Ivory Coast.'[6] The catalogue cites no authority for this attribution. Nor was any Guro style of figure sculpture recognized at the time, at least not on the strength of published criteria.

As this figure represents a departure from better-known Ivory Coast styles, it deserves closer study than it has received. It bears some resemblance to the figures of the Baule, but the points of variance are marked and numerous enough to be of significance. These can be brought out through comparison with any typical Baule female standing figure. For clarity in comparing it with such figures, it may be convenient to refer to it as the 'Tannahill figure,' after its present owner, Mr. Robert H. Tannahill of Detroit, Michigan.

Its coiffure seems distinct from those of Baule figures: where a high median crest or an arrangement of braids and chignons characterizes Baule hair dress, that of the Tannahill figure seems fashioned into a flat, transverse, tiara-like effect.

The arms of Baule figures are flexed and held close to the sides of the body, with the hands clasping the lower part of the trunk; in the Tannahill figure the arms are held down and away from the trunk; and the hands do not touch the body. The legs of this figure are divided into two rather bulbous segments, a feature present in only a few Baule figures of a very unusual nature.[7] The base upon which a Baule standing figure is carved may be either round or square, but its top is flat and its sides are straight. The Tannahill figure seems to be perched atop a hillock; the sides of its base rise obliquely to a blunt summit.

The facial features of the Tannahill figure do most to make it unusual. Eyebrows, so carefully carved on Baule figures, are altogether absent. There seem to be no facial cicatrice marks, not even the omnipresent ones which the Baule carve between the outer corner of the eye and the inner margin of the ear. The scheme of the eye in Baule sculpture is usually dominated by a large, convex upper lid; the eyelids of the Tannahill figure are, in contrast, small and subequal. The short, high and rather sharp nose of this figure contrasts with the shallow and wide nose of most Baule pieces; its nostrils and nasal wings are cut out in considerably bolder relief.

Since the catalogue attribution is unsubstantiated and other data cannot readily be found, the origin of the Tannahill figure can be discovered only through its relation to pieces of known provenance. This method makes it possible to claim that it is a Guro figure. There is indeed a work to which this figure bears a noteworthy resemblance. In the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania there is a horned dance mask (Plate B*a*) which the collection catalogue ascribes to the Guro. Photographs are not always reliable in classification studies, but frontal studies of mask and figure show them to have features in common which might possibly associate them more closely than within the same tribe: perhaps they were produced by the same sub-tribe or in the same village.

* *With Plate B*

If the Tannahill figure is correctly ascribed to the Guro, it serves to illustrate only one style of Guro figure sculpture. Another style can be seen in a photograph (Plate B*c*) of an unusual Guro mask. This mask, which is distinguished by its oblique eyes and seeming smile, is in one of the two most characteristic Guro human-mask styles. Its unusual quality lies in the pair of full figures which surmount it. If the mask is of Guro provenance—its former owner, M. Charles Ratton, attributed it to 'Zuenolé,' one of the most populous areas in Guro country[8]—it is improbable that the surmounting figures are otherwise: the mask is of monoxyle construction. The use for these figures may have been no more than to ornament the mask. Because of this, they may lack the ritual importance of free figures. Nevertheless they represent a distinct and unusual style of sculpture in the round.

Marked differences exist between the Tannahill figure and those on the mask. However, there is hardly any greater similarity between the masks used to establish their identity, and these are known to be of the same tribe. Considering the great scarcity of known Guro figures, it is fortunate to find examples which differ so greatly. Perhaps collectors of Ivory Coast sculpture, setting their sights between two such extremes, can find among their material further proof of the existence of Guro statues.

There is another style feature which may be of aid in this sort of identification work. One cannot overlook the left forearm of the Tannahill figure: above the hand are two large annular swellings which seem to be of a lighter colour. The figures on the Ratton mask show a similar double ring about their wrists. These massive rings are not seen on the wrists of Baule or Senufo figures. That this character is distinctive of the Guro is suggested by a student of the tribe at first hand: 'The chiefs and rich people, men and women alike, wear bulbous bracelets of ivory [Plate B*d*] . . . the great fashion is to carry two of these, one under the other, on the wrist.'[9] Such bracelets carved on the wrists of Ivory Coast figures of uncertain provenance may serve to reveal the hand of the Guro sculptor.

Notes

1 *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago, 1944), Vol. XIII, p. 528: 'The Guro, or Kweni, (live) in the valley of the Middle Bandama and the Upper Davo of the French Ivory Coast.'

2 *Handbuch der afrikanischen Plastik* (Berlin, 1930), p. 95.

3 *Centres de Style de la Sculpture nègre africaine* (Paris, 1935), Vol. I, p. 36.

4 *Les Nègres Gouro et Gagou* (Paris, 1924), p. 190.

5 *Negerkünstler* (Stuttgart, 1935), p. 45.

6 *The Frank Crowninshield Collection of Modern French Art, Public Auction Sale, October 20 and 21*, 1943 (Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York City), p. 62.

7 Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik* (Munich, 1920), Plate LIV.

8 Nancy Cunard, *Negro: An Anthology* (London, 1934), p. 663.

9 Tauxier, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 156.

TOKEN PRE-PUBERTY MARRIAGE IN MIDDLE INDIA*

by

S. C. DUBE, M.A., PH.D.

Several aboriginal tribes and Hindu castes in the highlands of Chhattisgarh close to the border of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa practise a form of token pre-puberty marriage which is in the nature of a *rite de passage* for girls. This token marriage is known as *kanda bara* (arrow marriage) and appears to be a distinctive feature of this area. It is not confined to any particular ethnic group but is practised among communities of different economic and cultural levels. The *kanda bara* is practised by three aboriginal tribes of south-eastern Madhya Pradesh, namely the Chinda and the Chaukhutia Bhunjia who are primitive shifting cultivators, and the Oriya-speaking Raj Gonds who form part of the landed aboriginal peasantry in this area. It is unknown, however, among such tribes as the Kamars who are shifting cultivators, and the Dhur and Amat Gonds whose economy is based on settled plough cultivation. In Chhattisgarh it is also practised by a limited number of Hindu castes, important among whom are the Mangdha Raot, the Mali and the Ganda. Among all the Oriya-speaking castes of Western Orissa, with the exception of the Brahmins, a girl is married to an arrow before she reaches puberty, her actual marriage taking place much later.

These tribes and castes have their own myths and legends to explain the origin and significance of this rite. The tribes trace its beginning to some of their legendary heroes who had a hand not only in the founding of the tribe but also in prescribing its distinctive way of life. The attitude of the Hindu castes on the other hand is that the custom originated from the decree of the Hindu gods and they seek to rationalize it on grounds of its practical utility.

While the actual pattern of beliefs and rites connected with this ceremony differs from community to community, in broad outline they are very similar. There is a general belief that until this ceremony is performed the body of the girl remains 'unripe' (*kacha deh*) and 'sacred' (*dharam deh*). Any sexual act or serious social lapse on the part of the girl during this stage of her life would permanently defile her. Commencement of menstruation while she is in this state would similarly have an injurious effect on her body and would expose her parents to serious social disapproval and impair her own prestige in the community. Should this happen, she would become an *abheda*, and would have to suffer certain social disabilities for the rest of her life. Important among these disabilities are the following:

i. She would not be able to marry according to full rites and ceremonies prescribed by tradition. She would only have the

* *With a text figure*

option either of eloping with some one or of marrying by intrusion. A full traditional marriage is of course the most respectable, and as a girl can be so married only once in her lifetime, it is the ambition of every girl to get married according to full rites. Commencement of menstruation before the token pre-puberty marriage would deprive her of this much coveted ceremony and would make her permanently unfit for a regular marriage.

ii. Because of her state of permanent pollution she would not be allowed to participate in any worship organized either by her family or by the local group. Lest she incur the wrath of gods and ancestors' spirits she must refrain from going near places where they are lodged and should not touch any object used or required in their worship.

iii. When a regular marriage ceremony is being performed she should not get too near the place where the bride and groom are seated, for both her touch and her shadow are believed to be impure and signify ill luck for the couple. Thus, during the festivities and mirth-making at a wedding she must maintain a marked distance from the two principal figures in the ceremony and from most of its significant events.

iv. In general, too, a social stigma remains attached to her. First, any suspicion of witchcraft invariably falls on such a woman. People setting out to hunt, to negotiate a marriage or on other important business seek to avoid her. For if they were to see her their pursuit would be followed by obstructions and difficulties, if not failure. Naturally such a woman suffers great psychological torture and can never enjoy the benefit of full and unqualified membership of the community.

Among all the tribes and castes that practise this token marriage, child marriage is rare and adult marriage the general rule. The token pre-puberty marriage is a necessary preliminary preceding regular marriage and not a substitute for it. Most girls are married after puberty. But as they begin 'to understand the ways of the world' long before they approach the age of puberty, there is always some risk of their committing a sexual offence, and the menstruation of an 'unmarried' girl is regarded as highly undesirable. To protect her from any such danger which would not only lower her social prestige and affect her life adversely, but would also bring disrepute to her family, recourse is taken to a token marriage. At the age of nine or ten the girl must be married in a token way to a prescribed object. Among the Chinda and the Chaukhutia Bhunjia she is married to an arrow. Among the Oriya-speaking Raj Gond this object is the branch of the *mohua* (*Bassia latifolia*) tree. Among the Hindu castes a girl is invariably married to a wooden pounder used for husking paddy. This token pre-puberty marriage is also known as 'the first marriage.' Once this ceremony is performed, the girl's body does not remain 'unripe' and 'sacred.' Now her offences and lapses may be treated by the tribal or caste authorities as are those of a married woman.

The token pre-puberty marriage ceremony resembles a regular wedding in nearly all respects, except that it includes no engagement ceremony nor are any wedding gifts offered. The ceremony lasts two days, during which an abridged form of all the main rites of a regular marriage is performed.

The applying of oil and turmeric to the bride and the token bridegroom, the taking-out of the marriage procession, the throwing of yellow rice, the going round the marriage post and finally the ceremonial bathing of the bridal couple are all gone through step by step. A real or classificatory brother-in-law (sister's husband) of the girl holds the token bridegroom in his hand and acts at the different stages of the ceremony on its behalf. For this service he receives a special gift of money or cloth at the time of the girl's regular marriage.



FIG. 1. A CHAUKHUTIA BHUNJIA GIRL BEING MARRIED TO AN ARROW

It is well known that Manu, the supreme lawgiver of the Hindus, whose code still governs the fundamental structure of Hindu society, prescribed that a girl should be married before the commencement of her menstruation, and child marriage has for long been a feature of Hindu socio-religious life. But in tribal India, with a few exceptions, adult marriage coupled with considerable liberty during adolescence and early youth has been the general rule. The token pre-puberty marriage of the girls seems to be a special characteristic of the tribes of Chhattisgarh and Orissa, and has been reported from very few other parts of the country in modern ethnographic works. Thurston, however, mentions (*Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras (1906), p. 35) that the Nayars of Travancore practise a similar ceremony before the girls reach the age of eleven 'to avoid reproach from friends and neighbours.' He quotes the Mysore Census Report of 1910 in pointing out the existence of a parallel custom among the Dhobis (washermen) of Mysore among whom post-puberty marriage is not debarred provided they have first been married to a tree or a sword.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Musical Performing Techniques outside European Influence. *By William Yeomans. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 11 December, 1952*

26 While much attention has been given to the world's numerous varieties of music and musical instruments, performing techniques, apart from a few local studies, have received less notice. This is unfortunate since the varieties of timbre produced from an instrument by a capable musician can assist in the classification of instruments and affect the estimation of a cultural level. Disregarding the æsthetics of psychology of interpretation, the techniques for producing musical sounds usually attempt to unify by similarity and later vary for contrast. The former style relates, though not exclusively, to the performing of religious, military and other public functions, whilst the second belongs to intimate performance where the utmost niceties and gradations of timbre can be apprehended by listeners within a small area.

The technique itself may be regarded as a means of producing sound from which the auditors may derive a sense of pattern; it is allied to its instrument and is usually acquired by the experience of listening combined with physical practice. Developing according to the artist's critical faculty, technique is in similar proportion refined.

The level of musical technique may be thought to be relative to the cultural level of a society, since in the earliest and most primitive societies where conditions hardly allowed leisure to a separate class, there was a paucity of musical instruments with a corresponding lack of variety of timbres obtainable on the instruments known. Whilst this relation may hold in many cases caution is needed because the sound of past vocal music cannot be any more than surmised in the light of singing traditions, much music has been lost owing to lack of writing facilities, and the various art forms do not necessarily move in step. Much praise has been bestowed on prehistoric cave art, but is it likely that so much enthusiasm would have been shown over the contemporary music? However, even a prehistoric whistle demands some practice if used for signalling, hunting or ritualistic purposes, since a reasonably good tone involves steady but not forceful blowing. On the contrary if a deliberate rise in pitch is required or a piercing cry descending to a wail, further experience must be acquired. Breath control has to be practised for detached notes, and where speed is concerned tonguing comes into action. Early man received some music lessons from nature; cavities in trees and rocks only produce tones when the wind is in certain directions, whilst humidity and temperature are also conditioning factors.

The earliest musical instruments, namely the voice and limb extremities, evolved their own techniques, producing a greater variety of timbre than may be imagined. The two main vocal styles, the cultivated nasal and the flat-tongued resonant styles with many variants, are of course well known. In Ancient Egypt high-pitched nasal singing was respected, whilst in the Babylonian period there is evidence that vocal vibrato by means of the hand was practised. The particular way of using the hands for beating or clapping varies according to the pitch or resonance required, since flat open hands produce a high-pitched thin tone whereas cupped hands and breast-beating produce low-pitched resonant notes. Wrist and ankle rattles or bells are amongst instruments of little varying power and, of course, require little or no technique since they are usually bound up with the movements of the dance. Leaving aside the voice, man's control of timbre becomes paramount when extra-bodily instruments are brought into play. From this follows a stylized technique for producing good tone. The Chinese appreciation of a single note shows that a resonant quality was appreciated. In the case of a percussion instrument such as the phonolith, purity of tone is only obtained by a swift rebound of the striker which hits the instrument at a point only to be discovered by experience. The Mexican *teponaztli* has to be struck about a third from the end of the tongues to produce its best tones, the rubber-tipped sticks being well suited for rebounding and rapid beating. Some pre-Columbian Central American drummers altered the pitch of their instruments by pressure on the skin; a Nayaritan figurine shows this being done with the left hand. African Negro drumming is frequently of the flat-handed style, whilst Indian hand drumming uses wrist, thumb and finger techniques. In connexion with the playing of African and Indian percussion instruments, much has been said and written about the cross-rhythms involved. This misapplied term belongs mainly to the polyphonic period of European music, whilst almost all non-European music using a combination of time divisions should be described as cross-metric.

If we glance for a moment at the trumpet-horn family, the voice-mask trumpet is not fully effective when merely shouted through but only when the player has a resonant mouth and breath-control. The Inca clay trumpet which has a shallow conical mouthpiece and wide bore opening to a plain or figured bell will only produce one true tone, and occasionally its octave, but needs quite an amount of practice; the same may be said of what we know of Maya and Aztec trumpets which, like some of the Inca instruments, were of little more than wooden tubing. From the trumpet to the horn is a larger step than is usually supposed, the instrumental difference being that the trumpet has a parallel tube whilst the horn possesses a conical one. In Western instruments the distinction is carried further by the trumpet having a cupped mouthpiece whilst that of the horn is conical; the resulting timbre of the horn being 'rounder.' The outward design of certain pre-Roman Gallic clay wind instruments resembles the Inca clay trumpet, but they are really horns possessing a cupped mouthpiece on the end of a narrow conical bore; in these features the Gallic instrument resembles the Roman bronze horn, and through having the narrow conical tube is more difficult to play. Also of this family are the Indian *singha* and the well-known Tibetan telescopic horn which has an admirably suitable flat-cupped mouthpiece for sustaining a pedal bass. The African transverse horn produces only one true note owing to the short, wide bore and the *quasi*-diamond-shaped mouthpiece which is well suited to the lips of Negroes. These instruments, though described as horns, lack a feature associated with Western playing, namely that of varying the pitch by the insertion of the hand in the bell whilst making a corresponding adjustment with the mouth; in this, however, European playing is not unique since this method was known to the Aztec conch-player. Listening is an important ingredient in melodic horn-playing.

Without resorting to further examples it is clear that there is sufficient warrant for further research, from which a classification of technique may be deemed desirable. At the same time the problem of the proportion of requirements from an instrument to its manufacture could be given consideration. That an artist's requirements are in proportion to the musicality of his listeners is not an unassailable answer, for the Romans used music in a less special sense than the Greeks, from whom they were content to borrow both music and musicians, yet they produced some

experimental instruments. Later, congregational singing helped to remove misunderstood inherited remnants of microtonic intervals, clearing the way for different scales which in turn asked for relative techniques in composition, performing and instrumental manufacture.

South African Archæology. *By A. J. H. Goodwin. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 18 December, 1952*

27 The pattern of African archæology is becoming clearer. The publication of C. van Riet Lowe's summary of the Vaal River stratigraphy brings into line work by the late A. L. du Toit, F.R.S., and the Abbé Breuil, working in conjunction with the South African Archæological Survey.

The winter rainfall area of the southernmost shores of the continent has not so far yielded much important evidence. However, a remarkable fossil deposit of quaternary fauna in the unstratified (and so far undatable) sand dunes at Hopefield, 50 miles due north of Cape Town, is being studied by the University of Cape Town. This work is being related to the geomorphology of the Berg and Olifants rivers, and useful results are to be expected. At Hopefield itself an extraordinary quantity of bones and teeth of *Equus*, *Phacochærus*, *Hippopotamus*, *Elephas*, etc., have been recovered from exposure beneath wind-blown sands. Tools of late Chelles-Acheul, Still Bay and Later Stone Age date have been recovered from similarly unsatisfactory sources; but it is clear that more certain stratigraphy will be forthcoming from the two rivers which are being studied simultaneously.

The Study of 'Social Change' in West Africa. *By Dr. Kenneth Little. Summary of a communication to a Joint Meeting of the Institute with the International African Institute, 22 January, 1953*

28 The introduction of a monetary economy, the growth of African nationalism and rapid changes in technology have created and spread an 'urbanized' way of life over much of the West African region. There is increasing specialization not only of economic activities, but of all the principal activities of community life; and conflict between traditional and Western social values has brought into existence many practical problems in the family and in political and economic organization. In the towns, and in areas in close contact with the towns, a new form of social organization has arisen. This is based on association, principally by occupation and by tribe, and it is taking responsibility for many of the functions traditionally performed by the extended family and other kinship groups. These new associations include various kinds of friendly society, and 'tribal associations,' which are also partly political in their aims. There are also inter-tribal forms of association, and social groupings organized on the basis of common cultural and social interests.

This West African situation implies the existence of two fairly distinctive cultural and social orders. Nevertheless, their interrelationship is apparent, and anthropologists need to devise a conceptual scheme in which it can be satisfactorily studied. It is suggested that the methodological approach should be in terms of the concept of 'social change' rather than 'culture contact,' and the present blend of 'traditional' and 'modern' social phenomena be regarded in terms of a single field of social interaction. This means a thoroughgoing acceptance of 'social reality' in its contemporary form, and the consequent need for a series of studies, made in selected areas, which will re-formulate and re-systematize existing knowledge of West African society. Fresh techniques of enquiry are also required, and it is suggested that intending fieldworkers should familiarize themselves with the necessary statistical and other methods, and prepare for African urbanized conditions by studying some suitable rural or semi-industrialized community in this country.

SHORTER NOTES

The Palæolithic Period in Japan. *By the Revd. John Maringer, Ph.D., Archæological Institute, Ichikawa, Japan*

29 The question of the Japanese Palæolithic has been studied by Japanese prehistorians, especially by Prince Kashiwa Ohyama, who in 1942 published a series of articles on 'Whether or Not a Palæolithic Culture Existed in Japan?'[1] The latest views on this problem are contained in a short article, 'Existió la Edad paleolítica en el Japón?'[2] written by Takashi Okada, and in the introductory chapter of *The Prehistory of Japan*, by G. J. Groot,[3] which also furnishes a welcome summary of the Japanese Stone Age.

The conjecture of the existence of a Japanese Palæolithic, although so far there are no convincing proofs for it, is more than a mere working hypothesis. Not only do the geology of Japan and the palæolithic discoveries on the neighbouring Asiatic continent seem to favour a Japanese palæolithic period, but there are some important palæontological finds and even some archæological indications which support this theory.

In the late Pleistocene, as a result of the regression of the Pacific Ocean, the Japanese archipelago formed a part of the Asiatic continent. Already in the late Pliocene an elevation of 700 metres had connected Japan with the continent. During the early Pleistocene it fell to its present level, but towards the end of that period it rose again, and this time more than 1,500 metres. The transgression which took place in the beginning of the present geological period finally severed Japan and the continent and gave it its present insular character and position (fig. 1).

In the late Pleistocene, during its maximum land extension, the

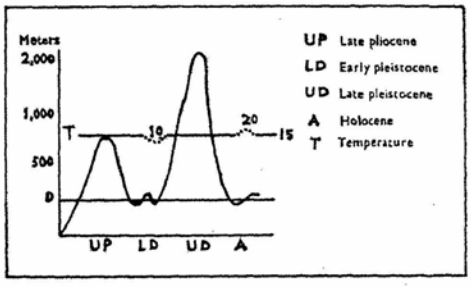


FIG. 1. OSCILLATIONS OF THE LEVEL OF JAPAN BETWEEN THE LATE PLIOCENE AND THE PRESENT
After G. J. Groot, 1951, p. 14

Asiatic mainland stretched into the Pacific far beyond the present Japanese east coast, with the Sea of Japan and the Sea of Okhotsk as large inland lakes. The archipelago extending from the south point of the Kamchatka peninsula well beyond Formosa was a solid mass of land linked to the continent (fig. 2).

Careful research work during the last three decades has shown that in the late Pleistocene and already earlier there existed palæolithic cultures in many parts of East Asia, *e.g.* in North China, Mongolia, South-West Siberia and Manchuria.[4] No major geographical obstacles could have prevented palæolithic men from immigrating into Japan. A large shallow basin then connected East Asia and the Japanese Isles; the shores of the (then inland) Sea of Japan undoubtedly offered favourable living conditions to palæolithic man who also had access to the large coastal plains

along the east coast of present-day Japan. The Japanese Isles of today must then have been high mountain regions, whereas today's coastal plains then were plateaus. If palæolithic man should have entered Japan we must expect to find his vestiges rather in areas which have been submerged since the last transgression than in today's coastal districts or in the valleys cutting into the islands. There is, however, the other possibility, or even, perhaps, probability, that man retreated in front of the floods into higher regions, so that traces of palæolithic man might be discovered in present-day Japan.

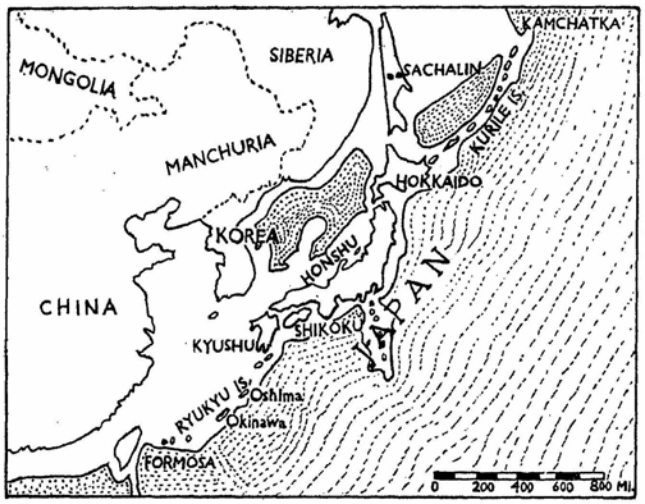


FIG. 2. MAXIMUM LAND EXTENSION OF JAPAN IN THE LATE PLEISTOCENE

After G. J. Groot, 1951, p. 11

In Japan, the climatic changes and differences during the Pleistocene were not so pronounced as they were in Europe, North Asia and North America. There have been no glaciations in Japan, for the apparent reason that the northern barrier (land bridge) between Siberia and Alaska prevented the cold ocean currents from moving along the Japanese coast. But a certain change of warm and cold periods is testified by gravel beds which are the deposits of pluvial periods. Generally speaking, the Japanese Pleistocene resembles that of South China and India.

Towards the end of the Pleistocene, when Japan was still a part of the continent, the great cold wave of Northern Europe and Asia also reached Japan. It was then that a typical representative of the glacial fauna, the mammoth, came to Japan. Its bones have been found in several places in late Pleistocene strata, but its traces do not go beyond Sapporo on Hokkaido. The question may be asked whether these glacial pachyderms were not followed by their palæolithic hunters who came from the interior of Asia. Another representative of the fauna of the Ice Age in Europe as well as in Asia, the *Lagomys pusillus*, a small whistling hare of the size of a rat, is to be found on Hokkaido. In the area of Tokyo we find conifer forms which belong to the same period; but the same conifers are today only found on the high mountains of Japan.[5]

Up to now no archæological finds have been made in Japan which could safely be classified as palæolithic, although the country has been searched rather thoroughly. From what has been said before, we can hardly expect such finds in Japan of today, at least not in greater numbers.

Two Japanese scientists H. Matsumoto and N. Naora are reported to have found crudely chipped stone artifacts which they attribute to the palæolithic period. According to Groot,[6] they are boulders which owe their particular shape to a series of natural forces, and belong to the so-called eoliths. More important is another discovery: in 1936 S. Tokunaga and N. Naora found worked deer bones in a cave on the island of Iejima (westward of Okinawa).[7] For the greater part they are shanks of long bones both ends of which are fork-shaped and show indisputable signs of scraping; they are almost of the same length. In one of the metacarpals two holes have been drilled, one of which is the artificial enlargement of a foramen. The ends of a fragment of the jaw bone of a deer were also fork-shaped. Together with these artifacts many more fossilized deer bones were found in a stratum, one metre thick, which formed the floor of a cave. The cave itself opened into a coral reef.

This discovery is particularly significant because the deer which inhabit the Ryukyu Islands today have been imported. It is certain that there were no deer on these islands in the neolithic period. Though the prehistoric shell mounds never yielded any deer bones, they furnished a great amount of bones belonging to the wild boar. The fossil deer of Iejima belonged to a species which differs from that of present-day Japan, China and North-East Asia.

We may conclude that these deer bones and the artifacts of Iejima belong to the pre-neolithic or even palæolithic period.[8] Although these finds were made on an island between Formosa and the Japanese main islands they provide valuable circumstantial evidence for the Japanese palæolithic period.

In this connexion another point deserves more attention. In 1933 and 1935 palæolithic remains were first found in Korea by S. Tokunaga and Dr. Mori at Dokantin in strata which were three metres deep and belong to the youngest Pleistocene. They found a few typical artifacts made of obsidian and several implements made of bone and antler which are partly points and partly chisels. These industries were found together with *Elephas*, *Rhinoceros* and other remains of fossil mammals.[9] The fact that Korea is very near the Japanese main island of Honshu supports the hypothesis of a Japanese palæolithic period.

In May and July, 1951, fossilized human bones were found in a cave to the south-west of Kusû town, Tochigi prefecture. According to N. Naora they may be assigned to the middle Pleistocene in view of the nature of the fauna.[10]

In April and May, 1951, Dr. K. Kiyono discovered in Pleistocene deposits on the coast of Kasumiga-ura, Ibaragi prefecture, a wooden and a stone artifact. The same stratum yielded a molar of *Palæoloxodon naumanni Makiyama*. The wooden specimen is 145 millimetres long, 60 millimetres wide and 40 millimetres thick and has a wedge-like shape. Its surfaces appear to have been smoothed down by scratching with a stone tool. One face has an engraved vertical groove. The stone artifact consists of one half of a pebble, one of the edges of which has been blunted by secondary chippings.[11]

All these palæontological and archæological finds appear to hold out legitimate hope that one day some more reliable, even though not very numerous, vestiges of palæolithic settlements will be found on the Japanese main islands.

Notes

[1] *Shizengakuzasshi* (*Journal of Prehistory*), Vol. IV (1932), nos. 4, 5, & 6. This journal was a publication of the Prehistoric Institute of Prince Ohyama in Tokyo, who had founded it. The building itself was destroyed in an air raid during the war.

[2] *Revista Geografica Americana*, Vol. XXXIII (1950), No. 199, p. 172.

[3] Columbia University Press, New York, 1951.

[4] Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Early Man in China*, Peking, 1941. It contains valuable bibliographical notes. See also P. Teilhard de Chardin and Pei Wen-Chung, *Le Néolithique de la Chine*. Peking, 1944; Pei Wen-Chung, 'The Recent Progress of Quaternary Study

in China,' *Quartär II*, 1939, pp. 120–32; John Maringer, *Contribution to the Prehistory of Mongolia* (The Sino-Swedish Expedition, Publication No. 34), Stockholm, 1950.

5 Gerard J. Groot, *The Prehistory of Japan*, 1951, p. 10.

6 Groot, *l.c.*, p. 5.

7 S. Tokunaga, 'Bone Artifacts Used by Ancient Man in the Loocho Islands,' *Procs. Imp. Acad.*, Vol. XII (1936), no. 10, in Japanese, after Groot, *l.c.*, p. 5.

8 Groot, *l.c.*, p. 5, relates these finds to the bone-culture circle (*Knockenkulturkreis*), a theory put forward by O. Menghin in 1930, but as prehistorians today consider this theory as merely fictitious, and consequently do not accept it, Groot's classification is obsolete.

9 These finds have been described by N. Naora in Nabuo Naora, 'Human Artifacts Excavated at Dokantin, Korea,' *Rep. First Scientific Expedition to Manchukuo*, Section VI, Part III, Tokyo, 1940, pp. 1–12 (in Japanese, with summary in English).

10 Nobuo Naora, 'The Cave of Kuzû Maegahara and the Fossil Human Bones,' *Kôkogaku Zasshi* (*J. Arch. Soc. Nippon*), Vol. XXXVIII (1952), no. 2, pp. 1–22 (in Japanese, with summary in English).

11 Dr. Kenji Kiyono, 'The Cultures and Inhabitants of Japan Early in the Stone Age,' *Kôkogaku Zasshi*, Vol. XXXVIII (1952), No. 2, pp. 31–49 (in Japanese, with summary in English).

The ABO and Rh Blood Group Antigens in Pre-Dynastic Egyptian Mummies. *By B. E. Gilbey and M. Lubran, Department of Pathology, West Middlesex Hospital, Isleworth*

30

In a previous communication (MAN, 1952, 160), we reported the successful identification of the antigens of the *ABO* and *Rh* systems in tissue obtained from South American Indian mummies. It was felt that, as it had been possible to detect the *Rh* antigens in the South American Indian mummies, it might be possible to detect these antigens in addition to the *ABO* antigens in much older mummified tissue using the same technique.

Material Used

Mummified muscle tissue was obtained from four pre-Dynastic Egyptian mummies in the British Museum. These mummies had not been wrapped or embalmed, but had been buried in the sand in Upper Egypt. They were buried on their left sides, with their knees drawn up, in the manner characteristic of the Neolithic people of Egypt of *c.* 3000 B.C. Two were adult males, one an adult female, the fourth of undeterminable sex. The tissues were heavily impregnated with nitrites.

Technique

The technique described in our previous communication was used. Essentially, the procedure was to absorb standardized sera of human origin and of known specificity with an equal amount of the washed and ground tissue and then to determine whether there had been a reduction in the titre of the serum as compared with an unabsorbed control. As in the earlier experiments, the results were expressed as an Absorption Index, an Index of four or over being regarded as significant, and an Index of two being considered as within experimental error.

Highly avid sera giving titres of 8 to 32 were used, their specificities being as follows: Anti-*A*, Anti-*B*, Anti-O, Anti-*D* (two sera), Anti-*C*, Anti-*E*, and Anti-*c*. Except for the Anti-*C* and one of the Anti-*D* sera, these sera were those used in the earlier investigation. The additional sera were controlled in the manner previously described.

The results of the tests are set out in Tables I and II, from which it will be seen that all the tests gave clear-cut answers. The *O* and *D* antigens were detected in all four mummies, *c* in two, *A* in one, *C* in one and *E* in one.

Discussion

As with the South American Indian mummies, it has been possible to detect the *A*, *O*, *D*, *C*, *E* and *c* antigens. Two points of interest emerge from these results.

First, in Mummy No. 1, both *A* and *O* were detected. There was not sufficient material left after the confirmation of these results to enable this interesting finding to be examined further;

TABLE I. TITRES OF SERA BEFORE AND AFTER ABSORPTION WITH TISSUE

Mummy No.	Before Absorption								After Absorption							
	Anti-								Anti-							
	A	*B*	*O*	*D*(I)	*D*(II)	*C*	*E*	*c*	*A*	*B*	*O*	*D*(I)	*D*(II)	*C*	*E*	*c*
1	16	32	32	8	16	16	16	16	1	16	2	0	0	8	2	2
2	16	16	32	8	16	16	16	16	8	16	4	1	0	16	8	8
3	16	16	32	8	16	16	16	16	8	8	2	0	0	2	8	8
4	32	32	32	8	16	16	16	16	16	16	2	0	0	16	8	2

TABLE II. ABSORPTION INDICES OF TISSUES AND ANTIGENS DETECTED

Mummy No.	Absorption Indices of Tissues								Antigens present
	Anti-								
	A	*B*	*O*	*D*(I)	*D*(II)	*C*	*E*	*c*	
1	16	2	16	>8	>16	2	8	8	*AODEc*
2	2	0	8	8	>16	0	2	2	*OD*
3	2	2	16	>8	>16	8	2	2	*ODC*
4	2	2	16	>8	>16	0	2	8	*ODc*

The sign > before a value indicates complete absorption of the antibody by the tissue.

but it is suggested that as the Anti-*O* serum employed is known to detect the A_2 gene as well as the *O*, it is possible that we are dealing here with an A_2—either as the A_2A_2 homozygote or the A_2O heterozygote. M. Salazar Mallen (*Gaceta Med. de Mexico*, Vol. LXXXI (1951), No. 1, p. 122) suggests that, in the case of bones from ancient burials, the heavy contamination of such specimens with dust or soil may give rise to non-specific reactions of such a character that the material will appear to type as Group *A*. He suggests that this may be due to *A*-like antigenic substances of bacterial origin. It seems to us unlikely that this would explain the detection of *A* in Mummy No. 1, as the conditions of burial were vastly different, and no *A* was detected in the other mummies buried under comparable conditions. However, the possibility cannot be completely excluded.

Second, it was not possible to detect either the *C* or *c* antigen in Mummy No. 2, although one or other of these antigens was detected in the other three mummies. This suggests that we are here approaching the limit in time at which *C* and *c* can be detected with any degree of reliability. The results, however, indicate that even after 5,000 years the *O* and *D* antigens have remained remarkably stable, and that the *D* antigen may well be detected after other antigens of the *Rh* system have disappeared.

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing us access to the mummies, and Mr. I. E. S. Edwards of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities for his help and co-operation.

The Sickle-Cell Trait in the Mediterranean Area. *By A. C. Allison, D.Phil., B.M., B.Ch., Staines Medical Research Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford*

31

There is now abundant evidence to show that the sickle-cell trait is widely, but unevenly, distributed in Africa south of the Sahara Desert. Among the African Negro and Pygmoid

tribes the incidence of the trait varies from 0 to 45 per cent.[1] Thus the sickle-cell trait has come to be regarded as one of the characteristic genetical components of the African Negro population. Indeed, the presence of the sickle-cell gene among other peoples, *e.g.* the pre-Dravidians of South India, has been taken as an indication of relationship to the African Negroes.[2]

In the Mediterranean area another similar condition, Cooley's anæmia, and its trait, are widespread.[3] However, it is clear that the sickle-cell trait, also, is present in Southern Italy, Sicily and Greece.[4] The incidence of the sickle-cell trait in parts of Italy and Greece is sufficiently high to suggest that it may even have an origin there independent of that in the Negroes.

An opportunity was taken, therefore, to determine the frequency of occurrence of the sickle-cell trait elsewhere in the Mediterranean area. The people tested were Arabs in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and Berbers in Algeria. The technique used was the chemical reduction of a small drop of fresh blood, using 2 per cent. potassium metabisulphite.[5] Provided that the whole area under the cover-slip is examined systematically, true sickling is quite obvious on a single test with this method. The results are recorded in the following table:

	Total Number	*Number Positive*	*Percentage Positive*
Jordan Arabs . .	308	1	0·32
Palestinian Arabs . .	111	0	0
Kabyle Berbers, Algeria .	105	0	0
Mixed Berbers, Algiers .	180	1	0·56

The individuals tested in Jordan were 308 supposedly pure-blooded Arabs from Jordan or Saudi Arabia, mostly of Bedouin stock, and 111 Arabs from Palestine, who are believed to represent a more mixed population. The blood of only one man showed the sickle-cell trait; and he admitted on questioning that he had known Negro ancestry. In Algeria tests were carried out on 105 Kabyles who are said to be of pure Berber origin, at Michelet near Tizi-Ouzou, and on 180 mixed Berbers in Algiers. Again, one individual showing the sickle-cell trait was found in the latter group.

Conclusions

It is apparent that among the pure-blooded Arabs of Jordan and the Berbers of Algeria the sickle-cell trait is rare or absent. However, in the mixed Berbers of Algeria and among some of the Arab groups there is undoubtedly an admixture of Negro blood, and a few individuals with sickle-cell trait are found. In such populations sickle-cell anæmia might appear occasionally: indeed probable cases of sickle-cell anæmia in natives of Algeria have been reported.[6]

This investigation was made possible by a grant from the Higher Studies Fund of the University of Oxford.

Notes

[1] H. Lehmann and A. B. Raper, 'Distribution of the Sickle-Cell Trait in Uganda and its Ethnological Significance,' *Nature*, Vol. CLXIV (1949), pp. 495f.; J. V. Neel, 'The Population Genetics of Two Inherited Blood Dyscrasias,' *Cold Spring Harbour Symp. Quart. Biol.*, Vol. XV (1950), pp. 141–58.

[2] H. Lehmann and Marie Cutbush, 'The Sickle-Cell Trait in Southern India,' *Brit. Med. Journ.*, 23 February, 1952, pp. 404f.

[3] See note 1, second reference.

[4] E. Silvestroni and O. Bianco, 'Genetic Aspects of Sickle-Cell Anæmia and Microdrepanocytic Disease,' *Blood*, Vol. VIII (1952), pp. 429–35; C. Choremis, N. Zervos, V. Constantinides and L. Zannos, 'Sickle-Cell Anæmia in Greece,' *Lancet*, 1951, No. 1, pp. 1147–9.

[5] G. A. Daland and W. B. Castle, 'A Simple and Rapid Method for Demonstrating Sickling of the Red Blood Cells: The Use of Reducing Agents,' *J. Lab. Clin. Med.*, Vol. XXXIII (1948), pp. 1082–8.

[6] G. Aubry and A. Portier, 'Anémie a hématies falciformes chez un indigène Algérien,' *Sang.*, Vol. XXI (1950), pp. 677–80; A. S. Abbasy, 'Sickle-Cell Anemia: First Case Reported from Egypt,' *Blood*, 1951, No. 5, pp. 555–8.

Applied Anthropology at Makerere. *A Note by Dr. Lucy Mair*

32 A conference held at the East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere, in June, 1952, discussed 'The present-day position of lower chiefs.' The chiefs in question are of the type commonly called village headmen. Papers were read by anthropologists and administrative officers; wherever possible the same area was discussed by speakers who represented the two points of view. This is the first conference to be organized on these lines. The discussions brought out very clearly the discrepancies between the conceptions of the role of 'native authorities' held by their European overlords and their African subjects, and showed that a reconciliation between the two is particularly difficult at the level where the chief is in close and continuous contact with the population of a small area.

The tribes discussed were the Teita (Mr. K. Cowley and Mrs. G. Harris), Soga (Mr. R. W. Gill and Mr. L. A. Fallers, with an addendum by Dr. Audrey Richards and Mr. A. B. Mukwaya comparing them with the Ganda), Amba (Mr. E. H. Winter), Haya (Mr. C. C. Harris and Mrs. P. Reining), Zinza (Mr. R. C. Smith and Mr. J. W. Tyler), and Kikuyu (Mr. D. J. Penwill).

Dr. Richards summarized the common features emerging from the different accounts. Changes had taken place in the tasks required of chiefs, in the mode of training and selection of leaders, in the personnel available to help them in their duties, and in the nature of the rewards of office. In addition the idea of the functions of councils had changed; a council was no longer a general forum for the discussion of any matter of public interest, but a body with a fixed membership and responsibilities and a definite agenda for each meeting. Yet it was inevitable that the traditional village authorities should continue to be utilized, as there was no alternative. Possible lines of advance suggested were the acceptance of the division between the traditional system at the lower levels and something quite new at the higher levels; the appointment of paid technical assistants to minor chiefs; the appointment of highly educated and highly paid chiefs to districts covering a large number of village chiefs; the gradual supersession of village heads as administrative authorities by the elected members of the new councils; the devolution of their functions upon such councils.

REVIEWS

AMERICA

Felsplastik und Felsbilder bei den Kulturvölkern Altamerikas, Vol. I. *By Walter Krickeberg. Berlin (Palmen-Verlag), 1949. Pp. viii, 260, 49 plates, 94 text figs. Price DM.22*

33 This substantial work by the Director of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde is only a first instalment. It is to be followed by a second volume in which he will deal with rock sculptures and rock engravings of Mexico, and conclude by examining the wider question of possible cultural connexions between the Old and New Worlds as evidenced by their carvings in rock. We are also promised an index in Volume II.

This is clearly an important contribution to New World archæology, and for several reasons. It is, I believe, the first serious

attempt at a comprehensive survey of all the various forms of rock sculpture and engraving which are found in the areas of higher culture of pre-Columbian America from Mexico to Chile, and is therefore a valuable book of reference for this subject. Furthermore it provides a detailed account of the remarkable rock-hewn temples of Malinalco and Tetzcotzinco in Mexico—the only examples of their kind in America. Finally it attempts to interpret the meaning, purpose and relationships of these varied phenomena in the light of our accumulated knowledge of ancient Mexican and South American religion. It provides both descriptions and full discussions of the monuments, and a valuable critical commentary, largely embodied in the copious footnotes, of the numerous authorities and references cited.

The author is well equipped for the task by his unusual erudition. He has evidently made a close study of practically all the major literary, historical and archæological sources (at any rate up to the year 1940, after which the war deprived him of access to the most recent literature), and his familiarity with the pre-Cortesian codices enables him to make effective use of them to illustrate and support his arguments. He has also travelled widely in Mexico, and paid two brief visits to Malinalco after the XXVII International Congress of Americanists in 1939. His bibliography runs to nearly 450 items. His task has been rendered the more arduous not only by the war-time deprivation of foreign literature, but also by the disastrous losses sustained by the Berlin Museum's library. As a final and gratuitous misfortune, the first MS. draft of this work was destroyed by fire. The pertinacity with which he has surmounted all these discouragements cannot but excite our admiration.

The author introduces his subject with a brief survey of the rock temples and tombs of the Old World in antiquity, which were widely distributed in Egypt, the Near East, Iran, India and China. Greek and Roman constructions in this genre are regarded as modest imitations of oriental prototypes.

The body of the work is divided into two main sections. Section I, entitled 'The Andean Countries,' deals with (1) the sculptured rocks of the Peruvian culture area (29 pp.), (2) sculptured rocks and chamber tombs of Colombia (16 pp.), (3) rock engravings (40 pp.). Section II, entitled 'The Rock Temples in Mexico,' deals with (1) Tetzcotzinco, an artificially worked hill near Tezcoco (42 pp.), (2) Malinalco, situated at the southern escarpment of the Toluca plateau (74 pp.), (3) other examples of Mexican rock carving (42 pp.). The volume concludes with a 20-page bibliography.

At first sight there would appear to be little to connect temples, tombs and 'petroglyphs' into a single theme for study. But the author maintains with some reason that the same desire to establish contact with subterranean spiritual forces, which inspired rock sculptures, as well as tombs and temples, extends to rock engravings also, since there is no clear line of demarcation between them and sculptures in relief. The unifying element which links these apparently disconnected manifestations is the widespread belief of the new, as of the old world, in the existence of supernatural underworld powers and in the vital importance of establishing a '*rapport*' with them. The sculpting of the living rock, even of the most superficial kind, symbolizes a penetration into the subterranean domain, and gives access to the powers residing therein. This view can of course be pressed too far. Many so called 'petroglyphs' are known to be without any particular religious significance; but in default of other explanations it at least offers a working hypothesis for many of them.

It may be useful to summarize the author's findings on each of these chapters separately.

Section I (1). He regards the 11 sculptured rocks near Cuzco as sacrificial shrines of the 11 *Ayllu* or clans of the Inca. Sacsahuaman is explained as a religious centre, not a fort, having been built by Tupac Yupanqui when the Coricancha in Cuzco became too small for the offerings made there. Its central shrine was the 'round tower' (*Muyu marca*), the water well serving ritual rather than utilitarian purposes, as has been supposed by others. Attention is also drawn to the close association of circular or apsidal structures with sacred rocks, and it is argued, not very convincingly, that the *intihuatana* were probably altars of the sun rather than gnomons for astronomical observations.

Section I (2). The megalithic structures of San Agustin, Colombia, first systematically excavated by K. T. Preuss, are held to be related to the highland culture of Chavin. Besides the 120 monolithic figures, irrigation channels, tanks, and lizards and snakes carved in rock have been found in this region.

The stylistic differences between these carvings and the mural paintings of the shaft graves of Tierra Dientro are indicative of different cultural contexts. The purely decorative linear art of the latter is more suggestive of that found on pottery and masks in north-west Brazil, and widespread Arawak influence must be presumed to have reached Colombia in early times. Other Arawak culture traits, *e.g.* secondary burial of bones, are adduced in support of this view, and are certainly impressive, though Arawak pottery types are not found in Tierra Dientro tombs.

The only large rock carving from Ecuador is on Puna Island, and probably dates from Inca times. The author omits to mention the remarkable rock figures of Gorgona Island, Colombia, published by J. Hornell (MAN, 1925, 48, 59 and *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LVI (1926)). Rock sculptures are not known to occur in Manabi, Panama or Costa Rica.

Section I (3). The relation of the Andean 'petroglyphs' (better called rock pictures) with those of the rest of South America is not clear. They occur chiefly in the Muisca region of eastern Colombia in the form of shallow incisions painted red, and are classified as (1) simple geometric, (2) double spirals and frogs (an important rain symbol among the Chibcha), and (3) elaborate geometric, including rhombus chains, perhaps symbolizing rain and lightning.

Ecuador, Andean Peru and Bolivia are poor in petroglyphs, but this may be partly due to the destructive zeal of missionaries. It is difficult in general to connect them with the symbolism of Peruvian pottery. They are common in northern Chile, and again in Colchagua at the southern fringe of the Inca empire, where they show Diaguita affinities. Most remarkable are *Los Pintados* in northern Antofagasta, the gigantic figures in sand and on mountain slopes, regarded as solar symbols by Plagemann (1906). The huge sand figure of *Tres Cruces* at Paracas, Peru, measuring 128×74 metres, which is still celebrated at the 'Feast of the Cross' on 3 May, probably symbolized fertility in the form of a tree, and is attributable to the Chincha in the post-Tiahuanaco period. The Puna and Diaguita regions of Argentina offer a rich field of study, 287 petroglyphs having been recorded by Quiroga (1931). The painted variety is commoner in the north, the incised in the south. Boman looked on them as art scribblings or 'doodlings,' while Krickeberg stresses the fertility motive. But there is little real evidence either way. Quiroga's identifications of symbols are arbitrarily hypothetical.

The rock drawings of the Chibcha regions in Panama, Costa Rica and Nicaragua are classified under five styles. We may note that one peculiar group, resembling cats' cradles, is comparable with some of the sand figures of Malekula.

Section II (*Rock Temples*) (1) The hill of Tetzcotzinco, near Tezcoco, is so full of interest that it deserves a fresh and more thorough investigation than it has yet received. Its artificial features include rock-hewn 'baths,' an aqueduct, stairways, seats, sculptures in relief, shrines and temples (often called 'palaces'), with a park and water conduits. They are reputed to have been constructed by Nezahualcoyotl, the famous king of the Acolhua (1402–1472) in the second half of the fifteenth century as a 'pleasure garden.' The early historian Ixtlilxochitl gave an admirably detailed account of the place in his *Historia Chichimeca*, before the catastrophic destruction of the few historical monuments by Archbishop Zumárraga in 1539. Modern interest in the hill was aroused by J. Bullock's account in 1825, and it was subsequently visited and briefly described by E. B. Tylor and others. But the Mexicans García y Cubas and Vicente Reyes were the first to carry out systematic research and surveys which were published by Chavero in 1887. After describing the site in detail, Krickeberg submits these accounts to a very searching critical analysis, partly based on his personal observations on the spot. He concludes that the so-called baths were probably cult places of the rain god Tlaloc (from whose neighbouring hill the water was drawn by an aqueduct), and that the other structures were all religious rather than secular in intention. The three temples

are attributed, largely on the basis of their siting and orientation, to the death god, the maize goddess and Tonacatecutli. The general arrangement of the temples leads the author to suggest that the whole hill was intended to symbolize the 'celestial mountain' or sky (resembling the mountain of Colhuacan in Toltec-Chichimec legend), in which the gods of the quarters resided—a magnificent conception indeed.

Section II (2). Although excavations were begun at Malinalco by J. García Payón in 1936 and continued for several years, no adequate official report of this unique site has yet been published. The only detailed account published hitherto, apart from a few short articles, is that by Payón himself, in the *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropologicos*, Vol. VIII (1946). Although this was three years before the date of the present publication, it was evidently unknown to Krickeberg, who does not refer to it. Payón supplements and corrects Krickeberg's plans in certain details, and includes accounts of additional structures as well as the interesting mural fresco in 'structure 3,' representing deified warriors, which was only known to Krickeberg from a copy. The main rock-hewn temple with its adjoining structures is, however, described in greater detail by Krickeberg, who also makes a much more exhaustive study of its meaning and purpose, and its correlation with other sites.

The main structure, which is hewn entirely from the living rock, resembles the front half of a stepped pyramid with a forecourt and nearly circular inner shrine. Steps, forecourt and shrine are all embellished with rock-hewn animal figures. But this is only part of a complex of rock-cut chambers, supplemented in some cases with masonry. Stylistic and historical evidence shows Malinalco to belong to the latest Aztec period, having been begun in 1501 and continued down to the time of the Spanish Conquest.

In order to establish the identity of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, the author embarks on a long and intricate discussion of the whole subject of 'high god' concepts among the Maya and Mexicans. A strong correlation is established on the basis of 11 affinities between the Maya Itzamna, who was originally a 'high god,' and the South Mexican Tepeyollotl (identified by Seler with Oztocteotl of Ocuillan), who had degenerated from a celestial deity to one symbolic of darkness and the underworld, and was equated by the Aztec with certain aspects of Tezcatlipoca. The author concludes that Malinalco was a temple of Tepeyollotl, and symbolized a cave or entrance to the underworld, a view which he supports by a lengthy digression on the subject of serpent (or dragon) gates, beginning with Temple 22 at Copan. He rejects Seler's view (as Eric Thompson had already done at the Americanist Congress in 1939) that these gates symbolize Quetzalcoatl, and interprets the carved entrance to the inner shrine of Malinalco as the full-face view of a snake with open jaws, symbolizing entrance to the 'heart of the Mountain.'

There is thus no valid reason to connect the temple of Malinalco with Quetzalcoatl, who seems also to be ruled out by the temple's southern orientation, and by the sculptures of engles and jaguars symbolizing war. It was in fact probably used as a place of initiation for Aztec warriors of the highest orders of the eagle and the jaguar, whose patron was Tezcatlipoca, and who are depicted in deified form in the mural fresco. García Payón came to a similar conclusion and there seems no reason to doubt its correctness. Malinalco thus turns out to be a unique example of the embodiment in the Aztec pantheon of foreign concepts of 'high gods' deriving from the south, and perhaps distantly connected with Copan 700 years earlier.

The author's argument is sustained with force and ingenuity, though its intricate bypaths are not always easy to follow, and the links in his chain of evidence are not wholly free from conjecture.

The interpretation of the symbolism of Mexican divinities is complicated by their multiple and ambivalent aspects, which often overlap each other or undergo transference in the course of the centuries. Some degree of conjecture is legitimate and indeed unavoidable in an essay at interpretation. Its validity will depend not only on the strength of the factual evidence behind it, but also on the confidence inspired by the author's judgment and knowledge of his subject. By this test Krickeberg's hypotheses are certainly entitled to respectful consideration.

Section II (3). The final chapter deals with a miscellaneous group of rock carvings and structures at various sites. They include 'baths' and sculptures similar to those at Tetzcotzinco, the colossal monolith of Coatlichan, the subterranean passages and chambers of Xochicalco, Mitla, Cocaxtlan and Quen Santo, the cave cults of Southern Mexico (regarded by the author as prototypes) and the chamber tombs, some of which are rock-hewn, at Monte Albán.

The author's dating of the Teotihuacan and Toltec cultures needs adjustment in the light of more recently established chronology. The use of Maler's name *Yaxchilan* for the site previously named *Menché* by Maudslay has been so generally adopted by Americans that it is probably past praying for, but the name of Lord Zouche should be retained, at least in conjunction with that of Zelia Nuttall to designate the Zouche (—Nuttall) Codex. Elliot Smith is incorrectly cited (p. 179, footnote 3) as following Waldeck's theories on the extinct American elephant. These are minor blemishes. The value of the work resides not merely in its careful presentation of data old and new, but in the suggestive and stimulating thought which it brings to their interpretation. It deserves to be studied by all who are concerned with American monuments and their deeper meanings.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ

Quest for the Lost City. *By Dana and Ginger Lamb. London (Gollancz), 1952. Pp. 340, 8 illus. Price 16s.*

34 It is hard to decide whether this pretends to be a genuine account of travel and exploration, or an adventure story. It is written in the style of the latter, and with a graphic colloquialism that suggests that the American authors had in mind the possibility of its eventual filming. Adventures there are in plenty, but the travellers have been able to command unexpected resources, such as an aeroplane in improbable places. It is the tale of an attempt to find a so-called Maya lost city. The search was only partially successful, but has provided for an adventure story which, as the publishers indicate, is highly reminiscent of Rider Haggard. The scientific value can perhaps be judged from the proposal for their next expedition, with which the authors conclude their book—'. . . there's another interesting legend down in South America that needs investigating.'

MARIE-LOUISE HEMPHILL

ASIA

Die Negrito Asiens. *By Paul Schebesta. Studia Instituti Anthropos, Vol. VI. Wien-Mödling (St. Gabriel-Verlag), 1952. Pp. xvi, 496, 16 plates, 13 diagrams, 2 maps. Price Schillings 250 (U.S. $12)*

35 This book is a continuation of Father Schebesta's writings on the Pygmy races of the world. The first half of this work, on the Ituri-Bambuti, whom Schebesta alone considers to be true Pygmies, has already been published in two volumes. The work under review, which deals with the History, Geography, Environment, Demography and (Physical) Anthropology of the Negrito, is to be followed by a companion volume on their culture.

Schebesta presents the results of his work in Malaya and the Philippines in 1924–5 and 1938–9, and gives a fairly complete review of the work of other writers on the Negritos. His work is essential reading for students of these people. A useful Bibliography cites nearly 250 references, though it unfortunately omits some of the authors quoted in the tables. It is impossible to give an account here of the data contained in the 200 tables in this book, dealing mainly with physical characteristics and measurements, and also with vital statistics, *A B O* blood groups, child development and other subjects.

Schebesta accepts, together with other authorities, the unity of the Asian Negritos of the Andaman Islands, Malaya and the Philippines, since the differences between them are comparatively small. He is not an easy writer to follow, and he becomes obscure when discussing the difficult if not impossible problem of the relationship of the Asian Negritos and the other races of man, notably the African Pygmies and the Negros. He reviews the opinions of

previous writers on this subject, who between them seem to have held most of the possible theories. His own opinion seems to be that a primitive pygmy race has given rise both to the modern pygmids, *i.e.* Pygmies and Negritos, and to the Negros. The three groups do, however, show a wide range of marked differences and are to be considered as different races:

Concerning their future, Schebesta believes, on the basis of vital statistics, that while the Negritos of the Philippines are safe, those of Malaya and the Andamans are doomed to ultimate extinction.

IVAN POLUNIN

Religion, Science and Human Crises: A Study of China in Transition and its Implications for the West. (*By Francis L. K. Hsu. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1952. Pp. 142, Price 14s.*

36 In this volume the reactions of a Chinese community to a crisis created by the outbreak of an epidemic of cholera are examined with a view to determining the relation between science and magic and to showing the extent to which human behaviour is dependent upon pre-existing patterns of culture. When the scourge started in the spring of 1942 and deaths multiplied rapidly at the end of the first week, traditional ritual gatherings, described not very accurately as 'prayer meetings,' were held for the purpose of supplicating the spirits who might have been responsible for the epidemic, directly or indirectly, and of benefiting in the hereafter the victims who had succumbed. In addition to these rites addressed to the gods and the dead magical amulets, cures and prescriptions were employed for the use of the living, whether or not they had actually contracted cholera. Some of these had scientific value while others were definitely harmful and calculated to promote contagion. Both were widely adopted without discrimination because, like the ritual gatherings, they were the traditional methods of dealing with a crisis of this nature, and supported as such for the sake of maintaining status in the community. Thus, the few who were sufficiently unconcerned to avoid contributing to the expenses of the rites did not openly affirm disbelief in them.

Conversely, the general attitude to the efforts made by the local hospital, missionary college and public services to combat the epidemic by scientific means was ambiguous. Many, especially among the women, refused to have injections at all. Others did so reluctantly or under protest, while a considerable number combined the scientific treatment with the traditional usages, making the best of both worlds. When eventually torrential rain fell for a week and the temperature dropped below the optimum for choleric bacteria, the cessation of the epidemic was attributed to the efficacy of the rites because they conformed to the pre-existing cultural pattern.

From these data Dr. Hsu concludes that in a given society behaviour under emotional stress is determined by the established beliefs and customs. Fact and fantasy, science and magic, rational and irrational thought and practice cannot be separated into watertight compartments as many anthropologists have surmised. In the event under review some of the measures involved were purely magico-religious while others had a scientific bearing on the epidemic. The question of logical or illogical or pre-logical mentality did not arise since the procedures adopted were governed by the accepted beliefs and ideas. The traditional rites were as logical to an individual in 'West Town' as injections and hospital methods are among Europeans and Americans. But, as is pointed out, in all societies from China to Chicago not infrequently 'magic has to be dressed like science in America while science has to be cloaked by magic in West Town.' No clear distinction between the two disciplines can be maintained as a hard and fast rule in human behaviour and culture. Dr. Hsu reveals his insight into the fundamental human problem when he concludes that man as a fallible being 'will always love and be in need of love; will always aspire to heights which he cannot reach; will always die and be in distress,' and in a world of four dimensions he 'will always have a seemingly ever-expanding universe before him even if he has conquered all the earth. As long as man is subject to these and other circumstances, religion will have a place in human culture.'

This is a thought-provoking book. The data collected in a Chinese community have been skilfully employed to put in a new perspective the perennial problem of the relation between science, magic and religion, and to show the implications of the evidence for the problem of an integrated world society. E. O. JAMES

Pottery from the Diyala Region. *By Pinhas Delougaz. Chicago (U.P.), 1952. Pp. xxii, 182, 204 plates. Price $30*

37 This is one of a set of 11 volumes which are to present the findings of expeditions from the Oriental Institute of Chicago during a series of campaigns in the nineteen-thirties at the four Central Mesopotamian sites of Khafajah, Tell Asmar, Tell Aghrab and Ishchali. Mr. Delougaz has in this book made a combined publication of the pottery from all four excavations, covering the period of two millennia from Proto-literate (Jamdat Nasr) to Old Babylonian times. The pottery is amply illustrated in 16 plates of coloured photographs, 116 of monochrome photography and 67 of line drawings, and by consulting attached tables and maps the reader can find out exactly where in the mounds any particular piece was found. The whole work is characterized by a painstaking thoroughness, which is admirable in an objective record of discovery. The chief general conclusions, carefully drawn after comparisons with other sites, are that the Jamdat Nasr polychrome wares are an indigenous product of Central Mesopotamia; that the panel designs on the pottery of the First Early Dynastic period had an influence on the Susa II style; and that Speiser's conjecture of Hurrian influence southward in Old Babylonian times must be treated with caution in view of the manifest continuity of pottery styles from Larsa through Old Babylonian to Kassite times. These conclusions are well founded. In some comparisons, however, too much reliance is placed on shape of pottery alone; for instance, it seems bold to challenge some of the recording at Ur on the strength of a difference in date of a simple beaker shape (p. 146).

The revolutionary feature of this book is the system of pottery-classification, based on the Dewey system of library cataloguing. It is doubtful whether this will find the wide acceptance for which the author pleads in the preface. One objection to it is that the rare imported fragment which may be crucial in dating a level may easily in this system become lost in a sea of ciphers. Again, the author himself in part II of the text makes use of utilitarian terms such as jar, dish, bowl and goblet, which the objective numerical classification is designed to replace (p. 4). Further, the use of form as the chief basis for classification is not always sound; for instance, level XVI at Mersin produced pottery with a wide variety of shapes, but clearly forming a single group due to their uniform style of ornament. For most sites this strict statistical method of classification will probably appear too laborious and rigid by comparison with a more descriptive presentation. W. C. BRICE

China's Dragon Robes. *By Schuyler Cammann. New York (Ronald Press), 1952. Pp. vii, 230. Price $7.50*

38 This carefully annotated work deals primarily with the Dragon robes of the Ching Dynasty (A.D. 1644–1911), the data being collected from specimens in American collections, Chinese pictures and court and sumptuary edicts. The robes defined as Dragon robes are of a special type and, though worn at court, were semi-formal, neither court dress nor sacrificial dress; unfortunately, no information is given as to when they were worn. The examination of the Ching types will be of interest mainly to museum curators and collectors of textiles and costumes. However, considerable space is devoted to the garments on which dragons are depicted and which do not fall into this category, and these are of greater general interest. The first of these to be mentioned in literature is in the Tang Dynasty (618–907), when the dragon had only three toes. Gifts of robes with embroidered dragons were made by the Empress Wu to princes and officials. The first Sung emperor presented an imperial robe with dragons embroidered in pearls to one of his officers. In 1111 an edict was passed restricting the use of dragons on robes to the emperor and empress, unless bestowed as an act of favour from the emperor.

It would seem that the five-clawed dragon was introduced by the Tartars. In the Yuan Dynasty (1280–1368) various sumptuary laws were enacted; the emperor's dragons were to be woven in gold with horns and five claws, and certain princes could wear five-

clawed dragons, while lesser ranks were allowed four-clawed dragons. At intervals throughout Chinese history edicts were issued limiting the designs of dragons, their position on the robes and the number of claws, etc., to the various ranks; the use of emblems, materials and colours of the robes was also regulated. Dragon robes were highly prized by the recipients; not only were they given to court favourites but it became the regular practice to give them to important emissaries who brought tribute to the emperor, and to Mongol chiefs by way of appeasement to prevent their raids. In late Ching times the sale of rank with the right to wear the appropriate robes became a regular source of revenue. It is noteworthy that Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the leader of the Taiping rebellion, issued an edict concerning the wearing of robes for the new hierarchy in which there were 16 grades; before his fall there were 2,700 princes privileged to wear dragon robes.

Other symbols occurring on robes, the eight precious things, the eight Buddhist symbols, the eight Taoist symbols and the 12 imperial symbols are dealt with briefly. Of these, the 12 symbols ascribed to the mythical emperor Huang-te are the oldest; they may have been used in Chou times and were recorded in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 221). They include the dragon, the phœnix, the sun and the moon with its legendary hare pounding a mortar, the complete set representing spiritual and temporal power. As ruler of the universe, the emperor wore a robe with these emblems for certain sacrificial rites. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that on Dragon Robes in Other Lands. The dragon robes were used in making diplomatic contacts, but in Ching times bolts of dragon satin were usually given to foreign payers of tribute. Thus the dragon symbol spread over a very wide area from Java to Arabia, Mongolia, Turkestan, Tibet, Korea, Sulu, Laos, Annam, Siam and Burma; Portugal, Holland, the Pope and the King of England also received dragon bolts.

More outline drawings would enhance the value of the book, as the designs are not easily seen on the photographs of robes. In the newly arranged hall of Far Eastern Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum, dragon and court robes are displayed and most of the varieties mentioned in this work can be seen

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

EUROPE

English Prehistoric Pottery. *London (H.M. Stat. Off.), 1952. Pp. 4, 28 plates. Price 1s. 6d.*

39 This little booklet contains 32 photographs of pottery vessels in the Victoria and Albert Museum's travelling exhibition, and thus is a little reminiscent of a souvenir catalogue; nonetheless it is a very useful illustrated index to the principal normal pottery types in England (only) from Neolithic down to, but not including, Roman. The photographs are beautifully taken and printed, and the value given for 18 pence is unequalled.

Of 34 pages only one and a half are given to text so that a reasonable knowledge of prehistoric cultures is needed for the reader—if, with so many illustrations, the owner of this booklet can be called a reader—to obtain full benefit from his perusal. Perhaps it is a compliment to Mr. Hugh Wakefield, who prepared the collection and booklet, that one feels a wish for a much fuller treatment of the subject and a hope that one day someone will write a larger book with a similar title.

The heights of pots are given (in inches) in subtitles, and probably this is adequate for general and pictorial use; the experienced archæologist, however, may be tempted to utter his oft repeated appeal for the inclusion of a scale in each illustration—preferably a dual scale in centimetres as well as inches.

EDWARD PYDDOKE

Die Nordgruppe der Oderschnurkeramik. *By Roland Schroeder. Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen, No. 14. Berlin (de Gruyter), 1951. Pp. xi, 202. Price DM. 32*

40 This first volume of *Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen* to appear since the war hardly maintains the high standard set by early numbers in the series. The author was killed in Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. in 1943, and his text must presumably have been completed by 1939. He can therefore hardly be blamed for ignoring the arguments of Brøndsted and other Danish authorities for reversing the relations between Denmark and the Oder basin assumed here. But the omission of references to the works of Äyräpää and Forssander in his lengthy discussion of battle axes at once marks his work as out of date. In fact the cultural assemblage named after the distinctive pottery from the tombs is not particularly rich or interesting. Most of the relevant material had been competently described in a wider setting by Sprockhoff in No. 5 of the same series (1926), and in his revision the author exhibits all the worst vices of the German typological school. So celts are classified according to their cross-section without reference to their function, and objects that from his illustrations could only be used as adzes are lumped together with genuine axeheads as '*nordische Feuerstein-beile.*' The illustrations (all line drawings) and exhaustive lists of finds are, however, useful, and British prehistorians will note with special interest archers' wristguards and vases approximating to true bell beakers almost as far north-east as the mouth of the Oder.

V. GORDON CHILDE

Les Races de l'Europe. *By Marc R. Sauter. Paris (Payot), 1952. Pp. 341. Price 1000 francs*

41 This is essentially an effort to revise and coordinate what various previous workers have done. Ripley, Deniker, Montandon, Coon, von Eickstedt and Ashley Montagu are taken as leaders, and there is a sincere attempt to appreciate and criticize constructively each of these researchers and many others. Authors who use ethnic and linguistic data in attempts at racial classification are criticized adversely. Coon is applauded for his evaluation of prehistoric data, and the idea that we have many survivals of the upper Palæolithic peoples is strongly supported. The relative stability of population after the great displacements of the fifth to the eleventh centuries A.D., until the enormous massacres and displacements of the twentieth century, is held to have increased brachycephaly in several continental areas. In the migrations of late Roman times many groups of young men went out on conquering adventure and married the girls of the conquered folk, and the type of the latter, being a large majority, and probably dominant in the Mendelian sense, expanded its numbers. On the other hand in England the evidence of a few brachycephalic groups from the Middle Ages could hardly be matched nowadays.

One must regret the continuation of efforts at mass classification and hope for a future work that will be more frankly genetic. One welcomes the consideration of blood groups.

H. J. FLEURE

Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine. *By E. Louis Backman. London (Allen & Unwin), 1952. Pp. xii, 364. Price £1 15s.*

42 This book falls into two parts. In the first, after some notes on pre-Christian religious dancing, the author describes at length the religious dances performed by clergy or laity in churches or churchyards as part of regular religious ceremonies. These dances were preached against or forbidden by prominent churchmen from very early times, but in spite of this a great variety of them survived, especially in Spain and France, till the eighteenth century, and some later. Among the best-known is the dance of the choirboys in the cathedral at Seville, and perhaps the most striking is the dance combined with a ball game which was formerly performed at Easter by the dean and chapter at Auxerres. It was believed that the angels danced in heaven and that the movements of the earthly dancers brought them nearer to heaven. The dances, as well as the ball game, also symbolized the movements of the heavenly bodies. It was also believed that the dead dance, and mediæval representations of the Dance of Death were plentiful.

In this discussion the author appears to have consulted all the relevant authorities, and to have admirably summarized the information so obtained. The second part of the book is less satisfactory. In it he discusses the epidemics of dancing which occurred in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, chiefly in the Rhine

Valley. These epidemics were extremely curious, but in seeking to explain them all as due to outbreaks of ergot poisoning the author has gone beyond his evidence, and has apparently confused cases which may have resulted from ergot poisoning on the one hand with cases of individual hysteria and on the other with regular pilgrimages of which dancing was a feature.

In both parts the author cites so many authorities that the book will be a standard one for those interested in the subject. It is beautifully produced and contains 135 excellent illustrations. The translator, like the author, is a Swede. His English is usually adequate, but there are some lapses, as 'cockade' for 'cocked hat,' and some obscurities which are probably clearer in the original. RAGLAN

OCEANIA

An Annotated Bibliography on Land Tenure in the British and British Protected Territories in South-East Asia and the Pacific. *London (H.M.S.O., for the Colonial Office), 1952. Pp. 164. Price £1 1s.*

43

This work lists sources relating to land tenure in the Federation of Malaya, British Borneo, Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission territories. It is essentially a holdings-list only of materials available in the United Kingdom, and the libraries concerned are the Colonial Office, Public Record Office, British Museum, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Royal Empire Society, Royal Institute of International Affairs and Royal Geographical Society. A location is given for every item. One great virtue of this bibliography is the fullness of its listing of legal and official documents. These are dealt with clearly, analytical entries being given where necessary. Annotations are in the main adequate.

The Malaya and Borneo sections are good, while that on Fiji is a most welcome contribution to the largely neglected documentation of Pacific Island territories. The Western Pacific sections are disappointing. They reflect the dearth of published studies of land tenure for that area. May one hope that more of the information collected over the years by administrative officers will become freely available? The general sections tend to be repetitious and have some items of dubious importance or relevance.

This is a useful and welcome production, though one deplores its price. H. G. A. HUGHES

Tahiti aux temps anciens. *By Teuira Henry, translated from the English by Bertrand Jaunez. Publ. de la Soc. des Océanistes, No. 1. Paris (Musée de l'Homme), 1951. Pp. 671*

44

This is a translation into French of Teuira Henry's *Ancient Tahiti*, published in 1928 by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, as Bulletin 48. Much of the original material was gathered by the Rev. J. M. Orsmond, a missionary, between 1817 and 1856; his notes were edited and augmented by his granddaughter, Teuira Henry. The translation is fairly free but seems to be accurate.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

Social Anthropology: Past and Present. *Cf.* MAN, 1950, 198, 254, 271; 1951, 33–5, 62, 78, 120, 150, 199, 250; 1952, 14, 48, 53, 71, 97, 151 *and* 260

45

SIR,—A recent article in the *American Anthropologist* (Vol. LIV (1952), pp. 30–9), describing the results of a research method used among the Navaho by Mr. Gordon F. Streib, stimulates me to make the following observations. Statements concerning methods in social anthropology deserve very careful consideration in the light of the aims and purpose of our discipline. A brief consideration would seem to dovetail smoothly into the somewhat similar correspondence which has been conducted in recent issues of MAN.

Mr. Streib deals with the appropriateness and usefulness of a 'structured type of social investigation' by means of a series of direct questions embodied in a questionnaire. This method was given a trial among the semi-literate Navaho. The author was led to his research by the realization that anthropologists must develop other than the traditional methods of research if their studies in mass society, such as those of India and China, are to be comprehensive and worth while.

As a research device the survey method is admittedly a difficult one to handle. The author knows this and handles his criticism of the method with marked skill and sincerity. Its use is confined to cultures 'in which the acculturation process is, or has been, in operation.' This provision would make it a much used method. Several points appear in favour of or against the use of the method. Those in favour are negated by pointing out the difficulties to be encountered in modern Western society or among a non-literate or semi-literate people. For example, Mr. Streib suggests that the 'antipathy towards whites apparently changed as a result of the very direct approach' because the Navaho people thought the author to be different from other white people. This, it is suggested, is as much of a verbalism among the Navaho as it is among ourselves. Again several respondents thanked Mr. Streib for talking to them, a favourable point, but for the suggestion that this thankfulness came from those who were friendly from the start. A real evaluation of the method seems difficult. However, we are advised against its use because of the Navaho's—and our own—dislike of 'being asked a long series of questions,' of the possible detrimental rapport in an interview if direct questions are asked, and of the great difficulty in selecting the 'right' subjects and questions. Does Mr. Streib get at the real shortcoming of the method? Is this not to be found in a much larger context?

Must we perpetuate the analytical approach to innumerable problems? Surely this prevents us from seeing the unity of the whole. Research methods, however varied, and our orientation in social anthropology must complement each other. It is the synoptic view which we have lost. Synthesis need not take precedence at every stage over analysis, but it seems that synthesis has been dangerously neglected in favour of analysis, particularly of the quantitative variety. In anthropology, data statistically arrived at must be subject to constant revision according to even the slightest changes on any level of the real or imaginary life. The questionnaire technique in anthropology is at best a piecemeal procedure. Is the one-sided over-estimation of analysis the result of a confusion of thinking? The survey method is the outcome of analytical thinking, and its appropriateness is for all to see and to experiment with. If the analytical approach, or for that matter the inductive method, contents itself with detailed observation, it is a justified procedure. But if it draws from its detailed observation of cultural and social data general conclusions as to its 'appropriateness' as an approach and a method, without really knowing whether such observations have been conducted with sufficient regard to the unity of configurations and interrelationships, analysis leads to misleading interpretations, and in human situations, to dangerous decisions and actions. Surely we must make up our minds whether we are dealing with a scientific or a historical discipline. In research situations the human factors loom rather large, particularly as they result from a barrage of personal, semi-personal or purely technical questions. The resulting detailed accumulation of isolated facts cannot really teach us anything valuable about the behaviour of human beings as individuals, as members of a group and as bearers and transmitters of a culture.

Can social anthropologists, using the survey method, be sure whether the 'right' questions have been asked, even when objectives are rigorously defined, or whether the 'right' answers have been given? Surely, the assumption is that the information volunteered by the respondents is the true expression of the thoughts and feelings of the respondents. Are these thoughts 'and the words serving their expression' really 'what moves people'? Can a questionnaire hope to get at more than the superficial or 'public point of view,' namely the kind of data a careful observer can obtain without a frontal attack of direct questions? Even on technical matters such as agricultural methods or house or ship construction, the connexion between the subconscious and the practical is a close one, and direct questioning may not even get at the simplest ideas and facts.

In our Western civilization the personal life and the functional life have fallen apart. This is not evident among many semi-literate or non-literate people whose way of life and thinking have retained many features which are conducive to a personal, direct and immediate contact with their social and physical environment. They, the Navaho included, have not passed the threshold where life becomes abstract and speculative; so why ask questions which are the product of an impersonal society which delights in abstract and speculative thinking? We must study a people in their own terms and with their own methods for self-appraisal and reflection. Must we introduce foreign methods and practices on the naive assumption that such devices as direct questioning can measure the pulse of a people? We must at least see the questions, and the answers, if we are to agree with Mr. Streib that 'much valuable data can be obtained by its [the survey method's] judicious use' even with the qualifying phrase 'with other field techniques' (*loc. cit.*, p. 39). Does the survey method allow for excursions into Navaho conceptions of space and time, their evaluation of the universe beyond their own immediate community, their relation to work and leisure and many other intangibles? True, the questions seem to have been on agricultural data and environmental conditions. Are such things any less intangible than religion and magic? Does anthropology not overlap considerably with philosophy? If social anthropology is a scientific discipline, does it have room for philosophy? Can we continue to neglect the general in favour of the particular? Anthropology must look at the total relationship between man and his group, his environment and his universe, besides its traditional concern with ritual, traits and patterns and configurations of culture. Perhaps the survey method is not designed to gather complex data. Perhaps a scientific social anthropology cannot deal with the intangibles which give meaning to the life of man. All data being very complex, and always part of a much larger whole, a fragmentary approach is sure to result in a meaningless aggregate of social and cultural data. Our orientation and our methods must not ignore this truism. 'Thinking in processes is the equivalent of seeing in relation of a comprehensive significance. It is insufficient to "survey" the relations between things and institutions of the external world'; it is the inner man who counts. Only in this way can the workings of the microcosm and the macrocosm be understood in their indivisible unity. Only in this way can the true nature of their structure be observed with any hope of precision. Tolstoy suggests that we must take 'an infinitesimally small unit for observation,' namely 'the individual tendencies of man and attaining to the art of integrating them.' Perhaps Tolstoy's advice is the kernel of anthropology's mission and function. Faith is creative imagination, and knowledge, including the methods of gaining knowledge, is not merely knowledge of facts but insight into the processes which bring them about.

What are the alternatives? Perhaps one is the method of involved participation. This calls for an intuitive and holistic approach resulting in a portraiture of culture. This implies more than identification with the 'natives,' because the method assumes that a culture must be 'experienced' and 'felt' and interpreted within its own system of ideas, acts and forms of conventional understanding. Such an approach leads to a creative synthesis and prevents a discontiguous portraiture of culture. The full implications of this approach and method remain to be tested in the field. My own feeling is that such a research project, worked out within the framework of the above concepts and assumptions, would take us a long way in determining what sort of discipline social anthropology is. Or should I say, what sort of discipline we want it to be?

London PETER C. W. GUTKIND

Man and Climates in Africa. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 27

46 SIR,—After lecturing to the Institute last week I was struck forcibly by the questions on climatic alternations in Africa during the Quaternary which followed.

It should be clear to any worker in the African field that it was possible in all climatic phases for plants of both dry-loving and moisture-loving habits to survive. This is not only true of plants (and plant associations) of a generalized and widespread type, which might readily have repopulated denuded areas; it is also true of plants of a particular and specialized evolution which have seemingly adapted themselves to local and relatively narrow climatic conditions and which are today found in small areas.

To take two very ancient groups, the cycads and the proteaceæ have survived over immeasurable periods of time; each has developed local species and varieties (perhaps filtered by changing climates) which are fairly sensitive to ecological factors and do not acclimatize away from their natural habitats. The same is true of some thousands of species of plants.

One can only suppose that, scattered freely throughout the country, protected valleys permitted the survival of moisture-loving plants under conditions analogous to those existing today; while similarly scattered open hillsides allowed drought-loving plants such as mesembrianthemums (an abundant family with many local varieties, which tends to get 'fleshy' and fails to seed if kept under moist conditions) to survive in the local environment.

It should be clear that, leaving aside the uncertain evidence provided by the pedestrian mammals, African conditions have at no time in man's history and at no place outside the Sahara—and perhaps the Horn of Africa—been dry enough to destroy the whole moisture-loving flora, even if a wide range of plants was so killed. Local varieties have survived pluvial and arid phases alike, which must imply that the cumulative effects of either of these conditions could have done no more than decrease the human population without destroying it or driving it away.

It is not the climatic evidence which is in question, it is the meaning and extent of the changes which needs a more cautious approach. I would suggest that a dry or arid phase implied that what is now the 50-inch (125 cm.) isohyet corresponded under those conditions with a hypothetical 30-inch (75 cm.) isohyet. In a pluvial period the present 50-inch line would be read as 75 inches (190 cm.). This would correspond happily with the pattern of African climates as we know and understand it. The distribution of Kalahari sands may have been largely due to the action of prevalent winds.

What was happening in the two winter-rainfall régimes of the extreme northern and southern coasts we do not yet know, but broad deductions by meteorologists suggest that pluvial conditions at the Equator might well coincide with arid conditions in these narrow winter-rainfall belts, and *vice versa*, perhaps permitting man a haven.

University of Cape Town A. J. H. GOODWIN

'Flint Implements.' *Cf.* MAN, 1952, 217

47 SIR,—May I be allowed to comment on Dr. Leakey's review of the British Museum manual *Flint Implements*, recently published in MAN?

Dr. Leakey confines his criticisms to passages occurring on four adjacent pages of text, and says nothing about the purpose and arrangement of the book, as a whole. He quotes inaccurately from the text.

It was decided to give some attention in the manual to the question of terminology and classification, for inconsistencies in this respect are what most confuse the non-specialist reader when he takes up any of the special literature of the subject. A historical account of the development of terminology recommended itself as the best means of achieving clarity and of avoiding innovations or partisanship, both of which, I am sure, Dr. Leakey would deprecate in an unassuming popular handbook. The non-specialist reader is quite familiar with the historical approach which he encounters in the majority of works of serious popularization. But Dr. Leakey fails to recognize that the attempt at historical presentation has been made, much less does he grant it any success. The author cannot feel himself wholly to blame, and suspects that the muddle was in the mind of a hasty reviewer rather than in a text which after submission to various specialists was pronounced clear in intention and effect. Dr. Leakey pretends that the manual advocates inconsistent definitions simultaneously because these are given successively in the brief historical account of their development.

Dr. Leakey misquotes aptly in the interest of the muddle which he claims to detect. The sentence 'During the Lower Palæolithic two distinct traditions of stone-working are found in Europe,' by the omission of the last two words (in fact Dr. Leakey further recasts the sentence) is made by him to apply to Africa also, and this is said to

be inconsistent with the statement that both in Europe and Africa the Abbeville-Acheulian culture (or Chelles-Acheul cultures as Leakey prefers) produced both flake and core tools. But it is common knowledge that the two *techniques* were long thought to relate to different *cultures* in Europe, a view corrected under the stimulus of the discoveries in Africa, as indeed is explained *en tous mots* lower down on the same page, which Dr. Leakey cannot have paused to read. In any case—and here Dr. Leakey misses the point—the remark about two distinct traditions concerns stone-working, *i.e.* technique. These two methods of stone-working are found ultimately to be combined in a single culture. Dr. Leakey hastily assumes that two cultures are being distinguished, one based on flakes, another on cores. He must be invited to read the text again, with more than a reviewer's attention.

As to the terms 'Early, Middle and Late Stone Age,' Dr. Leakey is correct in confining the usage to South Africa, and not 'African' simply, as was inadvertently stated in the manual.

Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum W. WATSON, *Assistant Keeper*

Archæological Publication

48 SIR,—In his remarks on the format of the Kharga report (*Kharga Oasis in Prehistory*, reviewed in MAN, 52, 221), Mr. Bradford's discretion surely got the better of his judgment. Having handled the report, one can only admire his muscles if he found pleasure in the process. The book could be best characterized as a handsome, heavy volume of a size too great to enter the average personal bookshelves, too expensive for any but institutions to buy, and too bulky to invite carriage home thence, or to encourage perusal and note-taking when arrived there. One might well ask whether the intention in this, as well as in so many archæological excavation reports of the last 30 years, is to make the results as widely known and available as their importance demands, or to immolate them in a monument to be buried for ever thereafter in a few institutional libraries.

May we not entreat the archæologists to serve their subject and the eager student better by adopting some planned approach to publication, perhaps along the following lines? First, a brief summary of the work done and a reconnaissance of its bearings in the wider field, to be available very soon after completion of the field-work, and preferably in pamphlet form. Then final publication in two stages: (*a*) the detailed reports on the work itself, details of excavation, layout, structural and stratigraphical descriptions, catalogues of finds, specialists' reports on particular topics, as metallurgy, animal bones, human remains, etc., and all the minutiæ proper to the full report, together with full and final illustration. This to be produced in a limited edition, primarily for institutions, and so possibly utilizing something other than full-dress printing. And (*b*), a summary of (*a*) with selected illustrations, together with that important and most widely read part of such reports, the analysis of the results, comparative studies, and the integration of these into that wider body of knowledge to which the excavation was presumably originally designed to contribute. This again should be available in modest format, at a price which would encourage the widest purchase for the better dissemination and use of the results.

Enfield, Middlesex C. E. JOEL

Some Blade Implements from Greece. *Cf.* MAN, *1951, 125. With a text figure*

49 SIR,—In MAN, 1951, 125, Messrs. Dönmez and Brice published some examples from Gaziantep, Turkey, of a blade industry which employed the technique of the crested guiding flake. The distribution of this technique is further evidenced by specimens from Greece in the Finlay Collection in the Manchester Museum.[1]

Of the blades illustrated in fig. 1 only one has a more exact provenance, *viz.* (*a*) from Melos. This piece, of obsidian, is the flake from the edge of a core, prepared by removing small flakes in opposite directions to prepare a crest to guide in the removal of the first flake. The edges are chipped, perhaps from use. Length 98 millimetres (Museum Register No. O 8176).

Specimen (*b*) is a similar blade which shows more clearly the technique of removing the small flakes. They are struck alternately in opposite directions, the striking platform of one flake being the edge of the bulbar scar of the preceding one. This piece has been broken in two places, the distal end being missing. Length 82 millimetres (O 8177).

Specimen (*c*) shows the same technique used with a different material, an iron-stained, reddish-brown jaspery flint. This blade has been broken across and appears to have been heavily used. Length 28 millimetres (O 8178).

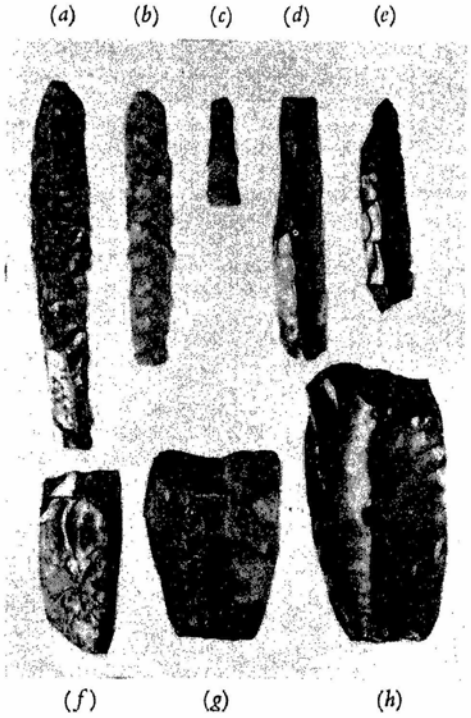


FIG. 1
Scale: half actual size

Specimens (*d*) and (*e*) are examples of the second blade off the core, and show two ridges—the edges of the scar left by the crested flake first struck off. In these two examples, however, the scars of the preliminary flakes which formed the crest of the first blade are visible along one edge of the second blade. The edges of both these blades, which are of obsidian, are chipped, perhaps from use. Length 70 and 56 millimetres (O 8179, O 8180).

Other blades (not illustrated) showing the same technique come from Cerigo (two specimens, O 8184), Methana (two specimens, O 8185) and Braonais (O 8186).

Among the cores, those from Corinth, (*f*) (O 8181), length 49 millimetres, and Chiliomodi, (*g*) (O 8182), length 51 millimetres, show the bruised 'keel' used, apparently to wedge the core. In these examples the feature extends much further up the edge of the core than in the Gaziantep specimens.

Specimen (*h*) from Melos (O 8183), length 73 millimetres, shows faceting still remaining on one side of the core. This core has no bruised 'keel,' and both ends have been used as platforms for removing blades. The platforms of all the cores have been faceted to help the punch to grip. All three cores are of obsidian.

Unlike the industry from Gaziantep, however, the angle between the platform and the flake scar is often obtuse, being as much as 120° in some cases. This may be due to working back of the edge of a concave end of the core, so that the angle between the striking platform and the flake scar would become progressively less acute.

The Manchester Museum FRANK WILLETT

Note

[1] *Cf.* also De Terra and Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, Plate L, fig. 1.

A Bone Harpoon from Chad

50 Sir,—The discovery of a three-barbed bone harpoon with grooves on the butt, on the track from Dira to Komada about 420 kilometres north of Fort Lamy and 290 kilometres north-east of Nguigmi, is published by Raymond Mauny in a note in the *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 469–71. It is not quite the same as the barbed bone spears or harpoons with grooved butts from the Khartoum Mesolithic (see my *Early Khartoum*, Plate 47), but since these latter are earlier than the harpoons with perforated butts from the Khartoum Neolithic (*Shaheinab*, in the press, Plate 25), it is probable that it comes from a site older than the Wadi Azaouak sites further west, which have produced perforated harpoons apparently indistinguishable from those of the Khartoum Neolithic. In any case it is important as providing further evidence that links between the Wadi Azaouak sites and the prehistoric sites of the Khartoum area will be found between Tibesti and Lake Chad. Its discovery along with crocodile bones in an area now desert suggests that it came from a site once on the edge of the extensive swamp (now dry) just south of Borku.

University College, London A. J. ARKELL

American Credit Institutions of Yoruba Type

51 Sir,—In his article on the Yoruba institution of *Esusu* in Vol. LXXXII, Part I, of the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Professor Bascom mentions that essentially the same institution has been reported among the Trinidad Negroes by Professor Herskovits.

In British Guiana the custom known as 'throwing a box' closely follows the pattern described by Professor Bascom for the Yoruba. The 'box-holder' is the person who starts the 'box' and he or she will choose the members from among his or her friends or acquaintances, and be responsible for the organization of the whole business. In the Negro villages it is the women who organize and participate in the throwing of a box, but the practice is by no means confined to women or to the Negro section of the population, or to the rural areas. I have often heard Negro box-holders say that they prefer East Indian people to take a 'hand' because they rarely default on their payments.

Persons often share one 'hand' and it is common for one person to hold several hands in one box, or to hold hands in a number of boxes simultaneously. Contributions vary from about 24 cents per week to about 20 dollars per month, the latter sum being most common in boxes organized among salaried workers such as school teachers or government servants. It is interesting to note that sometimes school children throw boxes among themselves with contributions of one or two cents per day. (One B.G. dollar equals 4*s.* 2*d.*) In the village where I am working at the moment it is customary for the box-holder to take a small sum of money (about 25 cents) from each person as they draw their hand, but this renders the box-holder completely responsible for all the funds, and if a member defaults in payment then the deficiency has to be made up by the box-holder and not be borne by the person drawing the hand.

Contributions are taken or sent to the holder each time they are due, and there is never any formal meeting of a box group, many of the members perhaps not knowing each other at all. I have never heard of a box-holder delegating responsibility for collection to a number of sub-holders as among the Yoruba, but in other respects the system is almost identical. RAYMOND T. SMITH

Den Amstel, W.C. Demerara, British Guiana

Concentric-Circle Ornament in the Near East. *Cf.* Man, 1952, 262

52 Sir,—Following Sir John Myres's contribution on concentric-circle ornament on vessels of wood from the Taurus, your readers may be interested in these three musical instruments, all in the Pitt Rivers Museum, and sketched with the Curator's kind permission. The double clarinet from Bethlehem (*a*) is recorded as being made of two albatross (?) leg bones. It is fastened at each end by brass bindings, which are linked by a soldered fillet of metal on the underside. The sockets for the reeds are of bamboo, bound with thread and beeswax. On the reverse, each bone carries a row of double concentric circles, alternating with pairs of parallel lines. This instrument is said to have been played by a shepherd who walked before his flock in the fields of Bethlehem, and who claimed that it had been in his family over 200 years. The specimen from Mosul (*b*) is again made of two bones, bound with pitched twine; its sockets and reeds are missing. The Greek flute (*c*) is of crane's wing (?) bone, and its ornament of hatched panels continues round the reverse. In each case, the concentric circles are incised with compasses, and the whole design is accentuated by means of a black filling. The close resemblance of these three specimens points to the survival over a wide area of the Near East of a specialized rural craft in which, as with the Turkish wooden vessels and spoons from the Balkans, the concentric circle design is traditional.

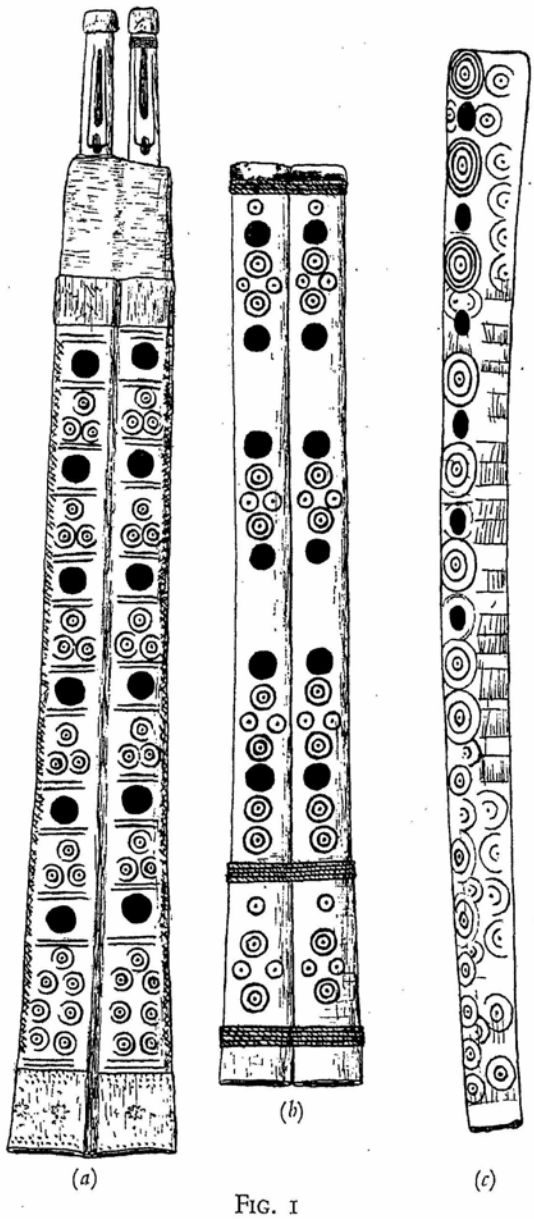


Fig. 1

(a, b) Double clarinets (Ar. zummarah*). (a) Bethlehem, Palestine. Given by B. S. Johnson, No.* 1948.3.3. *L.* 10 *inches. (b) Mosul, Mesopotamia,* 1904. *Given by Capt. R. Campbell Thompson,* 1919. *L.* 8 *inches. (c) End flute obtained from an Æginetan at Athens. Given by R. C. Bosanquet,* 1897. *No.* 130.*DD*.8. *L.* 9½ *inches*

In 1947 I saw in the Taurus mountains near ancient Olba this concentric-circle ornament incised on a wooden birdcage, used for carrying a decoy partridge, but unfortunately took no record of its details.

The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford W. C. BRICE



(*a*)



(*b*)



(*c*)



(*d*)

THE STONE SCULPTURES AT WHITE ISLAND, LOUGH ERNE

Photographs by courtesy of the Belfast Museum and Art Gallery

THE STONE SCULPTURES ON WHITE ISLAND, LOWER LOUGH ERNE, CO. FERMANAGH*

by

MRS. ELLEN ETTLINGER

53 When the ruined little church on White Island was repaired in 1928, seven carved stones were built into its north wall: five of them represent complete human figures, one a human head, and one was 'apparently rejected by the sculptor.'[1] Up to now these statues (illustrated on Plate C) have been taken for grotesque figures or representations of the Seven Deadly Sins.[2] According to Lady Dorothy Lowry Corry, they are 'probably seventh century in date.'[3]

The decisive argument in favour of the assumption that the seated male figure (Plate C*d*, right) represents an ecclesiastic is its gown, which can be nothing else but a short-sleeved Coptic dalmatic.[4] Although the larger part of the forehead is destroyed, enough remains to show that the tonsure corresponds with that of the largest figure (Plate C*a*; 3 feet 6 inches high). It may be inferred that the latter statue also represents an ecclesiastic; the staff which he holds in the right hand would thus have to be regarded as a crozier and the object attached to the girdle as a bell. Crozier and bell are, in fact, the typical attributes of Celtic saints. We shall return to these two sculptures later.

There is such striking resemblance between the next two figures (Plate C*b*, *c*) that in all probability it was the sculptor's intention to portray a father and his son. Moreover, their curly hair, almost looking like a crown, appears to indicate their royal character. Professor John Ryan, S.J., writes: 'Loiguire, son of Niall, the High King in St. Patrick's day, secured lands beside Loch Erne.'[5] This statement not only suggests that the figure of the fully armed warrior (Plate C*b*) could represent King Loiguire, but it would also account for its presence in the church on White Island. The statue does not allude to King Loiguire's conversion to Christianity, a circumstance which would confirm some passages in *The Tripartite Life*.[6]

The figure of 'the king's son' (Plate C*c*) would then have to be regarded as a portrait of Enna, son of King Loiguire. Support for this interpretation is found in the fact that the statue holds a pair of 'Michaelmas Sheep,' in accordance with the instructions given by the Angel Victor to St. Patrick before he restored Enna to life. The strange appearance of the sheep recalls the Babylonian practice of clothing and shoeing a kid used as substitute for a sick man.[7] This statue thus records the introduction of a Michaelmas custom;[8] it also commemorates St. Patrick's miracle, and the conversion of the first Irish King, Enna, to Christianity.

One may therefore be driven to the conclusion that the 'standing' figure (Plate C*a*) represents St. Patrick himself. Five more arguments appear to speak in favour of this interpretation:

(*i*) The saint is clean-shaven. Henry Morris has given several reasons why we should expect St. Patrick to have been clean-shaven.[9]

(*ii*) The left arm of the figure is raised. We read in *The Tripartite Life* that St. Patrick, when cursing, raised his left hand.[10] He probably adopted this gesture because of the Celtic belief that every left-hand rite spells misfortune.

(*iii*) The special shape of the tonsure would convincingly account for St. Patrick's name 'adzehead.'[11] All that was previously known of the Celtic tonsure was that it reached 'from ear to ear.'[12] The Revd. John Dowden was right in stating that we would only learn the actual form of the Celtic tonsure if we could find 'anywhere a representation of a tonsured cleric seen in front.'[13]

(*iv*) According to A. J. Butler, the sceptre-like shape is peculiar to Anglo-Saxon and Irish croziers.[14] Representations of similar croziers are found on the Shrine of St. Moedoc and on some Irish High Crosses.[15] The top of the White Island crozier looks like a hammer; it seems possible that a crozier of this very shape is referred to in *The Tripartite Life* where we read: 'Patrick marked out with his crozier a cross in the flagstone, and cut the stone as if it were soft clay.'[16] Another peculiar use to which a hammer-shaped crozier might have been put is mentioned by John O'Donovan: 'The ancient Irish saints were accustomed to curse the offending chieftains while sounding their bells with the tops of their croziers.'[17]

(*v*) O'Donovan's statement would thus fully explain the object hanging from the girdle: a clapperless bell. Maud Joynt pointed out that 'the old Irish ecclesiastical bell had no clapper [but] was struck like a "gong."'[18] Professor I. Ll. Foster has informed me that the Irish verb *benaid*, used in *The Tripartite Life* in connexion with St. Patrick's bell, does not denote 'ringing' but 'striking' or 'hitting.'[19] In the same book one of St. Patrick's bells is described as 'small' and 'of iron'.[20] Besides, an ancient Irish bell, which shows no sign of a clapper, is mentioned in Heinrich Otte's *Glockenkunde*: 'Man hat die uralte sogenannte Clogh-Orgha ("goldene Glocke") in der Gegend von Clare im Jahre 1832 in der ländlichen Kriminalrechtspflege benutzt. Diese Glocke, ohne jede Spur eines Klöppels, von ziemlich rohem Bronzeguss, von ovaler Form und mit Platten von vergoldetem Silber überzogen, befindet sich seit der Regierungszeit der Königin Elisabeth in dem Besitz einer Familie Keane aus Beech Park.'[21]

In my opinion, the statue cannot be the portrait of the living St. Patrick. The protuberant cheeks evidently indicate a portrait mask, covering the whole of his embalmed head down to the neck, leaving only the eyes and the lower part of the face free. The influence of Egyptian traditions is so obvious that we may assume that the portrait mask was made of gold.

Concerning the statue of the seated ecclesiastic (Plate C*d*, right), it may be noted here that a bronze fragment of the shrine from Aghadboe[22] depicts a male figure with a similar tonsure and a sleeveless Coptic gown, just like the one described by Professor Ryan; 'at Tabennisi each monk wore a sleeveless linen tunic reaching to the knees and secured by a girdle.'[23] We may account for the short sleeves and the longer gown of the White Island figure, by attributing a higher rank to its wearer. Whereas the bronze figure from Aghadboe holds a book, the hands of our stone figure are hidden in what looks like a lengthy roll. Professor Macalister has called this object 'a comfortable muff,'[24] but his interpretation is not convincing in view of the bare arms. It is indeed more likely that this object represents a

*With Plate C

parchment, as has been suggested by Françoise Henry.[25] Mr. C. H. Roberts has expressed the following opinion: 'If we may assume the existence of pre-Christian "books" in Ireland, we should expect them to be in the roll form. Equally one would expect the codex form to be introduced by the earliest Christian missionaries.' On the other hand it is strange that Theodor Birt does not refer at all to this unusual way of holding a roll.[26] The posture may, however, have a symbolical meaning as yet unknown to us.

The contrast between the lifelike sculpture of the seated ecclesiastic and the other three stereotyped figures is striking. I should like to suggest as a hypothesis that the latter are copies of seventh-century sculptures. Similar sets of figures may have existed in other more accessible churches, where they suffered destruction whilst the White Island figures survived owing to their isolation. If this was the case, a local sculptor may have been commissioned to add further portraits of persons closely associated with this church. This would (*i*) explain the single head (Plate C*d*, left) and the rejected stone mentioned above; and (*ii*) bridge the time gap between the seventh-century original statues and the younger text of *The Tripartite Life*.

The question now arises whether the three seventh-century sculptures, or copies of them, may not even have inspired some of the above quoted passages in *The Tripartite Life*. We cannot, of course, offer any definite answer, but may at least seem justified in adducing those texts as pertinent evidence. The compilers of *The Tripartite Life* may, indeed, have remembered that the figures of White Island, or possibly similar copies, or the originals themselves were representations of St. Patrick, King Loiguire and King Enna.[27]

Notes

[1] Eric H. L. Sexton, *Irish Figure Sculptures* (Portland, Maine, 1946), p. 299.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 298; the Revd. D. O'Driscoll in *J.R.S.A.I.*, Vol. LXXII, pp. 116ff.; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Archæology of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1949), p. 358.

[3] *The Preliminary Survey of the Ancient Monuments of Northern Ireland* (Belfast, 1940), p. 148.

[4] A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* (Oxford, 1884), Vol. II, fig. 20, p. 110.

[5] *Irish Monasticism* (Dublin, 1931), p. 185.

[6] Ed. tr. Wh. Stokes (London, 1887), pp. 75, 567.

[7] The use of pairs of animals in substitution ritual is also mentioned by Professor S. H. Hooke, 'The Theory and Practice of Substitution', *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 6–8.

[8] The Michaelmas Sheep Story,' *Tripartite Life*, *op. cit.*, pp. 557f.; James F. Kenney, *The Sources of the Early History of Ireland* (New York, 1929), p. 350.

[9] 'The Iconography of St. Patrick,' *Down and Connor Historical Society's Journal*, Vol. VII (Belfast, 1936).

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 183, 326.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 164, 221.

[12] J. A. MacCulloch, 'Tonsure,' E.R.E., Vol. XII, p. 386*a*.

[13] 'The Form of the Celtic Tonsure,' *P.S.A.S.*, Vol. XXX, p. 326.

[14] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 229.

[15] H. F. McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*, 2nd ed. (Dundalk, 1950), Plate 8; Sexton, *op. cit.*, figs. 48, 52, 55.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[17] *The Banquet of Dun-na n-Gedh* (Dublin, 1842), note on pp. 38f.

[18] *The Life of St. Gall* (London, 1927), p, 73, note 1.

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 114, 120f., 476–9.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[21] 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1884), note on p. 42, quoted from *Morgenblatt*, 1853, No. 34, p. 415. See also *J.R.S.A.I.*, Vol. XXX, p. 237, T. J. Westropp, 'The Clog an Oir, or Bell Shrine of Scattery.' The Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy kindly informed me by letter that 'the Minutes of the R.I.A. for 15 March, 1919, contain three pages relating to the history of the bell. . . .'

[22] Adolf Mahr, *Christian Art in Ireland* (Dublin, 1932), plate 18, No. 5.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 383.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 358.

[25] *Irish Art* (London 1940), p. 100.

[26] *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Leipzig, 1907).

[27] We should regard the squatting female figure (Plate C*d*, centre) as a *Sheela-na-Gig*, and hope that the original and probably pagan meaning of this whole group of female statues will some day be fully explained. I am greatly indebted for advice in the preparation of this article to Father Romuald Bauerreiss, O.S.B., of Munich, and to Professor I. Ll. Foster, Sir John L. Myres and Mr. C. H. Roberts of Oxford.

THE DRAVIDIAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AS AN EXPRESSION OF MARRIAGE*

by

L. DUMONT

Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

54 This paper[1] springs from two sources. Field acquaintance with Dravidian kinship terminology made me feel very strongly its systematic, logical character; I could not help thinking that it centred in marriage, and that it should be possible to express those two features in a simple formula. But, in trying to do so, a considerable resistance from current anthropological ideas was experienced. Therefore a few general and critical remarks suggest themselves.

* *A paper read before the IV International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Vienna, September, 1952, and here published by permission of the Organizing Committee. With 4 text figures*

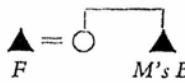
PRELIMINARY

Its main features are well known: classification according to generations, distinction of sex, distinction of two kinds of relatives inside certain generations, distinction of age.

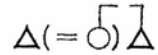
Since Morgan, who based his second or '*punaluan*' family on the Dravidian and the Seneca–Iroquois systems, this type of terminology, known as Seneca or Dakota–Iroquois type, and one of the most widely spread, has challenged anthropologists. Rivers, studying the Dravidian system, saw that its main feature was the distinction of

parallel and cross cousins, and rightly connected some of its features with cross-cousin marriage, but, to account for it as a whole, he turned towards a hypothetical previous stage of dual organization. Less satisfactory descriptions, when found in modern literature, witness to the difficulty scholars encounter in becoming familiar with this important and relatively simple terminology. As late as 1947 we find maintained the denomination of 'bifurcate merging' type introduced previously with the explanation: '. . . bifurcate, because paternal and maternal kin are distinguished, merging as far as there is a partial merging with the parents,' a definition obviously inaccurate and misleading, as the distinction is not between paternal and maternal sides, which are, on the contrary, treated exactly according to the same principle, as already made clear by Rivers. Even when the 'principle of the solidarity of the sibling group' is emphasized, we return to the same confusion, since the paternal aunt is assimilated with the father, the maternal uncle with the mother.[2]

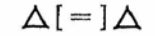
All this would require an explanation, and some of what I believe to be the factors producing these misconceptions will be found below. But perhaps it may be said in general that the terminology was not considered for a moment in itself but in terms of other aspects of kinship, in fact related to but different from it; at the same time it was still felt as irrational and one hastened to explain without accurately describing. This is so true that when Kirchhoff, on the contrary, only wants to describe it, he comes close to the explanation. He states, in his type *D*, that there is 'a common word for father and father's brother, but another word for mother's brother' (etc., in two columns).[3] Let us proceed from this point to some further observations. Here, in the father's generation, there are two kinds, and two kinds only, of male relatives. They are two *classes*, and we should not, because the father and the mother's brother respectively fall into these two classes, by stressing them in fact substitute the idea of a dyadic relationship for that of a class, as we do if we suppose, for example, 'mother's brother' to be the basic meaning, and the others to be extensions.[4] Moreover, the 'mother's brother' is also the 'father-in-law,' and the common assumption that the affinal meaning is here secondary, the cognatic meaning being primary, is based upon nothing but the common notion that one's kinship position necessarily precedes one's marriage, an idea quite out of place here, as only the analysis of the system can reveal the real meaning of the category. All these arbitrary assumptions arise from our own way of thinking, *unconsciously* superimposed upon the native way of thinking. We must, therefore, refuse to indulge them and keep before us the question: what is the principle of the opposition between those two classes of relatives exemplified by what we call father and mother's brother? Provided that we consider this opposition as standing in its own right and do not assume that the principle of the opposition lies in the relation with the Ego, and provided that we view it against the background of the whole system (see note 7 below), we can find some approach to the answer. Briefly, in this case the relationship between father and mother's brother is:



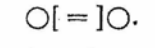
and it is very likely that the principle of the opposition lies in that relationship. Possibly our preconceived ideas resist such a view, but should they not give way if the facts impose it? This relationship we shall call an alliance relationship, as the relationship arising between two male (or two female) persons and their siblings of the same sex, when a 'sister' (a 'brother') of one is married to the other:



or, more generally:



and



It expresses the fact that if marriage creates a relation between two persons of different sexes, it connects also their groups. As an equivalent formula I shall speak also of two men (or women) having an alliance relationship as male (or female) affines.

There is another way of expressing the same fact, which, although not altogether wrong, is I think less accurate, and the criticism of which will throw some more light on the anthropologist's unconscious resistance to the classificatory idea. It is possible to extend the distinction between parallel and cross cousins and to speak of parallel and cross relatives, the principle of the distinction being that 'there is, or there is not, a change of sex when passing from the direct line to the collateral line.' I followed this doctrine in a monographic study of kinship in a Tamil-speaking community.[5] But the whole passage, although tending to a synthetic view, is, I am afraid, obscure. Moreover, the formula is not satisfactory for two reasons: (*i*) in spite of the fact that the natives do, when tracing relationships, pass from one line to another, these are not among their basic categories and are not in the least expressed in their theory: (*ii*) the system has much to do with marriage, and this should appear more clearly, if possible, in its formula. In fact, it is the anthropologist alone who is responsible for the introduction of this unsatisfactory concept of a 'change of sex'; he does so because he wants to trace through a relative of the opposite sex a relationship which the native conceives—when he thinks classificatorily—in a different manner. For instance we introduce the mother as a link between Ego and his mother's brother, where in fact the latter is just opposed to the father. Two errors converge here: (*i*) the 'extension' tendency confuses a class with the actual mother's brother, (*ii*) the introduction of the latter's compounded, western, descriptive name brings in the mother, who is only relevant at this level as the link by which the relation between father and mother's brother comes into existence. If, however, we agree to consider the terms for the two sexes separately (as is normal in a system where the terms for females are distinct, and not mere feminine forms of the terms for males), and in a classificatory perspective, the difficulty vanishes.

After this lengthy but necessary discussion, we can now define the problem.

Limits and nature of the analysis

Since Morgan, it has been recognized that the terminological systems used by most of the communities speaking one of the four written Dravidian languages (round about 70 million people) are very much alike. What does this amount to, when each language uses different terms, when again in each language the actual list of terms differs slightly from one group to another, and when, moreover, only a few such lists are recorded from among the vast number of those which exist? Is it possible to abstract anything like a common terminological system? It is, thanks to the systematic character of a remarkably constant structure. And it will not be denied that the attempt will be logical rather than statistical. Not all groups conform to the perfect schema outlined below—for instance, some Tamil Brahmins alter the system considerably by the introduction of a number of individualizing terms, or Nayar at the present day do not distinguish between cousins (according to Mlle Biardeau)—but on the whole most lists can be said to centre in a common scheme, from which they differ slightly and individually. Both the Tamil lists and the published Kanarese examples illustrate it almost perfectly.[6]

The limits of the analysis will be drawn close to the vital nucleus of the system: I shall consider only the common classificatory features within a range of five generations.

One important point is that the nature of the task compels us to consider the distinctiveness of the terms denoting the classes, quite irrespective of their concrete linguistic form. This is fortunate, because it allows the analysis to develop at the basic level of the structure of the system, whereas such analyses usually become mixed up with linguistic considerations as well as with considerations of attitudes or institutions which belong to a different level of analysis and which are excluded here by the very diversity of the background. The need to stress the cross-cousin marriage will appear the more striking as our analysis develops.

A brief explanation is needed of the expression used above: 'the distinctiveness of the terms denoting the classes.' The distinctiveness of the terms is the main matter, as they are used to distinguish (*i.e.* to oppose) classes. But conversely, linguistic differences which are not used to oppose classes are irrelevant here, and it is for this reason that I add the words 'denoting the classes.' For instance, different words applied to exactly the same relatives are irrelevant, or again secondary differences within a class (obtained by affixation, etc.) are irrelevant in so far as they do not alter its unity (because for instance the class word or root is kept in all). Again, linguistic resemblances may exist between terms of different classes, in so far as the classes are not in direct opposition. All such facts are of interest, and may even be found to be common to all our terminologies; but they do not form part of the basic structure. (Considerations of space preclude these points being developed and exemplified here as they should be.) Our situation is similar to that of the phoneticist: just as he retains among phonetic particularities only those which differentiate meanings, we here retain from linguistic particularities only those which differentiate relatives, and even (for the time being) the fundamental classes of relatives only.

The system as just defined classifies all relatives of five generations from grandfather to grandson into 16 classes by using 16 distinctive (sets of) terms. The generations are as a rule absolutely distinguished; there is no assimilation of relatives belonging to different generations. Additionally, Ego's generation is split into two by distinguishing relatives older and younger than Ego: this distinction of age will be treated as analogous to the distinction of generations. (The distinction of age in other generations, *e.g.* the father's, is marked, not by distinct terms, but by prefixed adjectives; hence it is not relevant here, as stated in our previous point). Some of the terms have a masculine and a feminine form, some have only one form, either masculine or feminine, and this is the rule wherever the central, critical distinction which follows is fully maintained. In each generation (or age) group, the relatives of the same sex are distinguished into two classes. In the chart (fig. 1), every class is designated by a letter, from *A* to *P*, and they are distributed symmetrically to stress the opposition.

Generation	△	○	○	△
grandfather	*A* (+*fem.A'*)			
father	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*
Ego >*Ego*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*I*
Ego <*Ego*	*J*	*K*	*L*	*M*
son	*N*(+*fem.N'*)		*O*[=*k*+*N*]*(+*fem.O'*)	
grandson	*P*(+*fem. P'*)			

* *For instance in Tamil, where k probably means 'marriage.' The linguistic connexion between N and O is stressed here as an exception.*

Fig. 1

A are the 'grandfathers,' B the 'fathers,' C the 'mothers,' D the 'father's sisters' and 'mothers-in-law,' E the 'mother's brothers' and 'fathers-in-law,' F the 'brothers' older than Ego, J the younger, I and M, 'male cross cousins,' older and younger; G, K, 'sisters,' and H, L, 'female cross cousins' respectively older and younger; N the 'sons' (fem. for the 'daughters'); O the 'sons-in-laws' (fem. for the 'daughters-in-law').

Although, for the reader's convenience, I give the ordinary equivalents, we shall not rely upon them in the least, but on the contrary try to deduce the meaning of each class from its situation in the whole.

Some qualifications are necessary, as regards the value of the chart. Class *D* has a tendency to split among the Tamil groups that I studied, but the cleavage is never the same, and

the two terms on which it is based are largely interchangeable, so that already in Tamil it is not possible to take it as a general feature. In the region *HILM* I had to choose between two variants, the other variant not applying distinction of age to this group. Both will be found equally consistent. For *N* and *O* this is the Tamil situation, while elsewhere the central distinction and the distinction of sex are more in evidence.

We now proceed to discover, or rather confirm, the nature of the principle of the central opposition, and thus define the fundamental meaning of each class (as distinct from its linguistic meaning; see above), and to try to understand the way in which the different distinctions are combined, and the range of their application.

FATHER'S GENERATION

We have seen already that the alliance relationship defines the mother's brother by reference to the father. But the father himself is defined by reference to the Ego. Let us consider now the nature of the latter relation and both together. In doing so we should not forget that, although we have taken the particular, genealogical father as example, we are dealing in fact with the 'fathers' as a class. In the relation, or as I prefer to say, in the opposition, between Ego and Ego's father, there are two elements, one of which is common to them both, while the other differentiates them; the element which is common to both terms of the opposition I call the 'basis' of the opposition, the differentiating element I call the 'principle' of the opposition. The principle is clear: it is the distinction between two successive generations. But what is the basis, what is it that is common to Ego and Ego's father? Obviously, the answer lies in the context: what they have in common is opposed to what makes their relation (more precisely the father's relation) with the mother's brother, *i.e.* to the alliance (fig. 2).

Father and Ego are related by a link which excludes alliance, and which I propose to call 'kin link.' One qualification regarding sex must be added: whereas the 'fathers' and the 'mother's brothers' are respectively male sibling groups, the sex of Ego is irrelevant (the terms for father, etc., being the same irrespective of the sex of Ego). The two generations opposed to one another in the kin group are one generation of male siblings, and the generation of their children, both male and female. In other words, the distinction of sex, if it is the preliminary condition of the distinction of kin, is unrelated to the distinction of generation; this should be remembered.

If we now consider together the two oppositions between Ego, his father and his mother's brother, we see that Ego and the father are similar in kin and different in generation, while father and mother's brother are similar in generation and different in kin (*i.e.* are allied). Each of the two elements (generation and kin) serves under its negative (differentiating) form as principle of one opposition, and under its positive (uniting) form as the basis of the other.

The two concrete oppositions not only have one term in common (the father), but their concatenation is built upon two abstract oppositions operating crosswise: (*i*) community and difference in generation; (*ii*) community and difference in kin, *i.e.* kin and alliance. The latter, in which the category of alliance is brought to light by opposition to the kin category, is of paramount importance. Compared with Morgan's Malayan system, where the two categories are not distinguished, it emphasizes the importance of alliance, *i.e.* of marriage as a relation between groups. Moreover both ideas are given together, and spring from one another: no kin without alliance, no alliance without kin.

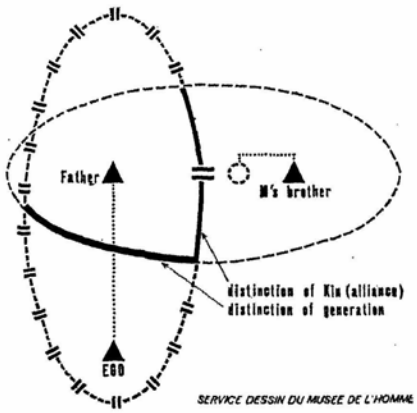


FIG. 2

A few more remarks may be added. (*i*) We understand why there are no special terms (at the present level) for affines; the basic meaning of the terms for the 'cross' category is affinal—my mother's brother is essentially my father's affine. (*ii*) We have in fact taken the two oppositions as a way leading *from Ego* to the father and from the father to the mother's brother; are we then perhaps not entitled to speak of a structure *sensu stricto*? But here lies the characteristic of a kinship terminology as compared with other kinship groupings, that it is a constellation revolving around the Ego. The only difference from customary views on the subject lies in the way we have taken, not the way through the mother, as suggested by our own vocabulary, but, I believe, the native way, as imposed by the terminology. (*iii*) What is here called kin has, of course, nothing to do with actual groups, being only an abstraction arising from the oppositions; this again centres in Ego, and is only a part of what the terminology suggests as such, because we had to abstract it on the male side; turning to female relatives, we shall find its feminine counterpart. The whole could be called 'terminological kin' to avoid confusion, and opposed to 'terminological affines'. This is only a framework which is used and shaped by each group according to its particular institutions.

In the same generation, we can deal exactly as above with the opposition between the 'mother' and the 'father's sister,' and connect it with the opposition between Ego and Ego's mother. We shall leave out the intermediary link, this time the father, as a mere agent bringing about (and

hence contained in) the alliance relationship between the two women. The kin group arising here will be formed of a generation of female siblings, the mothers (opposed to their female affines), and of the generation of their children of both sexes. This kin category is not different from the preceding one; it is the same, opposed to alliance as above, though we take another view of it in accordance with the distinction of sexes in the system. In order to insist upon the classificatory character, we give here (fig. 3) a generalized schema; a similar one could, of course, be drawn for males.

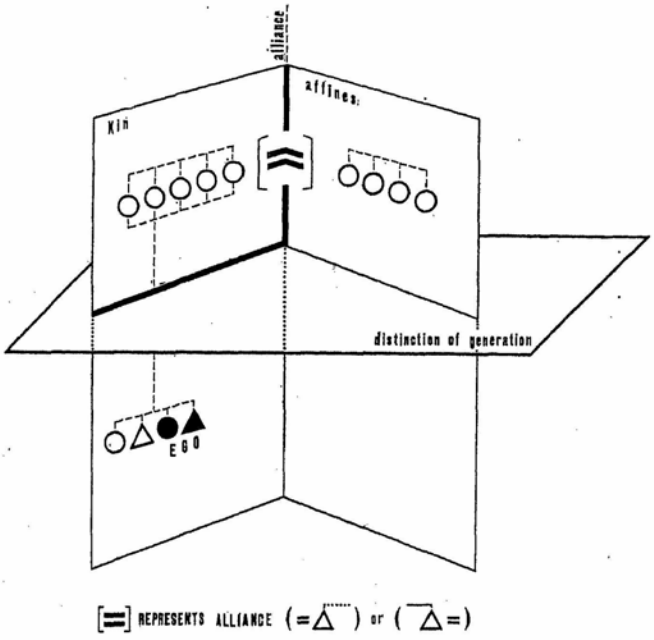


FIG. 3

Having ended the part of the demonstration which is most likely to arouse controversy, and before extending it to the other generations, we may pause here and get a first glimpse of the whole. There will be no difficulty, as one can imagine, in showing that Ego's 'cross cousins' are essentially Ego's affines, just as the 'mother's brother' proved to be essentially the father's affine. This means that the alliance which we considered horizontally in one generation acquires a new, a vertical dimension, and runs through generations.

ALLIANCE AS AN ENDURING INSTITUTION: CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

It is not another alliance, but one and the same relationship transmitted from one generation to the next, inherited; what we have considered up to now as an alliance relationship was only a horizontal section of it. And could it be opposed to kin if it did not transcend generations? It is this alliance as an enduring institution that is embedded in the terminology, that provides it with its fundamental and characteristic opposition.

But to say that an alliance relationship is inherited is the same as to say that a certain marriage regulation is observed. Theoretically, to maintain the relation, one marriage in each generation is enough, but the more marriages of that type occur, the firmer the alliance relationship will be. The most immediate and complete, the total formula for that is 'cross-cousin marriage' of any description. In fact, what we are accustomed to call cross-cousin marriage is nothing but the perfect formula for perpetuating the alliance relationship from one generation to the next and so making the alliance an enduring institution—a very particular and queer name for a fact of a very general and logical character. Indeed, it is only the anthropologist's customary and peculiar vocabulary, expressing alliance in terms of kin, which conceals this simple truth instead of revealing it.

OTHER GENERATIONS

How can we in our turn reproduce in other generations what we said in the father's generation? If the alliance relationship may be supposed to be similar, the generation relationship will be different.

In the grandfather's generation, cross-cousin marriage (or an equivalent) leads one to suppose an affinal link between Ego's two grandfathers, and this is the very reason why they cannot be distinguished, and why there is normally only one term for both of them, for both are kin in one way, and affines in another: mother as well as father is kin to the Ego, and so are their fathers, who have at the same time an alliance relationship, so that we may consider one of them *A* as kin, and the other *B* as affine, or, equally, *B* as kin and *A* as affine: the two categories merge in that generation and the distinction of kin does not apply to it. The same may be said about grandsons: alliance works as a principle of opposition for (two or) three generations only, whereas all relatives merge in the fifth and the first.[7]

There is no theoretical difficulty in Ego's son's generation, but rather a practical one: in Tamil at least, the alliance opposition weakens (the basis is emphasized by the use of the same word, with the addition of a prefix on one side, rather as with 'son' and 'son-in-law'), and at the same time the sex opposition disappears ('daughter' is the feminine of 'son'). This is consistent, but I can offer no structural explanation, although there is probably a common background.

In Ego's generation (males), something interesting happens if we try to apply the same procedure as in the father's generation: on one side the alliance opposition is present, the male affines being sister's husband and wife's brother as well as sons of the father's (male) affines and of the mother's (female) affines. On the other side, the generation opposition vanishes, as Ego and his brothers might be considered indifferently, but a new principle is invoked in order to replace as it were the waning principle; *i.e.* relative age is distinguished, and the generation is split into two halves under Ego's older brother and Ego's younger brother. The two distinctions (generation and age), one of which relieves the other, have a common background of age connotation and are closely connected.[8]

Now we can proceed with the elder brother as with the father: he is opposed to Ego, as older, and he is opposed to the 'cross cousin, older than Ego' as a sibling to an affine. The same for the younger brother, opposed to a 'younger cross cousin' (fig. 4*a*), but we here cross the generation axis of the structure, and the age order between Ego and his kin is inverted.

As previously stated, our chart gives for the affines here only one of the two variants actually found. The other variant presents no distinction of age among the affines and has only one term for males equivalent to *HL*. For this we can account very simply: in that variant, Ego's generation is taken as a whole, the male affine is opposed directly to Ego, and the age distinction, although introduced among brothers, does not replace structurally the generation distinction, and therefore is not extended to the affines (fig. 4*b*).

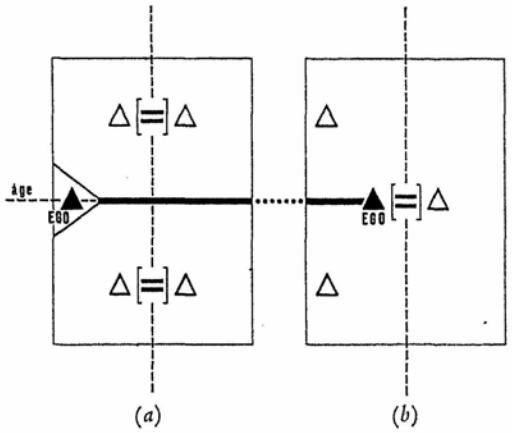


FIG. 4

Moreover, it is in this part that the actual terminologies differ most from our chart. Several factors are at work, one of which is of a classificatory nature. It is a tendency to stress the relative sex of the person compared to the Ego, as is quite natural where prospective mates are found. This tendency combines in various ways with the elder–younger distinction, and the matter is still more complicated by other factors, so that it requires a special treatment.

In the preceding paragraph we have already anticipated the classification of female relatives, which should be extended from the mother's to the other generations. This is not necessary, as the structure is symmetrical (with the exception just mentioned).

CONCLUSION

I have shown, I hope, that the Dravidian kinship terminology, and with it other terminologies of the same type, can be considered in its broad features as springing from the combination in precise configurations of four principles of opposition: distinction of generation (qualified as an ordered scale), distinction of sex, distinction of kin identical with alliance relationship, and distinction of age.

The third distinction (which alone is in no way biological) is the most important; the system embodies a sociological theory of marriage taken in the form of an institution following the generations, and supposes—as well as favours—the rule of marrying a cross cousin as a means of maintaining it. Hence also the fact, well preserved in Indian groups, that the two categories of kin and affines comprehend all relatives without any third category. This may be understood without resorting to dual organization; the opposition between kin and affines constitutes a whole —the affine of my affine is my brother—marriage is in a sense the whole of society, which it unites, and at the same time separates in two from the point of view of one Ego.[9]

No wonder, then, if India makes it the paramount ceremony, and perhaps it is also an explanation for the stability and vitality of the Dravidian terminology which has puzzled many anthropologists since Morgan.

Notes

[1] I wish to express my thanks to Professor Evans-Pritchard for his discussion of this paper, and to D. Pocock, for his help in its preparation. The structural approach, although different, is largely influenced by Cl. Lévi-Strauss, 'L'Analyse structurale en linguistique et en anthropologie,' *Word*, New York, Vol. I, No. 2, August, 1945. For a structural approach to attitudes, see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'The Study of Kinship,' MAN, 1929, 148, and 1932, 7.

[2] Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, London, 1877, pp. 424–52; W. H. R. Rivers, *Kinship and Social Organization*, London, 1914, pp. 47–9, 73; see also 'The Marriage of Cross Cousins in India,' *J.R.As.Soc.*, 1907, pp. 611–40.

'Bifurcate-merging': R. H. Lowie, 'A Note on Relationship Terminologies,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, 1928, pp. 265f.; *cf.* G. P. Murdock, 'Bifurcate-Merging, a Test of five Theories,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, 1947, pp. 56–68.

'Solidarity of the Sibling Group': A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, Introduction, p. 25.

[3] P. Kirchhoff, 'Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen u. Verwandtenheirat,' *Zeits. für Ethnol.*, Vol. LXIV (1932), pp. 41–72; *cf.* Lowie, Social Organization (1948), London, 1950, p. 63.

[4] For a strong protest against this kind of 'extension' see A. M. Hocart, 'Kinship Systems,' *Anthropos*, Vol. XXXII (1937), pp. 545–51 (reprinted in *The Life-giving Myth*, London (Methuen), 1952, p. 173).

[5] Formula from Cl. Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté*, Paris (P.U.F.), 1949, p. 165. I hope that my emphasis on marriage will be found in keeping with the general inspiration of that work. L. Dumont, 'Kinship and Alliance among the Pramalai Kallar,' *Eastern Anthrop.* Lucknow, Vol. IV, No. 1., Sept.–Nov. (1950–1), pp. 1–26 (but with many misprints); see pp. 5–12 as a first attempt in the present direction.

[6] Most complete are Morgan's lists (*Systems*, pp. 518f.) for Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese. References to recent monographs in Dumont, *loc. cit.* (not restricted to written languages, but see for Kanarese Srinivas, *Marriage . . .*, for Malayalam Aiyappan, *Nayadis . . .* and *Iravas . . .*). Lists of 'common' terms, unspecified and unlocalized, are found in grammars, etc. I have taken here into account lists from several groups in Tamil, to be published.

[7] This feature is fundamental, and our analysis rests largely upon it. The whole structure is different when grandson and grandfather are identified, as in Kariera (with two terms for each).

[8] The close connexion between age and generation in the structure may constitute the basis of an important exception to the generation principle, rather of a diachronic nature, as stressed by Mrs. I. Karve in a study to be published (oral communication).

[9] This does not happen always, but only when certain conditions are present.

OBITUARIES

Luis de Hoyos Sáinz: 1868–1951

55 Don Luís de Hoyos, doyen of Spanish anthropologists, died in Madrid on 4 December, 1951, in his eighty-fourth year. With many anthropologists of his generation he shared the advantage of wide scientific training and interests before specializing in our science. Making his first appearance in the University of Madrid as a young geologist, he took his doctorate in Law, and in Natural Science (1898) with a thesis on the deformed crania of Peru. In the same year he was appointed to the Chair of Agriculture in the Instituto de Figueras—an appointment which was not without effect on the direction of his ethnographical studies in after years—and when the Escuela de Estudios Superiores del Magisterio was founded in 1909 he became Professor of Physiology and School Hygiene. From 1890 onwards he had been assistant professor of Anthropology in the Natural Science section of the Institute, and his growing interest in folklore (in the widest sense of the term) led him to encourage his students and ex-students to write reports on the customs and traditions of their native provinces and the places to which they were assigned as teachers.

In 1932 the Central University of Madrid appointed him to the Chair of Pedagogy in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters; and there he lectured on ethnography and folklore until his work was interrupted by the revolution and civil war of 1936.

Among the many services of Don Luís to the anthropological sciences must be reckoned the foundation in 1934 of the Museo del Pueblo Español of which he was the first director, the nucleus of this museum being his own notable collection of Spanish costumes, textiles and embroideries. He represented Spain at a number of international Congresses—for instance, Anthropology and Prehistory, Geneva, 1912; Popular Arts, Prague, 1928; Rhythmic Arts, Rome, 1929; Anthropology and Archæology, London, 1924; Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, London, 1934—and on many committees, including the Geneva Committee for Anthropometry, 1912, the International Committee on Blood Groups, 1924, and the Committee for the Standardization of Anthropological Technique, London, 1934, Copenhagen, 1938. In 1924 he visited the chief ethnographical museums in this country and on the Continent to study methods of installation. He was a member of most of the scientific societies of the world: from the time of publishing his *Yacimientos prehistóricos de Sepúlveda* (*As. Esp. Prog. Ciencias, Congr. Zaragoza*, 1908) he enjoyed an international reputation; and, along with Aranzadi, Oloriz, Anton and Pulido, he raised the standard of university studies in Spain as well as his country's prestige in the scientific world. As parliamentary delegate and senator he exercised a considerable influence on ministerial policy, notably in agriculture and education.

When he returned to Madrid after the civil war Don Luís did not resume his museum work, though he became an honorary director of the Instituto Bernardino Sahagun de Antropología y Etnología in 1948. But his studies and publications in physical anthropology, demography, ethnography and folklore continued, with the collaboration of his daughter, up to the day of his death, as did also his international correspondence and his interest in younger scientists. The presentation to him in 1948 of two volumes of essays (*Homenaje a Don Luís de Hoyos Sáinz*, Madrid, 1949–50) expressed a very widespread appreciation of his achievements; this *festschrift* in honour of his eightieth birthday includes a complete bibliography of his works in all subjects, as well as a long list of the investigations and reports of his pupils.

Indeed, the work of de Hoyos for ethnography and folklore in Spain and of Spain can hardly be over-estimated; anchoring the one firmly to the soil by a series of concrete, detailed investigations and records in relation to geographical and ethnical distribution, and widening the scope of the other so as to present, as far as possible, an integrated survey of the traditional heritage of the nation, material and ideal. His literary tastes and his social charm—a geniality proper to the descendant of an old Castilian family—made him beloved in many intellectual circles. A distinguished contemporary, Dr. Marañón, has lately said, "He was the best, the most learned and the kindest man I have ever known."

BARBARA AITKEN

Mrs. Marguerite Milward: 1873–1953

56 Mrs. Marguerite Milward, whose death was announced on 11 February, was an artist rather than an anthropologist, but she rendered a great service to anthropology. For her sculpture of racial types in India, Indonesia and north-west Africa was definitely undertaken in the interests of anthropology though its artistic inspiration was never absent. She was born near Birmingham in 1873 and studied woodcarving, painting and modelling at the Birmingham and Bromsgrove schools of art, and she set up in practice in Birmingham. In 1905 she went to Paris to study under the celebrated French sculptor Bourdelle, and after that to Ceylon where she started her studies of indigenous races. Her work was interrupted by war in 1914, but after the death of her husband she returned to Paris and entered Bourdelle's studio as his assistant, remaining there till his death and being better known and appreciated in Paris than in London. She had, however, several exhibitions in London between 1930 and 1940.

She spent altogether about 10 years in journeyings to and from the East and in studying little-known tribes in Assam, in Chota Nagpur, in the Central Provinces and in southern India as well as in Burma and still further east. She published in 1948 an account of her travels in India, and of her experiences in the course of her work there as a sculptress of primitive tribes, in her *Artist in Unknown India* (reviewed by Sir Theodore Tasker in MAN, 1948, 146). She had also lectured to the Royal Anthropological Institute, in 1940, on the tribes of Travancore, and in 1948 she contributed a short article to MAN on the Guar Festival of the Sawara tribe of Bihar and Orissa, a festival which she had herself witnessed in the course of her travels in India.

Mrs. Milward combined no little artistic power with a scientific precision so great that although the measurements she took on the living subject of her portrait were by no means identical with those prescribed by conventional physical anthropology, yet the results of anthropological measurements taken on the original head and on her reproduction showed the minimum of divergence. The heads she modelled are both artistic creations and scientifically demonstrable types, comparable to the work of Malvina Hoffman in the Field Museum.

A number of Mrs. Milward's studies were purchased by the Indian Museum in Calcutta, and a few years before her death she generously presented to the Cambridge University Museum of Archæology and Ethnology an extensive and important collection of her plaster models, and some bronze castings of the heads of various Assamese and Indian tribesmen and women of whose features she wished to make a lasting record before civilization changed or destroyed them. For her interest in and affection for the subjects of her study were equalled only by her enthusiasm for her art and her love of truth.

J. H. HUTTON

SHORTER NOTES

An Annular Pottery Vessel in Southern Nigeria. *By Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys. With two text figures*

57 In Chapter V of Dr. Lagercrantz's *Contribution to the Ethnography of Africa* (Upsala, 1950) is a section on 'Ring-shaped Vessels.' His distribution map for such vessels shows how very rare is their occurrence. Except for three localities in the Congo this type of vessel is found concentrated in the valley of the lower Nile, and on the coasts of Africa in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Consequently the discovery of such a vessel a little to the east of the lower Niger is of importance. In 1930 the Nigerian Government detailed me to carry out an investigation into the magico-religious beliefs of the Umundri Ibo, a group situated a few miles south of the administrative centre of Awka, 25 miles east of Onitsha on the Niger. Onitsha is the Provincial Headquarters of the Onitsha Province, of which Awka is an administrative division.

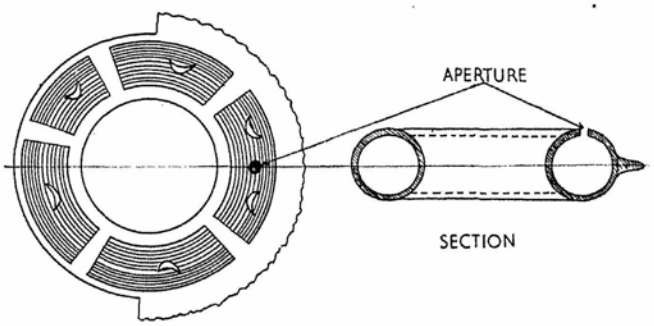


FIG. 1



FIG. 2

With the permission of the Nigerian Government part of my report was offered as a Ph.D. thesis (as yet unpublished) to the University of London in 1934. Referring to a visit to the Divine King at Oreri I wrote: 'at the foot of the tall *iroko* tree (*Chlorophora excelsa*), to the west and south of his *obu* (the lodge or reception room of a man of title), sacrifices are made to the *mmo* (ancestral spirits). The skulls of various animals offered up in sacrifice adorn the shrubs growing around this tree. Lying on the ground, between some of the buttress roots of this tree, is a large annular object made of pottery and fairly old. This object is called *ivilivi*. The word means formless, shapeless, and is applied to an abortion or a child born enveloped in membranes. It was pointed out that this annular object had no head, stern, or handle. It is regarded as an *alusi* (a presiding spirit) for the detecting of thieves. One half has a fringe, the other half is plain.' I reproduce the drawing (fig. 1) which I made on the site and also the photograph (fig. 2) that I took of this hollow, annular piece of pottery whose overall diameter was a little more than 16 inches, while that of the annulus was about eight inches. The underside of the object was plain and the top was decorated with six crescent moons. The aperture was fitted with a grass or leaf plug when I saw it.

Lagercrantz appears to have overlooked the two illustrations of such vessels given by Sir Harry Johnston in his book *George Grenfell and the Congo* (Vol. II, pp. 793 and 816, London, 1908), one from south-west Congoland, the other from the Azande on the upper Wele river. Lagercrantz writes: 'a few ring-shaped vessels are known from Ancient Egypt. . . . My own earlier view, that such vessels spread from Egypt to the Zande and Congo regions seems, on the other hand, rather unconvincing' (pp. 282, 284). Lagercrantz's new theory of the origin of these annular vessels in Africa is still unconvincing. He writes: 'It seems much more likely that such vessels were brought by the Portuguese on the occasion of their early attempt at colonization in the Congo, and that it is from the Old Congo kingdom that it spread to the Aruwimi and Velle regions' (p. 286).

The Portuguese explanation will not account for the annular pot which I found. The tradition of these Umundri is that they are connected with the Igala, and the Igala are a branch of the Jukun who exhibit still many Egyptian culture traits, as described by Meek in *A Sudanese Kingdom*.

I have recently described (*Africa*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, April, 1951) a highly specialized Egyptian trait among these Umundri Ibo, namely the carving on the forehead and cheeks, by gouging out strips of flesh, of a design which contains symbols of the moon, the sun and the wings and tail of the vulture. In other words, this design, carved only on the nobility, is clearly the winged solar disc of ancient Egypt. Now the annular pot found at Oreri was in the custody of a divine Umundri king who bore this pattern on his face. The evidence is that the pot is part and parcel of an intense sun cult still practised there, but deriving according to their tradition from the north-east, *i.e.* from ancient Egypt.

The Surface Treatment of Early Indian Pottery. *By P. S. Rawson, M.A., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

58 All too often the terms used to designate the various surface dressings for pottery are applied without any attempt at precision. But since the publication of the monumental analysis of pottery technology by Kelso and Thorley[1] there is no longer any reason why archæologists and anthropologists should be guilty of naming incorrectly slips, glazes, washes and polishes. It seems to me, however, that this analysis is not entirely comprehensive since certain aspects of early Indian pottery are not satisfactorily explained by it. Recent study of a large collection of sherds of Indian pottery of the neolithic/megalithic and early historical periods has led me to formulate a theory concerning the method by which their surfaces were treated, which I would like to propose. It seems likely that this method is actually far commoner than any other in

the pre-glaze stages of ceramic technology, and it has not so far been recognized.

The clue to the method was among the finds in the recent epoch-making discovery by the Wellcome Expedition of a complete Bronze Age potter's workshop in a cave at Tell-ed-Duweir.[2] A number of smallish knobs of soft hæmatite whose surfaces had been faceted by abrasion were found. They had presumably been used for rubbing hæmatite on to the surface of pots. It is commonly known that hæmatite (Fe_2O_3) employed as a dressing for the surface of pottery gives clear reds under oxidizing conditions of firing and clear blacks under reducing; and in the analysis of a red 'slip' (*sic*) found on pottery of all periods from the site of Arikamedu in southern India, incorporated in the report on the excavation,[3] the substance is specifically identified as hæmatite.

Though in some cases of carefully thrown pottery of the proto-historic period from the Deccan the surface dressing has been washed on as a suspension of finely ground hæmatite before firing, the greater part of early Indian pottery has been burnished, or as it is often called, 'polished.' Burnishing of pots is common at all times in many parts of the world, but on the Indian sherds that I examined the individual slight facets imparted to the surface of the body by the burnishing in the green-hard state were exactly co-extensive with the slight streaks visible in the colour layer. It is therefore probable that the facets and the streaks were imparted by the same strokes; that is that the burnishing and colouring agent were the same. I conclude that hæmatite dressing was rubbed on to the surface with a knob of softish ochre, like those found at Tell-ed-Duweir. Though most of the neolithic hand-made and beaten pots show that the hæmatite had been rubbed on by hand strokes, most of the later and finer wares, including even elaborate thrown pottery, appear to have had their surface dressing applied by a turning process, rather similar to that by which lac is applied to Indian turned woodwork at the present day. The pot was probably centred on the wheel in its green-hard state, and the hæmatite knob was held against it as it revolved. If once this method of applying hæmatite as a surface dressing for Indian pottery is accepted as fundamental, all the varieties of early wares can be accounted for by variation in firing techniques. The variation of colour in oxidized wares can be explained by the variation of the temperatures at which they were fired, since the red colour of hæmatite in firing changes progressively between about 600° C. and 850° C. The grey-bodied wares can likewise be accounted for by firing under special reducing conditions. It is probable that the grey wares of the Ganges valley sites were fired in open saggars (refractory clay boxes) stacked one above the other in the kiln. The ware in saggars closed by a saggar above them would fire in a fully reducing atmosphere, whilst the ware in the top saggar, which would be open, would fire in an oxidizing atmosphere, and thus come from the kiln red. This hypothesis is borne out by the presence on the Ganges sites of a small proportion of red ware of the same form and fabric as the grey.[5] In view of the close association on the sites of the Northern Black Polished ware with the grey wares, and of what was proposed above concerning the method of applying hæmatite dressing, the Northern Black Polished ware can be explained as a hæmatite-dressed ware, saggar-fired. The process of turning on the hæmatite is one capable of great delicacy, and thus well suited to the manufacture of a fine ware like this.

The vitreous effect found on the surface of the finer early Indian wares can be accounted for, on the hypothesis of hæmatite dressing, by the action of the ferric oxide in firing as a flux to that part of the body clay in immediate contact with it, which would result in the formation of a vitrified skin at quite a low temperature. This skin would tend to separate itself from the more granular body, and result in the familiar flaking of the surface of worn or damaged pottery.

Notes

[1] *Ann. Amer. Sch. Orient. Research*, Vols. XXI and XXII, Chapter 5, pp. 86ff.

[2] As yet unpublished, but made available to me by the kindness of Miss Tufnell at the Institute of Archæology, University of London.

[3] R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh and Krishna Deva, 'Arikamedu; An Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India' in *Ancient India*, No. 2 (July, 1946), p. 94.

[4] Information supplied by Professor K. de B. Codrington. The majority of these sites remain unpublished.

[5] See, however, A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, pp. 425–41, for further discussion of the grey-and-black-ware problem.

The Nordic Folklife and Folklore Researchers' Congress, 1952. *A note by Ian R. Whitaker, Department of Prehistoric Archæology, University of Edinburgh*

59 The eleventh Nordic Folklife and Folklore Researchers' Congress was held in Odense, Denmark, between 18 and 21 June, 1952. The Congress was attended by some 110 delegates from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, as well as observers from the Färoe Islands, Iceland and Scotland. It opened with a paper from the President, Professor L. L. Hammerich, on 'Denmark as a Culture Bridge.' During subsequent sessions discussions evolved round papers distributed previously to delegates and briefly summarized verbally by another party, thus permitting the maximum opportunity for actual discussion—a method worthy of note by other congress organizers as being most successful. Topics discussed thus were the centralization of control of a building culture (Professor S. Erixon), Hans Andersen and folk tales (Dr. I. M. Boberg), aspects of agriculture, especially clearing by burning (Professor K. Vilkuna), the study of the working (*i.e.* industrial) classes (Dr. E. Bull), and the problems of folklore research (*fil. lic.* L. Bødker). The Congress included several excursions to the villages of Fyn Island, which gave the delegates plenty of opportunity for less formal discussion, as well as demonstrations of folk dancing and folk music, and visits to local museums and castles. It is to be hoped that the folk-cultural unity of Great Britain with Scandinavia may be emphasized by the attendance at subsequent Nordic congresses of British folklife and folklore researchers.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Experiments in Living. *By A. Macbeath. Gifford Lectures, 1948–1949. London (Macmillan), 1952. Pp. 462. Price £1 10s.*

60 Social anthropologists will be grateful to find a well-known moral philosopher using their material to make a careful and modest attempt to study comparative ethics. The Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the Queen's University of Belfast here performs that service, and his work should encourage further and fuller attempts to make field observations upon that most difficult of subjects—the nature of moral judgments amongst people who are, for the most part, without much formal theory of their own morality. It is encouraging too to find it recognized that the knowlege which social anthropologists alone are in a position to present to the public has some bearing upon theoretical investigations by specialists in other fields; for the technical vocabulary and specialized interest of anthropologists are not yet such that they should discourage philosophers, lawyers, economists or political theorists

from attempting to base their conclusions upon as wide a range of observations as are available in the accumulated mass of anthropologists' writings. Professor Macbeath, dissatisfied (as anthropologists would also be) with ambitious theories founded largely upon introspection and deduction, has turned from them to a detailed examination of the nature of morality among the Trobriand Islanders, the Crow Indians, some Bantu-speaking peoples, and Australian aborigines; and in these lectures he has incorporated a great deal of the field material upon these peoples, developing his arguments through it, and not merely using it to illustrate views which could equally well have been held without any necessary reference to the material at all.

It cannot be said that his conclusions will startle anthropologists, who have for long been used to taking some of them for granted; but his intention is to make a contribution to the study of ethics, rather than to make a comparative study of primitive ethics. In general, his thesis is that the smallest unit for the study of the nature of moral judgments is not the individual but the society of which he is a part, seen as a 'system of ends' to be achieved; and that the evidence from primitive societies contradicts the admittedly old-fashioned, but none the less pervasive, ideas of Intuitionism and Ideal Utilitarianism. It is a great tribute to the objectivity of much anthropological writing that it can be used to contradict such theories, while often being written by anthropologists who themselves, if without, perhaps, knowing it, subscribed to them in parts. This is not to say, however, that Professor Macbeath's material would not have been better had the anthropologists whose work he uses been more aware of the logical conclusions, in European ethical theory, of their assumptions, or more aware, indeed, that they were assumptions. Thus, for example, Malinowski's writings, amongst others, are used to show that Malinowski's own notions of the nature of the relationship between religion and morality were questionable, and (though Professor Macbeath does not say this) the result of his own collective representations, as much as of his vast knowledge of Trobriand life and thought. It is interesting to note that Junod, who of the anthropologists chosen knew best, presumably, what he would mean by ethics and religion in his own society, presents his material with fewest confusions. This is not because he simplifies his material in order to fit it into preconceived categories; it is because he knows far better than some of the others what assumptions he himself makes, is conscious of the categories into which he would be inclined to fit it, and therefore knows better whether it will fit or not. From this point of view it is easier to know what is meant when a primitive people is described as having little or no religious morality, or, more commonly, little or no law, than when, as with Malinowski, the meanings of these words in English are extended to cover everything encountered in a primitive society which seems to function in any way like them. By failing, ultimately, to accept the distinctions made in our own language between religion and morality, or law and custom, we cease also to be able to make relevant distinctions in primitive societies.

The book would have been better had the anthropological vocabulary been more adequate for making distinctions. There is, for example, what appears to be the necessary and sound distinction between 'supernatural' and other sanctions; but not enough attention is given to the difficulties of using such terms for societies which do not recognize the natural and supernatural distinguished as we do, like layers of a cake. The point might, for example, have been more clearly made that there is a distinction between religions which begin with revelations regarding moral conduct, and those in which no such teaching emanates from the divine. There is a case to be made out, at least, for the idea that where moral teaching does not come direct from the divine, it comes from the fathers or the elders; and that in such cases the elders have a divine aspect, which gives their teaching a religious basis. This is not, however, the same as saying that it has a 'supernatural' sanction. Where the natural and supernatural are not distinguished as we distinguish them, it is doubtful if we can speak meaningfully of 'supernatural' sanctions. Such difficulties, of course, were recognized by Durkheim amongst others, but they seem scarcely to have occurred to the anthropologists whose material Professor Macbeath uses. The unthinking use of our own categories in such matters prevents, often, a clear appreciation of what it is that we find in primitive societies. We ask questions which, in a primitive language, may be meaningless, and then report a negative answer.

Nevertheless, it is useful and pleasing for anthropologists to have their writings examined and most kindly and sympathetically criticized by a scholar from another field of study. Professor Macbeath's book will remind any anthropologist who wishes to write on primitive ethics that it is desirable, first, to know something about ethics, in order to give a standard for clarity in exposition and for relevance. For it is only seeing what specialists in other fields take for granted, or have taken for granted, that students of primitive peoples can see what sort of contribution to general theory they are able to make. This, of course, has long been the case in the study of primitive economics, and this book shows that the time has come for anthropologists to acquaint themselves with the fundamentals of other scholarly disciplines before plunging into descriptions of the material, say religion or ethics, with which those specialized studies deal in our own society. R. G. LIENHARDT

Marriage and Society. *By E. O. James. London (Hutchinson), 1952. Pp. 215. Price 18s.*

61 After an introductory chapter on the beginnings of social organization, Professor James presents summary accounts of marriage in hunting, agricultural and pastoral societies abstracted from the older monographs. A chapter on marriage in urban society deals, after a glimpse at Egypt and Babylonia, with ancient Greece and Rome. This is the bridge to the rest of the book, which is a survey of the growth of Christian conceptions about marriage, includes chapters on canonical regulation of marriage, civil marriage, marriage and morals (with a discussion of the ethics of artificial human insemination) and marriage in modern society, and concludes with a discourse on marriage, love and personality.

The author's main contention is that 'The fundamental principles on which permanent monogamy rests are of universal validity being the modes of behaviour common to all mankind and essential for the right ordering of society under all conditions. They are proper to the human race as such by virtue of its natural constitution, whatever may be the cultural setting or theological background.' Naturally the author sees the ideal type of monogamy in Christian marriage.

On anthropological, formal and logical grounds this book fails to bear out the contention. It is not what is normally called an anthropological book, nor is its method that of anthropology. It has a nineteenth-century flavour, and the consideration of marriage in different types of society, for example, is implicitly no more than an arrangement of the ethnographic data into supposed evolutionary stages in the development of society from the 'beginnings' premised by the author in Chapter I. The last six chapters do not depend on the data presented in the first five; nor do the positions maintained in the second part of the book derive their support from the first. But these are lesser defects compared with the basic unsoundness of a book that tries to derive support of non-empirical moral values from evidence that cannot furnish it. Norms cannot be derived from facts. RODNEY NEEDHAM

Race and Society. *By Kenneth Little. Paris (U.N.E.S.C.O.), 1952. Pp. 56. Price 1s. 6d.* **Race and Class in Rural Brazil.** *Edited by Charles Wagley. Paris, (U.N.E.S.C.O.), 1952. Pp. 160. Price 7s. 6d.* **Soldier Groups and Negro Soldiers: A Two-Part Study of the Soldier and his Group and of the Effects of Negro Segregation.** *By David G. Mandelbaum. Los Angeles (U. of California P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1952. Pp. viii, 142. Price £1 1s.*

62 The two books published by U.N.E.S.C.O. are a contribution to the modern ethnography of race. They are concerned more with the attitude of a group to other groups in the same society than with any analysis of why such attitudes should persist. Professor Little deals with a resumé of the racial facts as they apply to South Africa, Brazil, Hawaii and Britain. He points out very reasonably that the situation in each of these countries is different, and seems to trace this difference mainly to the historical origin of each of these multi-racial societies. The second book published under the

auspices of U.N.E.S.C.O. consists of five separate studies by different authors of the racial attitudes prevalent in different parts of Brazil. All the studies adopt the same method of approach. After quoting certain statements by one group as applied to another, such as this reference to the Negro, 'The Negro is an ass and a brute. He isn't a person,' and working out charts in which each group classifies the other through scales of intelligence, beauty, wealth, religion, honesty and ability to work, the authors come to the conclusion that racial distinctions are based more on emotion than on any easily distinguishable racial factor. This is especially so in some parts of Brazil where miscegenation between Portuguese, Indians and Africans has proceeded for a considerable period of time.

Yet it is more or less widely accepted by social anthropologists that the basis of racial feeling lies less in the psychology of individuals and more in the nature of a society which uses these racial distinctions to emphasize structural differences. In other words one cannot counter race prejudice merely by showing how little basis racial differences have in fact. Until the forces in society which make race prejudice possible are understood, it is of little use merely writing down the outside features of the situation, which may only be the rationalizations of the members of that society to explain their attitude; *e.g.*, in Brazil to distinguish one race from another by its curly hair rather than by its skin colour does not *ipso facto* make such a statement a scientific one, although it may be interesting.

Professor Mandelbaum, on the other hand, has tried to approach from a more scientific angle the difficult question of what makes a military unit a good unit from an efficiency point of view. He considers that the whole key to military efficiency lies with a group which he calls a 'primary group.' This he defines as 'that set of men who are buddies, who interact with each other more frequently than they do with other men, whose co-operation is greater than any which may be required by their military assignments alone.' He ascribes the failure of separate Negro units to be as efficient as white units, especially in the war in Korea, to the failure of the primary group among Negroes. The solution of race relations in the United States Army consists in making the Negroes and the whites members of the same primary group.

In this book of 150 pages, only here and there does Professor Mandelbaum realize that it is almost impossible to analyse American soldier society without analysing American society. His attributes of masculinity (p. 62) and the desire of the American soldier not to talk about emotional or idealistic matters is as much the product of American society as the opposite is of the Chinese Red soldier with reference to his society. Yet both are good soldiers. Again he says that the main reason why separate Negro units break up is the lack of confidence Negroes have in each other as Negroes, 'a mistrust which is held and implanted by potent sections of the larger [American] society' (p. 90).

It is doubtful whether a good sociological study can be made of soldier groups without a much more comprehensive and wider analysis of the military machine as part of the whole society. In a study as short as this many of the observations tend to be truisms or psychological generalizations of little value. If the book helps to solve the problem of race relations in America, it will nevertheless be worthwhile. It is always worthwhile showing that many of the fears of both the whites and Negroes are groundless. To that extent it is a contribution to the sociology of race relations.

WILLIAM H. NEWELL

Les Hommes Fossiles. *By Marcellin Boule and H. V. Vallois. 4th Edition, Paris (Masson), 1952. Pp. x, 583. Price 3,800 fr.*

63 Twenty-three years elapsed between the publication of the second and third revised editions of 'Les Hommes Fossiles'; now a fourth appears after but six years—an eloquent testimony to the frequency of finds of fossil Primates in the intervening period, to the merit of the authors' appraisal and integration of the material available and to general interest in problems of human origins. In the new edition, apart from repagination and a more logical arrangement, much of the text remains unaltered, and into this Professor Vallois has skilfully and smoothly blended the new evidence.

Criticisms there are. Although new methods of geochronology are mentioned, fig. 14 retains an earlier estimate of geological time, assigning an age of 100 million years to the beginning of the Palæozoic. Recent opinions of Quaternary duration tend to be much more concordant than the estimates, many mere guesses, listed on p. 59, whose variability is remarked upon. Throughout the book is utilized a foreshortened classification of the Pleistocene which may well cause confusion.

As regards terminology, Professor Vallois somewhat regrettably retains the taxonomically confusing *Homo nordicus, H. alpinus* (pp. 360ff.). Lack of distinction may be suspected (p. 91) between 'human' and the classificatory 'hominid.' The coining and use of the terms Preneanderthal and Presapiens, with their implications of direct ancestry, are questionable; if Steinheim is assigned to the former group, then the allocation of Swanscombe to the latter must presumably be the result of inspiration.

Retention (p. 65) of the division of Primates into Bimana and Quadrumana, with its over-emphasis of the anatomical distinctions between man and ape, leads to difficulties, especially in the position of intermediate forms. *Telanthropus, Meganthropus, Pithecanthropus* and *Gigantopithecus* occur among the chapters devoted to hominids, the Australopithecinæ (summarily promoted to family status) in the chapter on fossil lemurs, monkeys and apes. The prophecy (3rd edition, p. 189; 'Un jour viendra . . .') relating to the form of the earliest man is, accordingly, diplomatically withdrawn.

The greater part of the evidence appears to have been reassessed in the light of recent opinions, and no significant discovery has been omitted. The general conclusions have undergone little modification; Professor Vallois now accepts the Eoanthropus association, prefers four fossil species of *Homo* to his earlier several genera, is inclined to consider a later date for a common ancestor for man and apes, and is now less optimistic as to the possibility of obtaining any new evidence of the existence of Tertiary man. The very slightness of the changes necessitated is indicative of the soundness of thought behind the earlier editions, whose high standards of scholarship, readability, clarity and production their successor maintains.

D. F. ROBERTS

Pictures of Ivory and Other Animal Teeth, Bone and Antler: With a brief Commentary on their Use in Identification. *By T. K. Penniman. Pitt Rivers Museum, Occ. Pap. on Technology, No. 5. Oxford, 1952. Pp. 40, 20 plates. Price 10s.*

64 The Pitt Rivers Museum has performed a good service in issuing a handbook on the identification of ivories and ivory-like materials from the characters which can be observed in polished sections. Archæologists and students of modern primitive craftsmanship might find that they would be rewarded for paying more attention to the precise properties of the various materials in which artifacts are fashioned; and such studies would naturally spring from a knowledge of how to distinguish different but superficially similar materials. To what extent do the properties of a material affect the style of a carver? It would seem, for instance, that through their differences in structure, ivory and walrus tusk lend themselves to different styles of carving.

This handbook contains nearly 30 photographs and photomicrographs of sections and polished surfaces of ivory (a term which strictly applies only to the dentine of elephant incisors) and of tusks of hippopotamus, walrus, sperm whale, narwhal and swine, all of which can be carved after the manner of ivory. Sections of 'vegetable ivory' (material from nuts of a tropical palm, sometimes used for making netsukes), of bone, and of the main varieties of antler—reindeer, red deer and elk—are also illustrated and contrasted.

The descriptive notes accompanying these photographs are admirably clear. The author does not pretend that it is always easy or even possible to distinguish one ivory or tooth material from another, particularly when fossilized or stained by iron salts in the soil. For example, he points out that African ivory typically has a blonde transparency, contrasting with the opaque creamy whiteness of Indian ivory which takes a finer polish; but these differences are sometimes obscured by weathering or natural staining. Mammoth ivory from Siberia is characterized by its gleaming

whiteness (hence it is, or was, the most favoured material for billiard balls), but mammoth ivory from North America is usually brownish through earth stain.

As the author emphasizes in the Introduction, this handbook does not deal with any features of ivory and similar substances which cannot be observed with the eyes, aided at most by a hand lens. Detailed description of the physical characteristics and histology of these materials, as revealed by the high-power microscope, or by ultra-violet and polarized light, would have been out of place in this work, but a table showing the range of specific gravity in each of the substances described would have been a useful appendix. The paper concludes with a list of references to works on ivory, teeth, bone and antler.

KENNETH P. OAKLEY

Eugenics—Galton and After. *By C. P. Blacker. London (Duckworth), 1952. Pp. 249. Price £1 5s.*

65 Galton, now remembered mainly for his work on statistics, anthropometry and eugenics, first attracted attention in the scientific world as an explorer and geographer, and most of his early publications were on geography and meteorology. It was not until 1883, when he was 61 years old, that he first used the word 'eugenics,' although he had been interested in heredity during the preceding 20 years. His major work on eugenics was carried out from 1901 until his death in 1911. In addition to these researches, Galton made a number of mechanical inventions, developed the use of composite photography and helped develop the science of fingerprints. In the first part of this book, Dr. Blacker gives a sketch of the life, work and personality of Galton. The main purpose of the book, however, is to describe Galton's views on eugenics and to give an account of those developments in eugenics which have occurred since his death.

Galton's ideas concerning heredity, from which arose his concept of eugenics, were developed before the rediscovery of Mendel's laws of inheritance in 1900. He was greatly influenced by the work of Darwin on natural selection and wrote, 'I conceive it to fall within his [*i.e.* man's] province to replace Natural Selection by other processes that are more merciful and not less effective.' Earlier, he had defined eugenics as 'the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage.' He realized that the improvement of the human stock by eugenic methods depended upon adequate legislation, and hoped that this aim could be achieved by education of the public in the principles of eugenics. In this section of the book, Dr. Blacker gives a clear account of Galton's work, but the portrait of Galton as a man is somewhat vague.

The second part of the book is concerned with the modern approach to eugenics, and deals with population growth, testing procedures and genetics. Demography deals with the quantitative aspects of population changes in relation to political, social and economic conditions. Its importance for eugenics lies in the application of its principles to the study of qualitative differences between people, *e.g.* the relationship between fertility and intelligence. Many attempts have been made in recent years to measure æsthetic qualities, such as musical appreciation and literary and artistic ability, but with little success. The measurement of character has proved even more difficult. There has been a great improvement, however, in assessing physical fitness, particularly by physiological tests, and mental fitness by intelligence tests. Real progress in eugenics ultimately depends on a quantitative evaluation of these qualities and the use of statistical methods for assessing the value of eugenic procedures.

In his chapter on developments in genetics Dr. Blacker, anxious to make the point that 'despite numerous and diverse advances in genetics [we are justified] in continuing to act on the assumption whereon our ancestors who domesticated animals and plants have always acted, that like produces like', has described mainly those parts of modern genetics which support his thesis. Unfortunately for eugenics, the study of genetics offers no short cuts to the attainment of eugenic perfection, unless we accept Soviet genetics. Dr. Blacker bravely resists this temptation.

While a great deal is written in this book, at great length, on the aims and ideals of positive eugenics, very little appears about negative eugenics, practised in many states in the U.S.A. and in parts of Europe, particularly Scandinavia. Although both systems advocate the use of the same methods, they are fundamentally opposed. Positive eugenics, the eugenics of Galton, aims at improving the innate qualities of man by family planning and other measures in an appropriate political and social environment. Such a system can lead to the improvement of the human stock only very slowly, if at all. Negative eugenics, based on modern genetical knowledge, aims at the more attainable objective of reducing the incidence of inherited diseases by making use, on a voluntary basis, of sterilization, abortion and marriage guidance under expert medical control and with adequate legal safeguards. This realistic approach, the value of which can readily be assessed, seems more likely to succeed with the legislature, which ultimately will determine the future course of eugenics, than the nebulous aspirations expressed in this book.

M. LUBRAN

International Folklore Bibliography, 1942–1947. *Edited by Paul Geiger and Robert Wildhaber. Basle (Krebs for C.I.A.P.), 1951*

66 The latest volume of the International Folklore Bibliography covers five years and lists some 5,850 works, 35 only of which have been published in Britain. We will not ask how it came that no British collaborators could be found either for this volume or the preceding one. The harm done to the study of folklore in general and to individual efforts is considerable. Thanks to the new editor, Dr. R. Wildhaber, there should be an improvement beginning with the next volume. Once the Bibliography has become genuinely international and indicative of the actual work done it should be indispensable for anthropologists and sociologists as well as folklorists. For the range which it covers is wide; the layout is exemplary and the material is so well organized that it has been possible to reduce the index to very small dimensions.

E. ETTLINGER

OCEANIA

American Indians in the Pacific: The Theory behind the Kon-Tiki Expedition. *By Thor Heyerdahl. London (Allen & Unwin), 1952. Pp. xv, 821, 90 plates, 11 maps. Price £1 10s.*

67 It may be agreed that the sailing raft *Kon-Tiki*, bearing the name of an ancient Andean god, has been instrumental in removing the stigma of oceanic incapacity from its prototypes of pre-Inca Peru. In anticipation of the navigational success which he afterwards achieved, Mr. Heyerdahl was optimistic enough to hope thereby to secure the interest of anthropologists and the co-operation of publishers, both previously denied to him, for the presentation of his long cherished and revolutionary theory of the American origin of the Polynesians and their culture. Hence this massive volume, provocative in content, persuasive in tone.

As long as the balsa raft continued to be despised and rejected by anthropological theorists, the Polynesian islands were dismissed as out of bounds for the Indians of the Andean coastlands; Americanists and others, reluctant to turn away from their vested interest in the theory of Polynesian Old World origins, neglected to explore impartially the possible attractions of any alternative theory.

Before entering upon his constructive proposition, the author assumes the offensive against the miscellaneous variants, inconsistencies and extravagances that have played their parts in the Asiatic theory. Enthusiasts have explored westwards from the Pacific towards the Atlantic, lingering at intervals to select and certify miscellaneous candidates for Polynesian honours. But although such unco-ordinated efforts led to results that were often without form, they were not always void. The old Malayo-Polynesian Theory, for example, was worthy of the name, though it is less popular than it was. As may be supposed, however, Mr. Heyerdahl rejects a direct Malayan ancestry for his Polynesians, though he accepts the attribution of basic Mongoloid affinities, with the addition of some Caucasian-like characters, and much less conspicuous though

widespread negroid—perhaps Melanesian—traits. Polynesian status as a mixed people is not denied.

Leaving to the author's readers his dismissal, by no means summary, of the Malayo-Polynesian theory and other less stable propositions, we may turn to the positive aspects of the book. It should be noted here that throughout the work quotations and documentation are copious, and are easily traceable in the bibliography of some 30 pages. The plates contain numerous illustrations, effective in themselves but rarely having numerical contacts with the text.

Outlined in brief, the author's thesis may be made simple, though it has a marked duality. Thus: Polynesia received its first human inhabitants from the region of pre-Inca Peru, during the second half of the first millennium A.D. The immigrants spread throughout the eastern and central Pacific, and occupied most or all of those previously uninhabited islands now constituting Polynesia. Amongst the many surviving evidences of this occupation are various megalithic structures, including stone pillars showing representations of the human form. Emphasis is given by the authors to the fact that comparable monoliths are especially characteristic of the islands lying nearest to the South American coast.

Favoured by the south-east trade wind and the Humboldt current the migrating Indians are assumed to have sailed westwards in their balsa rafts which—anticipating the *Kon-Tiki*—did not, we may suppose, become waterlogged. So the first island colonies were launched.

These original or Old Polynesians, as they became, were not left in peace for many centuries. They were indeed partly absorbed and partly exterminated by a second spread of migrants, in this case originating in North America, at a period estimated as between A.D. 1000 and 1300. These newcomers no doubt seized upon women survivors of their predecessors and the resultant mixed stock mingled with the rest to become the definitive and composite Polynesian people such as those who for example welcomed Captain Cook as an incarnation of a 'white' ancestral deity or culture hero returning home and who afterwards killed him, perhaps owing to a religious misunderstanding.

So much for the outline.

In support of the advocated Polynesian origins from America are the results of blood-group investigations, though these are perhaps not yet extensive enough for final conclusions. Briefly, group *B* individuals increase in numbers as records go eastwards from Europe through Asia, reaching a very high percentage in the east and south-east. On the other hand, the numbers are very low in America, North and South, and in Polynesia, where group *B* individuals appear to be completely absent in the more easterly islands. Malays, and other peoples of south-east Asia, thus appear to be at opposite poles from the Polynesians in a character that is gene-controlled, and therefore not subject to variation.

The author begins his detailed discussion of his postulated immigrants not with the Old Polynesians of South American origin but with their later successors. These are indicated as coming from the coast and archipelago of the north-west of North America, occupied from an early period and down to modern times by a number of fishing and hunting tribes, with a stone-age culture relatively high in some respects but low in others. In the sea they not only fished, but hunted a number of marine mammals, using dug-out canoes, large and boat-shaped, capable of long sea journeys. They were skilled in wood-working, and built large rectangular plank houses, producing also elaborate wood-carvings, especially the well-known 'totem poles.' Amongst these people, as noted by the early explorers, and by the author himself in recent years, were, and still are, some individuals showing Caucasoid characters, and with marked physical resemblances to Polynesians similarly endowed. Basically, however, their affinities are Mongoloid, in accordance with the accepted origin of the Indians of America from north-east and eastern Asia. The author goes so far as to identify the actual tribe involved in this second instalment of foundation fathers for Polynesia, namely, the Kwakiutl. A large section of this tribe, driven from its fertile mainland valley by powerful enemies, and having the ocean as its most convenient and congenial way of escape, went out into the wind and current—the north-east trade wind and the Japan current—until they came to the Hawaiian Islands, perhaps by chance, perhaps not.

Incidentally the advantage of down-wind ocean travelling with a favouring current (as used by the *Kon-Tiki*) provides the author with a conspicuous theme in relation to both of his postulated routes of migration into the islands. He also uses the absence of such co-operating circumstances in the West Pacific as an argument against the old theory of western origin.

From the Hawaiian Islands the Coast Indians spread to the other Polynesian groups, already in the occupation of their South American predecessors. It is not quite clear that the author regards the single Kwakiutl episode as representing the sole north-west coast contribution to his theory. It might be surmised, however, that this tribe may not have been the first to send out migrants who reached Hawaii, and even that there was already a known but invisible trail leading to this group. The islands might well have been fully settled at the time of the postulated arrival of the Kwakiutl refugees, and their welcome cold. If the duration of their stay was so short that they retained their home culture relatively unaffected by environmental and other influences, this would account for their assumed hybrid descendants, the Maori of New Zealand—at which islands the refugees, or their Hawaiian descendants, eventually arrived—developing a spectacular material culture so seductively comparable with that of its original bearers, the Kwakiutl. One idiosyncratic culture led to another, whilst a distinctive zoomorphic art became spirally anthropocentric. This suggestion, which is, however, off the record, would seem to fit in with the relatively late period (1300–1350) assigned to the invasion and final stone-age colonization of New Zealand. The author's frequent use of the term Maori-Polynesian would seem to justify some such supposition. But the whole of his case as relates to north-west-coast participation in Polynesian origins needs more and better buttresses.

Numerous similarities between Kwakiutl and Maori cultures are adduced, many of them extending less strikingly to other Polynesian islands. Conspicuous are the great dug-out canoes, rectangular plank houses, carved posts, earth ovens, rain cloaks, types of adzes, short clubs of stone and bone. A number of resemblances in the social system and in customs are also brought forward. The two peoples are credited with physical similarities, the Caucasoid characters being sometimes well marked in both. Amongst missing culture traits in both peoples are pottery-making, palm wine, betel-chewing, the loom and the wheel. The Polynesians acquired the fowl, the pig and the dog—these three becoming, however, by no means uniformly distributed in the islands—as well as some food plants, as part of the give and take with Melanesians at the region of nearest approach of the two peoples in the Fiji, Samoa and Tonga area. The single outrigger appears to be in the same category, to the exclusion of the double outrigger with which Indonesia could have provided immigrants approaching the Pacific by the western route.

There are Maori legends of old-time acquaintance with frozen seas and with trees which lost their leaves for half the year; a tusked animal cited as figuring on some old Maori carvings is interpreted as a walrus (p. 153). A Maori walrus may recall to some sceptical minds a certain Maya elephant—two ambitious ghosts.

Such is an imperfect skeleton of the author's case for North Amerindian participation in Polynesian origins. The case for South Amerindian contributions, the arguments for which are more complex and detailed, must be cut down still more drastically. Myths and traditions, which are rarely concise, play a predominant part, together with other early Spanish observations and records. The scope and pertinence of the evidence from these sources suggest that their applications have been undervalued by anthropologists in the past. Evidence is also derived from the writings of recent anthropologists such as Means, Kroeber, Buck and Hornell, who did not, however, draw from their observations and studies the conclusions that Mr. Heyerdahl extracts from some of them. The heresy of suggesting Polynesian origins from the nearest continental coast was left for him to risk. The potentialities of the favouring winds and currents were discounted or ignored, owing to the established belief in the inefficiency of the balsa raft through waterlogging—a delusion which the author, having deflated it, does not hesitate to stigmatize as a 'stumbling block in modern anthropology.'

Spanish records, however, prove that the balsa raft was frequently

in use, both singly and in what are described as fleets, for fishing at sea, for heavy transport, for warlike expeditions, and for journeys of exploration. Its power of manœuvring and sailing into the wind was noted by the Spaniards, centreboards as well as paddles being used for steering. The author states that ignorance of the proper method of using the centreboards rendered them of little use on the *Kon-Tiki*, except for reducing leeway. Many centreboards have been discovered in tombs in Peru, some with handles decorated with a carved design suggestive of that on some Polynesian paddles (High Island).

Pre-Inca traditions of ocean journeys by raft are relatively few, but they show that periods of many months were sometimes spent far away from land. The early Spanish records contain frequent accounts of their meetings with the rafts, and they themselves sometimes made use of them. Capacity of the larger examples could amount to as much as an estimated 36 tons, and some are mentioned as capable of carrying 50 men and three horses.

The most circumstantial account of an exploring ocean journey from Peru dates from Inca times somewhere about A.D. 1500—some 1,000 years after the islands were first occupied—when the Tupac Inca, a great conqueror and traveller, is described in a detailed tradition as having sailed out into the ocean with a fleet of rafts, in search of certain rumoured islands; topographical observations mentioned in the tradition seem to indicate that he got as far as the Mangareva group, the occupants of which were presumably at this period already fully Polynesian. This visit from Peru (as is plausible) created a counter-tradition of the arrival of a 'King Tupa' in the islands, embellished with many details of his stay.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that for coastal traffic and for fishing Peru had various types of floats, rafts and 'boats' made of bundles of reeds or plant stems, all of them, like the balsa rafts, of 'wash-through' construction. In the Polynesia of the early explorers, whilst wooden rafts were extensively in use, so also were various types of craft made of bundles of reeds or flax stems. Particularly noticeable were the boat-shaped wash-through vessels of New Zealand and the Moriori Islands, which sometimes had a length of 50 to 60 feet, and carried a large number of people, 60 to 70 being a figure mentioned.

The facts about the aboriginal balsa rafts, and the *Kon-Tiki* voyage, make it difficult or impossible to resist the conclusion that the nearer Pacific islands at any rate were within the oceanic reach of migrant pre-Columbian Indians of the period A.D. 500 and onwards. On this basis we may proceed to indicate the general line of argument used by the author to support his theory of the first occupation of the islands.

Following the landings on the nearer islands, such as Easter Island and the Marquesas, a long period must have elapsed before the immigrants, spreading westwards in the course of time, became the Old Polynesians of the scattered island territories. Many Polynesian traditions refer to a great Fatherland in the east, and one from Easter Island is quoted as relating that (at about A.D. 475 by genealogical reckoning) Hotu Matua and his followers 'fled from a desert land to the east and reached the island after combing the ocean for 120 days in search of land. Their reason for departure was to escape a superior enemy.' According to Means (1920) the mainland region (of presumed origin of migrant parties) was, during the fifth century, in large part the scene of constant wars, bloody battles and the building of fortifications.

In both continental Fatherland and the islands evidence from prehistory depends in the main upon archæology on the one hand and myths, legends, traditions and genealogies on the other. The author has dug widely and deeply into the literature of these rewarding fields of study, and has assembled his evidences in almost overwhelming quantity. In the case of traditions and the like his task has been made more difficult and precarious by the superposition of his later upon his earlier Polynesian constituents—North America upon South, many minds, many generations, two (related) human stocks and many divagations in unwritten records.

Much space is devoted—perhaps too much for continuity—to proving that in pre-Inca Peru, and also in other parts of tropical America, there were in the relevant period and later people described in the traditions as fair-skinned, with brown or auburn hair, silky and even wavy beards, and prominent noses, sometimes aquiline—characters already noted in less pronounced form in Polynesia and north-west North America. The Andean representatives seem in fact to have been the more Caucasian-like, and to have had a more marked racial identity. They appear to have been a wandering people of unpredictable habits and disposition. They were apt to appear suddenly in small groups, and disappear again sometimes by supernatural means. They were culture-bearing persons of god-like attributes, and with power over the common people. Kon-tiki was one of these people and was raised to the level of a god; it is noteworthy that the name Tiki is widespread in Polynesia in relation to various god-like persons, some having association with sun-worship. Early Chimu pottery and a number of Tiahuanaco monolithic carvings are regarded by the author as showing facial characters of the type, whilst mummies have been consulted for evidences of skull form and hair characters. It appears from the great amount of attention paid to these people by the author that he regards them as the most important, if not the most numerous, of the immigrants into the Pacific. The early Spaniards were welcomed by the Indians as incarnations of these ancestral 'white men' or heroes, and so avoided extermination by the large armies that could have been turned against them. The author's tentative suggestion as to a possible European origin of these 'white men' must be left to the reader's judgement.

Archæological evidence is less volatile than myths and traditions, and less circumstantial. Megaliths are particularly solid, and their occurrence in both America and Polynesia supplies the author with much material for his theory. The examples on Easter Island and the Marquesas, especially monoliths with representations of the human form, in the round or in relief, are put forward as showing resemblances, too striking for independent origin to be the explanation, to those of such Andean sites as Tiahuanaco. The Easter Island statues are credited with several Indian features—beards, 'long ears,' and an Indian style of hair-dressing embodied in the huge 'hats' of the figures.

Evidence adduced from modern culture traits can only be touched upon. Origins of the sweet potato, bottle-gourd, coconut palm and other plants are discussed, with various conclusions. *Kava*-drinking with its ceremonies in Polynesia, is equated with *chicha*-drinking in Peru and Chile, also having its ceremonial occasions. Trepanning, associated with slings and skull-breaking clubs and maces, is cited in evidence, and also, of course, the practice of mummification. The Easter Island script contains pictographs that the author regards as based on the Andean puma and condor respectively, and the script itself is compared with that of the modern Cuna Indians of Colombia. In both cases the script is cut on wood in 'rising *Bustrophedon*' and can only be 'read' from memory, that is, recited. The *quipu* is compared with the knotted cords, having something of the same functions, formerly in use in Hawaii, New Zealand and the Marquesas, for example.

Many comparable material-culture traits are cited, including nose flutes, feather cloaks and headdresses, ponchos, mirrors and certain simple and composite fish hooks. The absence of pottery in Polynesia, whereas it is an important product of ancient Peruvian art and skill, may perhaps be speculatively accounted for by the fact that water pots, and others, are not adapted for rough-and-tumble journeys in oceanic watercraft, especially when gourd vessels are easily closed and not so easily broken.

It will perhaps be agreed that the book represents a venturesome attempt at navigation against prevailing winds and currents of diffusional theory and speculation. It is natural that the theory should be accused of the defects inherent in novel propositions of such magnitude—namely, those of enthusiastic selective bias, coupled with an unconscious disregard of contrarieties. Of the two main propositions, the Kwakiutl–Maori saga is bold and dramatic, the Andean–Oceanic epic remote but evidential. Sociologists may feel neglected, except perhaps in relation to New Zealand. As to technology, questions of independent origin of diagnostic characters, and of alternative routes of diffusion, are chiefly bound up with the general problem of Old World versus New World origins of many artifacts. Such considerations as functional requirements, non-functional characters of evidential value, global distributions of basal types, and others of wide utilization may be called upon for use in later controversies on matters of detail. At present it is the stability of the theory as a whole that is at stake. In the prevailing scarcity of accepted

principles and criteria, subjectivity and objectivity may be at loggerheads in the mind even of the same individual, and opinions not only differ but fluctuate.

However strong the appeal made to the impartial, or not too impermeable mind, by the theory's apparent internal cohesion it is too early to decide how far the cohesion is inherent and compulsive, and how far the theory is a persuasive but subjective synthesis of a great variety of ancient and modern records and observations varying in evidential value. Time and much detailed argument may settle the issue, and in the meantime our thanks, mingled with admiration, are due to the author for rescuing an old and bedraggled problem from the doldrums. H. S. HARRISON

The Kon-Tiki Expedition. *By Thor Heyerdahl, trans. by F. H. Lyon. London (Allen & Unwin), 1950. Pp. 235, 19 plates*

68 This deservedly famous work is assuredly not in need of further commendation in the columns of MAN, whose readers are doubtless not more backward in their enthusiasm for it than other sections of the reading public. Anthropologists as such, however, confronted by the hearty meal provided by *American Indians in the Pacific* (see above), may now feel inclined to read *The Kon-Tiki Expedition* twice more—once as an *apéritif* and once as an antidote. WILLIAM FAGG

Native Administration in Fiji During the Past 75 Years: A Successful Experiment in Indirect Rule. *By G. K. Roth. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., Occ. Pap. No. 10. London, 1951. Pp. 10. Price 3s. 6d.*

69 Mr. Roth sketches the administrative history of Fiji from its cession to the Crown in 1874, and describes the system now in operation. The nature of land ownership and tenure was here as elsewhere misunderstood by the earlier administrators, but matters in this respect have since been rectified, and in other respects the colony has a very satisfactory record. Its native administration differs from the Nigerian type in that the three European District Commissioners have executive power. The districts are divided into 14 provinces, each with a Fijian ruler.

In Fiji there are now more Indians than Fijians, and Mr. Roth does not make it clear whether these are all subject to the Fijian officials or whether they have officials of their own. RAGLAN

CORRESPONDENCE

A Remarkable Feature of South Indian Pot-Making. *Cf.* MAN, 1952, 121. *With a text figure*

70 SIR,—Mr. L. Dumont has drawn attention in his article to the Indian practice of beating pots with a wooden mallet, with a stone anvil held on the underside. According to him, it is common at least to most of the Tamil-speaking country, from Madura to Pondicherry.

The practice is not restricted to South India; it is a regular feature of the pottery industry all over India. The enclosed photograph of a section of a pottery workshop at Suratgarh (lat. 29° N., long. 73° E.) in Bikaner, North India, clearly shows how a wheel-turned flat-based vessel (right) is converted by beating (in this case by handled



FIG. 1

wooden discs, two of which are seen at the centre) into bulbous jars with sagger base (one seen in the central foreground and two others, half-buried in sand, at left middle distance). A pottery 'anvil' is seen in the central foreground. The beating not only transforms the shape but removes the corrugations left by the fingers moulding the pots while on the wheel.

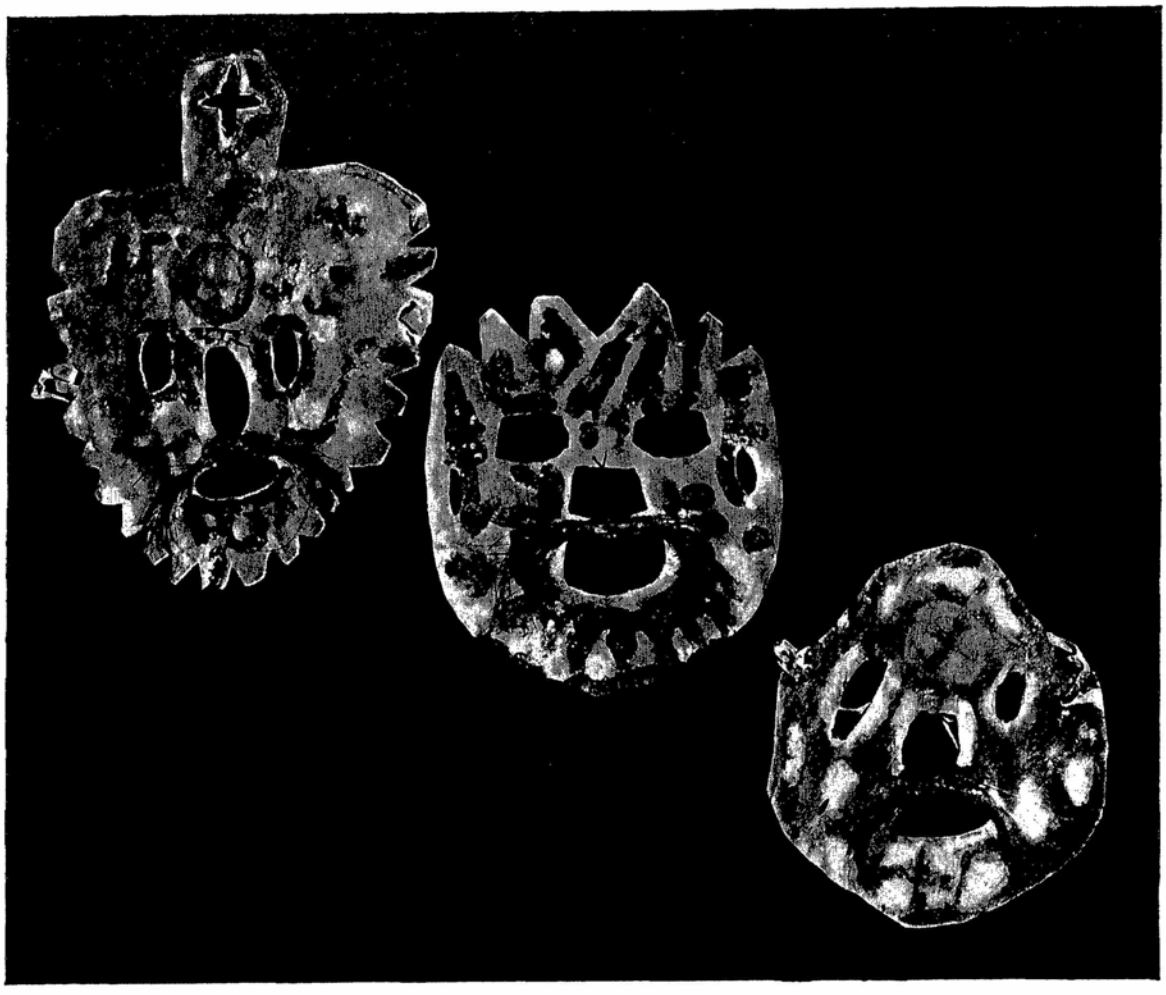
The practice is a very old one, for pottery 'anvils' (rather inaccurately called 'dabbers' by archæologists in India) of practically the same size and shape are found in the excavations at all historical sites, though they do not seem to have been discovered at the Harappa sites. A. GHOSH

Department of Archæology, Government of India, New Delhi

The Study of Caste. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 16

71 SIR,—Professor Srinivas's review of *Caste in India*, though in many respects a very favourable notice, moves me to write in mild protest against his twelfth paragraph. Not that I mind being labelled 'pre-Durkheimian': Durkheim must have written much that even his admirers can hardly subscribe to, and which myself I should regard as completely unacceptable. My 'conceptual tools,' says Professor Srinivas, 'are those of Morgan Maine and McLennan'; again I should have nothing to object to if he had had the justice to include Tylor and Frazer and so given me continuity to my own time. But when he says that he is amazed that I should write as I do 'after Professor Radcliffe-Brown's studies of kinship,' his amazement leaves me not only completely unrepentant, but considerably astonished that an anthropologist of Professor Srinivas's intellectual acumen (unless I am mistaken in his identity I had the pleasure of examining his Thesis for the D.Ph. degree) should not have apprehended that his surprise was quite irrelevant. I do not mean in any way to cry down Professor Radcliffe-Brown's important contributions to social anthropology, but I do not think Professor Radcliffe-Brown himself would claim to have entirely superseded the work of his illustrious predecessors, and whatever light he may have shed on the psychology of kinship the facts of change and survival remain. In any society today, whatever its social needs and however they may be satisfied, the institutions by which satisfaction is obtained are largely determined by the history of that society in the past. They must therefore at the very least illustrate in some degree the changes which its institutions have undergone, and be capable in some degree of analysis with a view to discovering what the shapes of those institutions were. I agree entirely with Professor Srinivas that in the institution of *ghar-jawai* the determining principle is now continuity of the patrilineal lineage; I merely point out that one of the forms under which the continuity is now secured is suggestive of social institutions in which the patrilineal lineage was unimportant, institutions for which there are many indications of an extension in India far wider than obtains at present. Professor Srinivas, if anyone, should know that Indian society, custom and religion are replete with survivals of extreme antiquity many of which have little significance in the day-to-day behaviour of the present generation. I make no claim to be a sociologist, and in regard to the psychological needs and behaviour of existing societies I am at least as interested in the history of the forms by which these needs are satisfied and that behaviour determined, and the relics of the past which they embody, as I am in those needs and behaviours themselves. No doubt Professor Srinivas feels differently, but there is room for both approaches in the study of caste.

The Old Rectory, New Radnor, Presteign, Radnor J. H. HUTTON



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

THREE MASKS USED BY THE EILE OF BUR EIBE

Height: (a) 12¾ inches, (b) 9¾ inches, (c) 8½ inches. Photographs: J. D. Clark



(*d*) THE 'GARILE' DANCE AT BUR EIBE, WITH THE MASKED DANCER 'BALDORO' IN CHARACTERISTIC STANCE

DANCING MASKS OF THE EILE OF SOMALILAND

DANCING MASKS FROM SOMALILAND*

by

DR. J. DESMOND CLARK

Curator, The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone

72 The following is, I believe, a previously unrecorded instance of the use of dancing masks in the Horn of Africa, and may be of interest to some readers of MAN in view of the comparative rarity of masks in eastern Africa.

The masks were found in use in 1945 among the Eile, one of the smaller tribes of the Rahanwein Confederacy, which occupies the southern part of Somalia (Italian Somaliland) between the Webi Shebeli and Juba rivers. The Eile are today centred on Bur Eibe, a prominent granite inselberg which rises 1,000 feet out of the flat and monotonous coastal plain. Two small enclaves of these people are also found, however, in Dafet and on the lower and middle reaches of the Webi Shebeli among the Shidle. Those at Bur Eibe were estimated in 1929 to number some 4,000 men, women and children.[1]

The Eile are all Mohammedans and the majority of them grow millet, own stock (camels, sheep and goats) and live in villages in the same way as do the Elai and others of the eastern Rahanwein tribes. The Sultan's village and one or two smaller ones are grouped round the foot of the *bur*, and one could see that use had sometimes been made, until quite recently, of rock shelters in which to live, cook or keep stock.

The name 'Eile,' which means 'the owners of dogs' is most probably derived from the fact that they are many of them skilled hunters who keep dogs to aid them in this pursuit. There is among them a special hunting association or clan, known as the Eile Giaffei, whose sole occupation is hunting the *dik-dik*, and who are said to subsist only on the meat of this antelope. These professional hunters build no permanent huts and are difficult to contact as they are always on the move. On two occasions, however, our paths crossed. Once I came across a temporary camp of these people, consisting of some eight or nine shelters or windbreaks formed of branches of trees placed round a bush or small tree, which thus acted as the foundation for the semi-circular screen; only women and small children were in the camp, the men being away hunting. The chief impression was of the number of dogs of all ages, sizes and colouring which surrounded the camp and provided an effective guard for the meat and skins which were drying on the bushes. These Eile Giaffei owned no stock, but occasionally one or two goats or, more rarely, even a camel might be acquired by the group in the course of its wanderings. Skin bags and wooden water pots and food bowls formed the more important part of the camp equipment.

On another occasion I came across a group of men, boys and dogs out hunting. The men carried nets rolled on two poles each six feet long. These nets were almost 15 feet long; several of them are joined together and set up in a wide semi-circle and the game is driven into them. Some of the men and boys stand on each flank, to prevent the game from escaping round the ends while others with the aid of the dogs drive the game into the nets where they despatch them with the bow and arrow. This hunting association is centred on the springs of the *Jir* (the escarpment separating the plateau from the coastal plain), and moves freely across the *doi* (red sand) country to the east, south and north-east probably for as much as 150 kilometres or more in each direction.

The manner in which the Eile have trained their dogs to obey certain calls is really remarkable, and to hear the 'master' calling up the dogs in the shadow of the *bur* which re-echoes to their howlings is an experience not easily forgotten. The dogs, some 30 or 40 of them, sit round him in a wide circle, and do not cease to howl until the hunting party is ready to leave and he gives them the word.

The Eile bow and arrows differ in no essential respects from those found among the other Rahanwein tribes who use these weapons. The bow shows some attempt at contra-flexion and in this respect differs from the Wa Boni bow which shows a simple curve. Two types of arrow are found among the Eile: the one with a small sub-triangular head on a long tang is always poisoned and was the old war arrow; the other which is the hunting arrow is leaf-shaped and is never poisoned, being attached only loosely to the shaft. Spring and fall traps are also commonly used by these people for catching game.

On the occasion of a visit from an officer of the Military Administration the Eile would sometimes arrange a dance, and it was at one such dance that I observed the mask shown in Plate D*c* being used. Their name for the dance was '*Garile*' and the name of the masked dancer, who represented the 'sheik of the dance' was '*Baldoro*.' The dance itself took one of the usual forms found among the Somalis in the southern parts of the Horn. The chorus stood in a half-circle (the women on the right) chanting the refrain and beating time with their feet and clapping in unison, while the rhythm was accentuated by a man playing a small double-ended drum slung underneath his right arm and which he played with the tips of the fingers of his right hand.

The dancers were two Eile men, wearing necklaces or rosaries of dried camel dung and red bands, in which were stuck black and white chicken feathers, round their heads. In addition one of the dancers wore the mask seen at Plate D*c* and *d*, and in fig. 1. The mask was made from roughly brayed goatskin with the holes for the eyes, nose and mouth rather carelessly cut out. The front of the mask was painted black with charcoal and decorated with daubs of lime white, which was also used to outline the nose and eyes. A moustache fixed in position with beeswax and a separate beard of goat's hair completed the disguise. The

* *With Plate D and a text figure*

mask was secured in position by a goatskin thong tied at the back of the head.

The two dancers performed the usual warlike, alternating with erotic, actions in the open space in front of the semicircle formed by the chorus.

I could obtain no evidence that any particular significance was attached to this dance or to the masked dancer; certainly the dance itself appeared to be no different from others of this kind that I had witnessed. The Eile informed me that the use of the mask was traditional but that any



FIG. 1. 'BALDORO' AND HIS ASSISTANT

Note the necklace or 'rosary' of camel dung and the feather headdress.

significance that it may have had was now forgotten; with this explanation I had to be content. There may, however, be a connexion, in view of the motif behind some of the lower Juba masked dances, between the Somali word *Gariri*, and the Eile dance. *Gariri*[2] is the name of a herb used in conjunction with others to form a poultice or plaster in chest or bronchial disorders (it is also used as an emetic) and it might not perhaps be too far from the answer to suggest that the dance may originally have been thought to have had a therapeutic effect in cases of such sickness.

I was able to purchase the mask without any difficulty after the dance was over and on a later occasion obtained two further masks from Bur Eibe. These two masks (Plate D*a* and *b*) are made in exactly the same manner and of the same material as the first except that they are painted with a red ochre (obtainable locally) and decorated in white and black. Mask (*b*) was adorned with eyebrows and a beard secured with beeswax, but owing to the vicissitudes of travel and tropical pests these have now, except for the beeswax, disappeared. The most important pieces of decoration on masks (*a*) and (*c*) are the 'cross' symbols which like the camel-dung rosaries were perhaps considered to give to the dancer the sanction of Islam. Mask (*a*) is also decorated with the camel brands of Eile *rers*. Similar signs and others (notably representations of the Somali *bilawa* or dagger) may be seen painted in red, or more rarely in black and white, on the walls of the *Gure makeke*, a large rock shelter near Berdale village, at Bur Eibe; they are here said to be the work of young boys who paint the signs for amusement only.

The Eile dancing masks may be connected with the masks found among the negroid Gosha on the lower Juba. The Garesa Museum at Mogadishu had eight of these masks. They are made from a softish wood which has been coloured black, the mask being slightly curved from front to back, the forehead being straight, while the sides converge to a gently rounded chin; the nose is long and carved in relief, while the teeth and eyes are sometimes inset with shell or bone; moustache and beard may be represented as well as the hair, which in one specimen is made from sansevieria (?) fibre dyed black and is sufficiently long to fall down over the eyes. Like the Eile masks they covered only the front part of the face. These masks are said to be used at dances connected with rain-making, the recovery of sick persons or the cure of sterility in women.[3]

Probably connected also with the Eile dancers were those found by Stefanini in 1913 in Dafet in an area of Shidle villages.[4] Stefanini says (translated):

> Near one of these villages we enjoyed a singular sight. Here we found two individuals of a fairly pure Negro type—tall of stature, with darkish skin, limbs more robust than those of the Somalis, broad prognathous face, full fleshy-lipped mouth and flat nose—probably two slaves, or freedmen as they like to be called, or persons of low caste. They were naked from the waist up, but wore a strip of cloth round the waist reaching to the knees in the one case and to the feet in the other. Though they were lacking in garments they wore a quantity of ornaments. There were necklaces of coloured glass (beads), fruits, porcupine quills and pieces of shell; bracelets, arm bands, and head bands of feathers, while on the forehead of each hung two horn containers in which they kept their arrow poison. Both these men were carrying large representations of bows, made from long thin sticks (about 6 to 7 feet long) held curved by a string, and large arrows fletched with cock's feathers and tipped with a laurel-leaf-shaped metal point, from a genuine hunting arrow. After standing there for a moment they began a series of movements and contortions which gradually took the form of series of jumps and gambols, accompanied by violent gesticulations of the arms and movements of the body, and finally passed into an untidy dance in which the shaken necklaces resounded strangely in chorus.

Stefanini recognized that this dance was quite unlike the normal Somali dances and gives two illustrations of the dancers, one of which shows them in the characteristic attitude shown in Plate D*d*. Stefanini's dancers wore no masks but the headdress and necklaces were clearly similar to those worn in the Eile dance. The 'ceremonial' bows and arrows suggest, however, that the dance witnessed by Stefanini may have been connected with hunting magic or ritual.

Puccioni considers that the Eile were most probably a negroid people in origin, but are now mixed with much Somali blood.[5] He recognizes two contrasting physical types among the Ribi (a people closely akin to the Eile) now living mainly on the middle reaches of the Juba. The one type is tall, lightish-skinned with arms of medium length, not markedly muscular, narrow-shouldered, hyperdolichocephalic and long-faced. The other is short-statured, rather dark-skinned with long arms, very muscular, broad shoulders, sub-dolichocephalic (*sic*) and not so long, rather broadish, face. The first type he identifies as Ethiopian

(Hamitic) and the second as negroid.[6] Such a mixture of types as this can be seen among the Bur Hakaba Rahanwein, including the Eile, and, in fact, just such a mixture can be seen in Plate D*d* and fig. 1.

In early historic times there is record of a negroid element in the southern part of the Horn which was either destroyed, driven out or partly absorbed (Rahanwein) by the Hamitic (Somali) immigration from the north. Tradition associates this negroid group with the WaNyika, and Puccioni states that this is confirmed by Arab records of the time of the Omani colonization of the coast.[7] Before and at the time of the arrival of the Digil and Rahanwein Confederacies in southern Somalia before the end of the fourteenth century, the *bur* country was inhabited by a group of people known as the 'Loo Medo'—who were most probably negroid—and would appear to have shared the country with the Ma'adanle, a group of Hamitic Ajuran, and Galla elements—the Galla Wardai. Eile tradition says that at one time they themselves inhabited the whole of the country in the region of the three *burs*, Bur Hakaba, Bur Degis and Bur Eibe, but that they were driven out of the first two areas by the Elai and Helleda. The story is told by both Elai and Eile of how the chief of the latter, one Geda Babo, hiding in an inaccessible cave on Bur Hakaba, whence he slew his enemies with his incomparable bow, kept all at bay until by a trick they approached and killed him. Legend also credits Geda Babo with having lived at Bur Eibe where the rock shelter known as the *Gure Warbei* (or *Warbaio*)—which means 'the cave of the arrow poison'—is pointed out as having been his home. It was here, so it is said, that the Eile brought him their arrows for poisoning as none was so expert as he in applying the poison to the tang. It is possible, therefore, that this early negroid element in the Horn is today represented, albeit much diluted, by the Bon (Waboni), Ribi, Eile and some of the Elai; the purest of these today being probably the Bon.

On the other hand it is not impossible, and the physical characteristics are not entirely incompatible with the suggestion, that we have in these people, as in the Rahanwein, the survival of an early Hamitic strain, which might even be a link with late prehistoric times: further research on these groups would no doubt produce valuable results.

The relationship of these groups to the more essentially negroid peoples of the Webi Shebeli and Juba valleys—the Schaveli, Shidle, Makanne and Gosha—is obscure. It is possible that basically they were the same but the river valley negroids have assimilated not a little fresh Negro blood from the numbers of freed and escaped slaves that have settled among them.

It is presumably the negroid ancestry of the Eile and associated elements that accounts for the presence of the dancing masks amongst these people.

Notes

1 E. Bono, 'La Residenza di Bur Hacaba,' Extract from Parts 4–6 of *La Somalia Italiana*, Mogadishu (Government Printer), 1930.

2 N. Puccioni, *Antropologia e Etnografia delle Genti della Somalia*, Vol. III, Etnografia e paletnologia, Bologna, 1936, p. 97.

3 F. S. Caroselli, *Catalogo Museu della Garesa, Mogadishu*, 1934, pp. 77, 118f.

4 G. Stefanini, *In Somalia*, Florence, 1922, pp. 313f. and plates 111 and 112.

5 N. Puccioni, *Le Popolazioni indigene della Somalia Italiana*, Bologna, 1937, p. 66.

6 N. Puccioni, *Antropologia e Etnografia delle Genti della Somalia*, Vol. I, Antropometria, Bologna, 1931, p. 202.

7 N. Puccioni, *Le Popolazioni* . . . (see note 5), p. 64.

BATTLE AXE OR CULT AXE?*

by

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73 The term 'battle axe' is applied in archæological literature to the neolithic axe with a drooping blade (fig. 1). Since the appearance of these axes coincides with the cultural change, which is assumed to have been caused by the migrations of peoples, they have been interpreted as the weapons of a warlike people, or of the 'Indo-Europeans.' Because of the frequent finds of 'battle axes' in male interments, the terminal neolithic cultures of northern and eastern Europe have been designated 'Battle-axe cultures'; the same term is used by the majority of European archæologists in many languages.

Were the neolithic axes, and the axes of later prehistoric periods as well, weapons or rather tools and religious symbols? Are we right in using the term 'battle axe' for the Late Neolithic axes, distinguishing them from the other axes of the preceding and succeeding periods?

* *With five text figures*

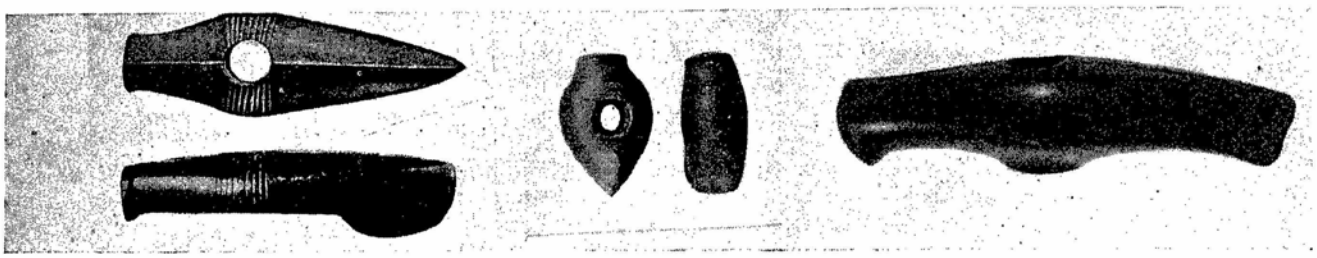
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Distribution of Neolithic Polygonal Axes and Axes with Drooping Blade

Symmetrical, polygonal, plain or decorated axes are frequent in the Early and Middle Neolithic in the First Northern culture, in the Vučedal, Mondsee and Altheim cultures in central Europe, in the Glina culture of Transylvania and the Rinaldone of central Italy. Such an axe is also found portrayed by Danubian farmers on late spiral-meander pottery sherds. The double-edged axes on the late spiral-meander pottery in Bohemia were doubtless imitations of Ægean metal axes of ±2,800—±2,400 B.C. (Neustupny, IPEK, 1936–1937, pp. 16–31). In the neolithic and later Mediterranean world the double axe was one of the most frequent religious symbols, where it was based on the stone pillar or bull's head, decorating the palace, or depicted on tombstones and pottery. Axes with drooping blade reach as far back as the fourth millennium in

Mesopotamia, are common in Anatolia in the third millennium, and later also in the Caucasus. During the Late Neolithic they spread over the whole of eastern and northern Europe.

Both shapes of axe are extraordinarily frequent among the archæological remains of central and northern Europe.



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

FIG. 1. THE LATE NEOLITHIC 'BATTLE AXES'

(a) The axe with drooping blade of 'Fatianovo' type, found in Velikoe Selo near Iaroslavl, Central Russia; scale 2/5; after Spitsyn, 1903. (b) The miniature 'Fatianovo' axe, from Fatianovo cemetery near Iaroslavl, Central Russia; scale 2/5; after Ayräpää, 1933. (c) The 'boat axe' of black stone from Finland; scale c. 2/7; by permission of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University

Most probably the polygonal or double-edged axes came gradually to northern Europe through the medium of the first agriculturalists, the Danubians, in the Early Neolithic. The axes with drooping blade came to eastern and northern Europe from the south-east in the Late Neolithic. The distinctive shape of these axes seems to be confined to the particular time and cradle of their dispersion. But there is no evidence that the polygonal stone axes, preceding in northern Europe the axes with drooping blade, played a different part in daily use and in religion.

The stone axes seem to have had the same significance as the flint axes. Both the flint and the stone axes were discovered in hoards, in bogs and in graves as the equipment of male interments. They have frequently been found in particular positions, for instance, standing with the edge upwards or surrounded with stones (*cf.* Schwantes, 1939, pp. 271f.). In eastern central Europe the Globular Amphoræ people of the Middle Neolithic equipped their male dead with axes of banded flint and with double-edged stone axes or miniature amber axelets.

Evidence for the Significance of the Axes in Religion

The axe is a tool of particular importance throughout prehistoric and historic times. From the neolithic period onwards axes are distinctive for their perfection of form and rather frequent ornamentation which is not found on other tools of daily use. A certain number of axes—both double-edged ones and those with drooping blade—were made in amber, clay or precious stone such as nephrite and jadeite. Certainly these could not have been used as tools or weapons. Both the amber axelets, of the type from the Baltic area belonging to the Globular Amphoræ and Late Passage Grave cultures, and the axes made in clay, from the Central Russian Balanovo culture, were of miniature size (fig. 2).

Axes decorated with symbols appear in central and north Europe in the Middle and Late Neolithic (First Northern, Globular Amphoræ, Salzmünde, East Baltic—Central Russian culture) (figs. 3, 4). In the Bronze Age metal axes were especially richly decorated with circles, wheels, suns, spirals, snakes, and heads or figures of elks, bulls, horses or water birds (*cf.* the central and north European Middle and Late Bronze Age axes, called by German archæologists *Prunkäxte*). Miniature and decorated axes in silver, bronze, iron and precious stone were distributed over a wide area of

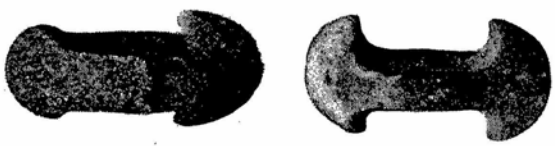


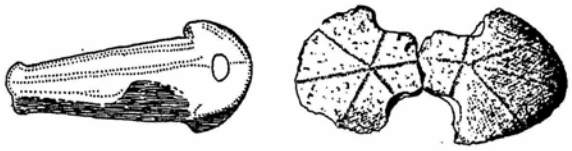
FIG. 2. POLYGONAL AND DOUBLE-EDGED AXES OF STONE

Globular Amphoræ Culture of the Middle Neolithic, Templin district, East Germany; scale c. 2/9; after Sprockhoff, 1938

Europe; they are seen in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age of the Caucasus, and in the Villanovan and Hallstatt cultures in southern and central Europe; they occur also in the Roman period and in the Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Baltic and Finno-Ugrian lands of the later Iron Age phase, where they are continuous throughout the historic times attested by written records.

The rock engravings characteristic of the Pontic and of the Scandinavian Bronze Age are of great importance for an understanding of the part which the prehistoric axe played in religion. In them axes have been depicted as held by male figures with upraised arms, usually ithyphallic, sometimes with a he-goat's or bull's head, or depicted separately with helves (fig. 5) (*cf.* the studies by Almgren, 1934, 1939; Adama van Scheltema, 1936; Schwantes, 1939). The axes were engraved in a similar fashion on neolithic graves, on

megalithic graves in Britain, on stone graves in the Department of Marne, France, painted on the terminal Neolithic stone cist at Mernburg in Saxony, and frequently on Bronze Age graves, as at Kivik in Schonen, Sweden, where they were associated with a stone pillar as in Crete of the Late Minoan period.



(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 3. AMBER AXELETS OF THE MIDDLE NEOLITHIC
(a) Globular Amphoræ Culture, Sandomierz, South Poland; scale 2/5; after Antoniewicz, 1936. (b) Late Passage Grave Culture, (First Northern), Schleswig-Holstein, North Germany; scale 1/2; after Schwantes, 1939

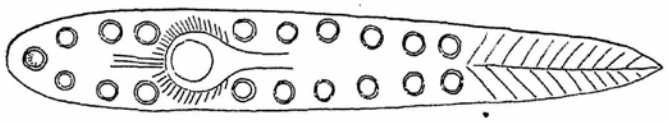
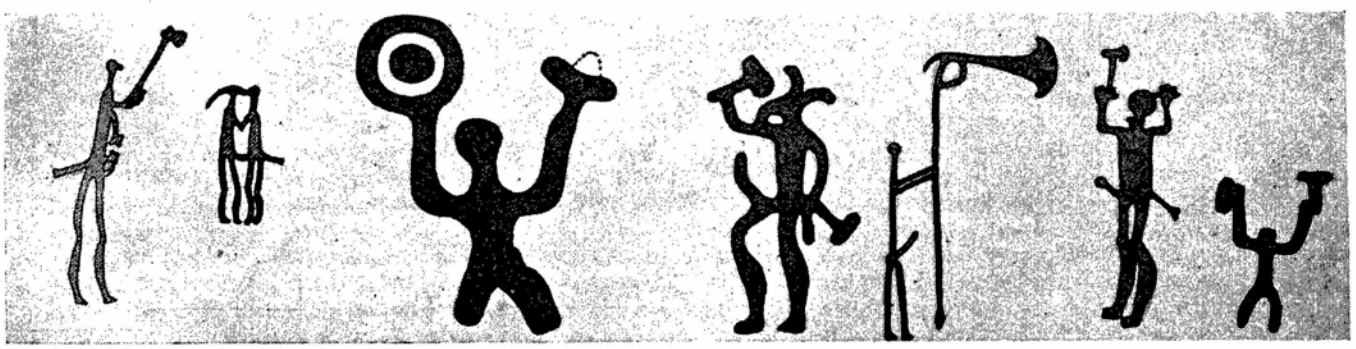


FIG. 4. STONE AXE ORNAMENTED WITH DRILLED-IN CIRCLES
Middle Neolithic Salzmünde Culture, Central Germany; after P. Grimm, 1938

With the help of historical data as well as the customs and art of present-day peasants, we may gain a more exact insight into the meaning of the axe used as a symbol on prehistoric monuments.

The axe is laid under the bed of the woman in labour, on the threshold of a door over which the newly wed couple has to step, and on the stable threshold which the cows have to cross, as protection against their failing to calve or to give milk. When a storm comes, the farmers of northern Europe drive the axe into the door post of the house and leave it there till the storm is over (this practice is attested in Germanic, Baltic and Slavic folklore). According to Bohemian records of the sixteenth century, the axe was set up in the fields, blade side up, or was thrown toward the sky, to protect the crops from hail. And in ancient Greece, according to Pallatius (I, 35, 1), axes stained with blood were held in upraised hands. Even in the nineteenth century Lithuanian peasants equipped their dead with an axe for the purpose of protection against evil powers, and the axe was generally believed to be one of the best weapons for defence against devils. Hundreds of examples in folk beliefs demonstrate the important role of the axe in the religious creeds of the peasants. The gable of the farmer's house was sometimes ornamented in northern Europe (in the Baltic area, especially in Lithuania) with two wooden axes. Two axes associated with a wheel have been used as decorative motifs in old churches up to the present day (*e.g.* to my knowledge in the church of Amelungsborn near Bremen, Germany).

The axe in religion is attributed to the male deity of the sky: the Baltic Perkūnas, Slavic Perun, Finnish Pirgele, Germanic Thor, Roman Jupiter Dolichenus, Hittite Teshub, etc., who holds the power of procreation, stimulating human, animal and natural life, and having the protective power against all evil.[1] The anthropomorphic figure of the sky god usually holds an axe or a bolt of lightning in the hand. When the thunder is heard, the Lithuanian farmer says: 'Perkūnas, the sky god, is coming. Wheels are striking fire.' He comes in a two-wheeled chariot, drawn by a he-goat, holding an axe in his upraised hand. We meet with a very similar conception of the sky god in the ancient Near East, in the Mediterranean area and among the European peoples of the historic era. The Syrian–Anatolian sky-god statuettes of bronze from the period between the middle of the second millennium B.C. and *c.* 700 B.C. were exported to northern Europe. This is shown by a statuette found in Lithuania (Šernai, Klaipèda district, near the Baltic Sea coast).



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*) (*e*) (*f*)

FIG. 5. SCANDINAVIAN ROCK ENGRAVINGS OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE
(a, d, f) Bohuslän, Sweden; after Baltzer. (b) Norway; after Bing. (c) Schonen, Sweden; after Montelius

The axe depicted alone visibly expresses the forceful and vital energy of the sky deity. Among other symbols of the geometric 'circle' family, such as the wheel, the concentric circle, the sun, the moon, etc., the axe, like the male animals, reptiles and water birds, the bull, the he-goat, the ram, the horse, the snake, the toad, the swan, and the horns, most evidently symbolizes the transmission of the

virile power of the sky deity. There is an inner connexion between the figures of male animals, water birds, reptiles and the axe; this connexion is attested by repeated depictions in peasant art of the same symbolic figures in the same places throughout prehistoric and historic times. The axe, while it was not the only life-stimulating symbol, was one of the most frequently used; it was depicted on rocks and tombstones, and was made variously of horn, stone, copper, bronze, iron and wood.

The symbolic tokens of the Neolithic and later periods continuously through historic times, supplemented by authoritative sources of folk customs and folklore, make it clear that in the primitive peasant religion man constantly fought for life, which was threatened by destructive forces: death, disease, winter, sterility or childlessness, the failure of regularity in nature, the evil eye, parasites. If the year was plentiful and the crops abundant, if the youths married sooner and if no one died by unnatural death, then the farmer was happy. Wellbeing requires effort and the primitive farmer sought for it in his religion of existence. We may presume that the symbols incised on prehistoric pottery and other objects, the neolithic 'battle axes' and the well shaped axes, chronologically earlier and later, of stone, bronze, iron, silver, amber, clay or precious stone, all served the wellbeing of the farmer.

Conclusion

There is no evidence that our neolithic ancestors were constantly battling with axes. There is no trace of an axe as weapon in historic sources, in folk customs, in art or in folklore. The cultural change in the terminal Neolithic was caused not by the nomadic warriors carrying 'battle axes,' but by the impact of several groups of agriculturalists and cattle-raisers seeking new lands. This change was also synchronous with the opening of transcontinental trade in Europe in the period ±1800–1700 B.C., caused by very mobile western Bell Beaker Folk and the South-Eastern Catacomb Grave People who traded in metal, amber, glass and other materials travelling across Middle Europe. Itinerant traders of south-eastern origin, trained in Caucasian metallurgy, distributed bronze axes in the area north of the Black Sea, which evidently were imitated in stone by local cultures. The stone axe with a perforation and with a more or less drooping blade gradually superseded the double-edged axes and simple trapezoid flint axes.

The name 'battle axe,' as it is used in the literature, does not characterize the function of the Late Neolithic axe. 'Cult axe' would be a more defensible name. Only in the sense of 'religious battle,' of the struggle for existence, could these cult axes be regarded as battle axes. The primitive tiller of the soil was deeply religious, and his religious expression ruled his life to such a degree that almost all forms of art were subordinated to it. In the life of a primitive farmer the axe is a tool, not a weapon. In prehistoric times it was likewise a tool, so far as we can judge from the working traces. But being a tool, it played a special part in religion.

The term 'battle-axe cultures' is not a precise one. It may remain, as a matter of convenience, but its meaning must be revised.

Note

[1] Africanists will think also of Shango, the Yoruba god of thunder and procreation, whose symbol is the double axe and whose cult has been connected by Frobenius and others with the ancient Mediterranean cultures.—ED.

SHORTER NOTES

Rektor Qvigstad's Hundredth Birthday. *A note by Ian 'R. Whitaker, School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University*

74

The recent development of Lapp studies in Great Britain makes it all the more appropriate that the hundredth birthday of the revered *doyen* of these studies should be celebrated in the columns of MAN.

Rektor Just Knud Qvigstad was born in North Norway at Lyngseidet on 4 April, 1853. His earlier studies were primarily linguistic, and he graduated as cand. philol. in 1874. He then started teaching, at first in schools in Oslo, but from 1875 in Tromsø, where his chief pedagogic work was to be carried out. Here he became especially interested in the Lappish Language, and in 1878 began the first of several journeys to study the various dialects of this language, in this instance to Kautokeino. He later widened his interests to include theology, in which he graduated in 1881, and from 1883 he was headmaster of the Tromsø school for teachers, which post he held until 1920 with the exception of the period 1910–1912 when he was Minister for Church and Education in the cabinet of Wollert Konow. In addition to these posts, he has held a number of voluntary civic appointments in his own town and province.

As a scientist Qvigstad's first work was published in 1883: a comparative linguistic study of Lappish and Finnish. In 1887 he published the first of a long line of works on Lappish mythology and folklore which was to culminate in the four magnificent volumes (1927–1929) that provide the principal corpus of Northern Lappish folklore. In 1893 an important paper on Nordic loanwords in Lappish was to stimulate the Swedish Professor K. B. Wiklund to develop his theories about the Scandinavian origin of Lappish reindeer-breeding, and it is safe to say that this study has never been superseded. At a crucial time he collected valuable data on Lappish superstitions and folk medicine. Among his less bulky but no less valuable work are lists of Lappish names for plants, birds, animals, fishes and stars, and a very complete series of monographs on the place names of all of the Norwegian North-Lappish area. In 1909 he collaborated with Professor Wiklund to produce a collection of historical documents concerning the Lapps in connexion with the Norwegian-Swedish Reindeer Pasture dispute (1909). Earlier in 1895 he had materially assisted in the retranslation of the Bible into North Lappish.

After his retirement from teaching in 1920 he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the publication of his accumulated material and this was to continue for over 25 years. His last major work, published when he was over 90, testifies to the fact that his old age has not been one of idleness or senility. His work in Lappish studies is perhaps greater than that of any other scholar, and the benefits are reaped not only by scientists but by the Lapps themselves whose traditions have been thus so splendidly recorded.

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A Note on Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage. *By Dr. David M. Schneider, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University*

75

In his recently published *Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer*[1] (to which all page references in this article refer unless otherwise stated) Professor Evans-Pritchard reiterates an argument which he first advanced in 1934.[2] Although phrasing has been modified in certain points in the 1951 formulation, the general nature of the argument remains the same.

I invite attention to this argument because in attempting to deal with some of the general problems of marriage I have been confronted by these arguments of Professor Evans-Pritchard's, which deserve very serious consideration. They have not, in my opinion, been adequately evaluated. In addition Professor Gluckman, in his essay 'Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal,' published in 1950,[3] perpetuates what I believe to be certain fundamental difficulties in Professor Evans-Pritchard's argument.

The argument, and I confine myself to the 1951 formulation, is begun by setting forth the functionalist position, thus: 'It is therefore a common sense inference that payment of bridewealth has a stabilizing action on marriage. . . . There is some truth in this supposition, for Nuer know only too well the confusion, and consequent resentment, that may result from the dissolution of a marriage' (p. 90). It then proceeds, with great force and clarity of exposition, to reverse this position: 'The payments do not so much give stability to the union of marriage, as they are a recognition of its stability' (p. 96). 'I think it is evident . . . that the fear of having to repay bridewealth cannot be said to be a very powerful sanction of the marriage union. Nor is there any evidence of which I am aware that would suggest that the greater the number of cattle handed over the more stable the marriage is likely to prove. Indeed, I am prepared to say definitely that the stability of Nuer marriage rests on quite other foundations than payments of bridewealth; affection between spouses, the goodwill between the families of husband and wife, especially personal friendship between the fathers or between the husband and his wife's brother, and moral and legal norms. . . . Marriage is not only a conjugal relationship but also a set of affinal relations, and it can be stable only if the kin on both sides behave towards the other side in the manner expected of them. This they endeavour to do. . . . It is the evocative and inhibitory action of these moral values, sanctioned by approbation and censure, which give stability to marriage and security to the family that derives from it' (pp. 95f.).

Confusion arises first because nowhere is it made clear that there is at times an implicit distinction between conjugal relations and certain of the jural relations which arise out of legal marriage. That is, the physical separation of the legally wedded couple does not in itself constitute a termination of the legal bonds between them or the legal bonds which follow from their union, particularly with respect to the offspring of the woman. Indeed, the careful reader of this book or the reader familiar with the earlier paper on *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family Among the Nuer*[4] knows that conjugal relations are not nearly so stable as the jural relations of marriage. There is a clear difference here, so that the term 'stable marriage' cannot be held to describe jural bonds and conjugal bonds equally.

A second source of confusion lies in the fact that Professor Evans-Pritchard nowhere defines 'stability' or distinguishes between the different kinds of stability exhibited by Nuer marriage. Instead he seems to imply that because divorce rarely occurs the jural bonds of marriage are stable, while he treats broken conjugal relations and failures on the part of widows to live with a proper proxy as matters quite apart from the question of stability.[5]

Stability may inhere in jural relations in the sense that the rules remain unchanged over a period of time. Although this sense of stability is directly pertinent to the Azande, described in 1934, it can simply be distinguished and set aside here as being irrelevant to the case of the Nuer.

Another meaning of stability is complementary to the first. In this sense stability inheres in the constant and unchanging nature of the expectations concerning marriage, conjugal relations, the roles of husband and wife and affines, etc. Professor Evans-Pritchard's statement that marriage '. . . can be stable only if the kin on both sides behave toward the other side in the manner expected of them' (p. 95), need only be amended to add 'if these expectations remain unchanged.' It may well be argued that jural relations are part and parcel of such expectations, but it may be convenient to separate them here.

Still another meaning of stability refers to the degree to which there is conformity with expectations or jural relations. It refers to the extent to which people do what they are supposed to do. For the Nuer this is immediately relevant. Among the Nuer the jural relations established by marriage, particularly as regards rights over a woman's offspring, are stable in this sense to a degree far greater than are the expectations concerning conjugal relations. There is a greater degree of probability that a Nuer man, once married, will remain undivorced than there is that his wife will remain with him or that she will live with a proper proxy after his death.

Nuer marriage is stable, then, in the sense that the jural relations of marriage consist in rules which do not change over time, the expectations of how persons should behave in marriage and with regard to their kinsmen's marriage do not change over time, and the rules (of which the jural relations consist) are rarely if ever broken. But to some measurable degree there is less stability in conjugal relations in that expectations in this area are at times not met; people who should remain together sometimes do not remain together.

Since changes in the rules are nowhere at issue for Professor Evans-Pritchard, and since no one has yet argued (although they might well do so) that bridewealth helps to prevent changes in rules, I will confine my use of the term 'stability' to a high degree of conformity with either rules or expectations.

Further, three fundamentally different problems, all subsumed under the phrase 'stability of marriage,' are not discriminated.

There is first the problem of why conjugal relations are stable in that portion of the Nuer population which maintains stable conjugal relations. Second, there is the problem of why conjugal relations are less stable in another portion of the same Nuer population. Third, there is the problem of why, despite a measure of instability in conjugal relations, the jural bonds of marriage nevertheless remain stable even when conjugal relations are broken.

Professor Evans-Pritchard's arguments are almost entirely directed to the first problem and not to either of the others. Yet the implication of his statement that 'The payments do not so much give stability to the union as they are a recognition of its stability' (p. 96) seems to be that this argument applies equally to all three of these questions.

Still another source of confusion is in part a product of this. It stems from the fact that Professor Evans-Pritchard tends to confound two analytic positions which must be kept separate. He tends to identify the point of view of the actor in a given situation with the structure of the situation itself. He argues that affection between spouses, the goodwill of families, and a like group of semi-psychological considerations all account for the stability of Nuer marriage. Clearly he is directing his attention to the stable conjugal relations, not those which break, for there is little affection between spouses when a wife goes off to live as another man's concubine. Hence he is taking particular Nuer marriages and their stability as his object of inquiry. He is treating the structure of Nuer social relations as 'given,' for Nuer social structure is the same for those whose conjugal bonds are broken as for those whose conjugal bonds remain intact. In either case divorce is rarely possible. Therefore affection between spouses, the goodwill of families, etc., describes the state of those Nuer (actors) whose conjugal relations are stable, given Nuer social structure.[6] If, then, his question resolves itself into 'given particular Nuer marriages, those with stable conjugal relations, what accounts for their stability?' and his answer is 'affection between spouses, etc.,' then we must be prepared to admit, on strictly empirical grounds (since we do not know the Nuer and he does) that whether or not a man can get his bridewealth back is not relevant to the stability of his conjugal relations. This position turns on the concrete conditions which apply to the particular actors concerned in the particular society. In another society the fact that bridewealth is not returnable might play a prominent part in the motivations of people concerned. In any case, the motivations of the actors alone cannot fully account for the situation. Hence the statement that 'Indeed, I am prepared to say definitely that the stability of Nuer marriage rests on . . . affection between spouses, the goodwill between the families of husband and wife . . .' appears to attempt to answer a structural question by presenting evidence concerning the motivations of actors, and not all of them, either.

There is another particular set of marriages: those in which conjugal relations are broken. Here bridewealth becomes very relevant for the Nuer. From the point of view of the actor in the given situation, for the Nuer man whose wife has run off and left him, it is clear beyond doubt that the stability of the jural bonds of *his* marriage are firmly fixed for him by the non-returnability of bridewealth. Should the cattle have died of rinderpest shortly after the consummation of the marriage, and 'Should a wife leave her husband in these circumstances, the problem of bridewealth would probably be solved by the common Nuer expedient of letting her live as a concubine' (p. 94). Whether he wants to or not, the structure of the situation for him is that he cannot get a divorce because he cannot get his cattle back, and only the return of cattle constitutes divorce.

For the question of the stability of Nuer conjugal relations, from the point of view of the actor, cattle are irrelevant. For the question of the stability of the jural bonds of Nuer marriage, from the point of view of the actor, cattle are crucial. It may fairly be said, then, that within the framework of Nuer social structure, the fact that bridewealth has been transferred and is not normally returnable (p. 134) is a condition which tends to stabilize the jural bonds of marriage for those men whose wives desert them, provided that they would demand the return of the bridewealth if there were reasonable chance that the bridewealth would be returned. There appears to be good evidence that many, though not all, Nuer men whose wives desert them would demand the return of the bridewealth if they could get it (p. 134).

We might well ask, 'But why cannot the poor man have his cattle back?' and so tend to shift the frame of reference from the actor in the given situation to the structure of the situation itself. Properly, the question might better be put, 'What accounts for the low divorce rate among the Nuer?' Professor Evans-Pritchard directs no attention to this question, nor are any of the arguments he presents concerning the stability of marriage relevant. For instance, his argument, reminiscent of the earlier publication on the Azande, that '. . . It is the evocative and inhibitory action of these moral values, sanctioned by approbation and censure, which gives stability to marriage . . .' (p. 96) may be very relevant to the question of why some or many (we have no measure of rate) conjugal unions are in fact stable when they are stable, but it is beside the point of the question of stable marriage in the sense of stable jural relations. It cannot follow that the low divorce rate, and hence the stability of the jural relations of Nuer marriage, is a consequence of '. . . the evocative and inhibitory action of these moral values . . .' alone, because more people fail to be inhibited by these moral values than are divorced. Something else must inhibit divorce.

A final source of confusion arises out of the failure to distinguish the three different problems noted above and the consequent failure to consider the third problem, namely, why the jural bonds of marriage remain stable even when conjugal bonds are broken.

It cannot be said of the Nuer, as it might be said of a Catholic community, that divorce does not occur because it is not permitted. Divorce is clearly permitted among the Nuer on a variety of grounds stipulated as legitimate (pp. 92f., 134). If divorce were only permitted on such grounds as could occur with the greatest infrequency this might well account for a very low divorce rate, provided that the rules were conformed to. Again this is not the case among the Nuer, for the fact seems to be that legitimate grounds for divorce occur with some degree of frequency that cannot be described as 'rare' or 'unusual.' Although this rate is not precisely measurable from the data at hand, it can be certainly said that grounds for divorce occur with greater frequency than actual divorce (pp. 26, 92f., 134).

Is bridewealth relevant here? It would seem to be, in that the rules governing cattle-transfer appear to be regarded as inviolate and their inviolability is backed by a willingness to use force. Conjugal relations, on the other hand, are violable in part because conformity to the expectations of conjugal relations is not deemed appropriate to the use of force. The fact that divorce is defined as the return of bridewealth and the fact that it is highly valued cattle which constitute bridewealth would appear to have a direct bearing on the question of what aspects of marriage are stabilized by bridewealth.

In brief, the initial phrasing of the problem is 'Does bridewealth have a stabilizing effect on marriage?' This requires a clear conception of stability and stable marriage. Stability may be defined in terms of the change of rules or expectations over time or in terms of the degree to which the rules or expectations are conformed to. Stable marriage may be defined as stable jural relations irrespective of conjugal relations, as stable conjugal and jural relations, or simply as stable conjugal relations. Some American sociologists

writing on the problem of stable marriage employ the last definition or some modification of it since they seem to be primarily interested in 'happy marriage' and 'broken homes.' Professor Gluckman, in his essay on the Lozi and Zulu chose that definition most appropriate to a structural treatment of the problem, namely, stable marriage as stable jural bonds irrespective of conjugal relations. However, he chose to treat a low divorce rate as an index of stable marriage. He might have chosen prohibition on divorce instead.

If the stability of the jural relations of marriage is expressed as a low divorce rate, then the problem becomes one of accounting for that rate. Here, clearly, societies which prohibit divorce or only provide such grounds as arise under highly unusual conditions must be analysed differently from societies which permit divorce but in which nevertheless, as with the Nuer, divorce occurs very rarely. In either case a divorce rate is a convenient statistic which consists of persons who get divorced measured in some way against persons who do not get divorced in a circumscribed population. A divorce rate is a consequence of persons' actions. It cannot follow directly from the social structure. Immediately the problem is posed as one of rate, motivations become relevant and the problem cannot be treated exclusively as one of structural relations, but must be attacked both from the point of view of the motivations of actors and the structure of the situation within which they act. The only way to avoid the systematic use of a motivational dimension is to restate the problem as a structural problem, allowing for the fact that it cannot be fully solved on that base alone. Thus it might be phrased as 'What structural considerations bear on the divorce rate?' Although the problem is not explicitly stated in these terms, Professor Gluckman appears to have oriented his analysis of Lozi and Zulu divorce rates in this direction.

It thus appears to be insufficient to say that 'brideweath stabilizes marriage' or that 'stable marriage permits bridewealth'; both are true under certain conditions, neither is generally true, and the conditions for each are not adequately specified.

Notes

1 O.U.P., 1951.

2 'The Social Character of Bride-Wealth, with Special Reference to the Azande,' Man, 1934, 194.

3 In *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, O.U.P., 1950, p. 191.

4 *Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, No. 11, 1945.

5 Professor Gluckman's essay on Lozi and Zulu (*op. cit.*) exhibits precisely this confusion.

6 It is conceivable that 'affection between spouses,' etc., are considered to be part of Nuer social structure in that the expectation that spouses should be and will be affectionate is a 'legitimate expectation,' in Parsons' sense (T. Parsons, *The Social System*, 1951). Even if this is so, the point is not materially affected, since this element of Nuer social structure cannot explain those cases in which legitimate expectations are not met and spouses bear little affection for one another to the point of breaking off conjugal relations.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Ancient Egyptian Religion. *By Jaroslav Czerny. London (Hutchinson), 1952. Pp. 159. Price 8s. 6d.*

76 To give an adequate view of the whole field of the religion of ancient Egypt would require many volumes. The very size of the pantheon as well as the length of time that the religion lasted make a combination impossible to compress. Professor Czerny has therefore wisely restricted himself to a few of the salient aspects of the religion without entering into detail. He is of course at home in all the written forms of the beliefs, particularly the theology, but the intimate faith and the passionate belief evinced in much of the religious literature is not so well expressed. This is a pity, for a religion to which the believers cling, as the Egyptians clung to their gods for centuries, requires a more sympathetic treatment than was perhaps possible in so limited a space. There are passages in the chapter on Men and the Gods which show what the author could do if given greater opportunity. One of the chief difficulties in so condensed an account of a religion is to give a clear view of the chronological changes and development of the idea of God and of the representations of the Deity. Yet it would have been possible to have done much in this way. If, for instance, the author had prefaced his account of the god Bes with some such remarks as the following, 'Bes is first found in the XIIth dynasty; in the early XVIIIth dynasty he is shown as a dancing man wearing a lion's skin; from the end of that dynasty and onwards he appears as a bandy-legged dwarf,' the chronological sequence would be clear. Again he has failed to recognize the cult of the hippopotamus goddess in the Amratean period. But the main part of the book is extraordinarily helpful to all students, dealing as it does with the wider aspects of the religion. It is regrettable that the author's space was so limited, for chapters II and III if expanded would form a most valuable contribution to our understanding of the minds and religion of the ancient Egyptians. In the historic period of Egypt, where the information is conveyed by the written word, Professor Czerny's great knowledge of the language makes his translations of religious texts of importance. His sketch of the Tell el Amarna episode is well given, and his summary of Akhenaten is worth quoting, 'the king does not show on his monuments any concern for non-Egyptians, indeed he is entirely absorbed by his own relation to Aton and does not show concern for anybody except himself and members of his family.' The last chapter of the book is valuable for its sketch of the infiltration of foreign religions in the Saite and Persian periods.

MARGARET A. MURRAY

Proceedings of the First Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, 1947. *Edited by L. S. B. Leakey. Oxford (Blackwell), 1952. Pp. viii, 239. Price £1 15s.*

77 This volume appeared, appositely enough, some few days before the second Pan-African Congress met in September last, five years after the first. It is a sad comment upon our times—when potential editors are mostly too busy with dubiously profitable committees considering grandiose schemes at international expense—that the time lag is quite a creditable one by post-war standards of congress publication. The value of these congresses, and it is a great one, is in allowing those present to receive and discuss a conspectus—or cross-section at a particular moment of time—of knowledge and opinion in their subject; the value of the published proceedings is in extending these benefits, in part, to those who were not present, and making them available as a work of reference, but if a lustrum or more is allowed to elapse between the two, much of the value is lost, if only because the cross-fertilizing function of the congress concerned has thereby been for some years constricted, with an effect upon current work which is not easily calculable. It is true that readers of papers are often slow to send in their texts, but this is mainly a function of the vicious circle initiated by the bad publishing reputation of congresses.

The present volume contains a good deal of varied and valuable material organized in three sections: Geology, General Palæontology and Climatology; Human Palæontology; and Prehistoric Archæology. Some of the papers appear only by title and this has tended in practice to accentuate a perhaps natural emphasis upon East and South African matters which was evident at the Nairobi meeting (see Man, 1947, 170). West African archæology is now making considerable progress, and will no doubt occupy a larger share of future Proceedings. The longest and probably most valuable

paper in the volume is J. D. Clark's account of recent prehistoric research in the Somalilands, for which Africanists are greatly indebted to the accident of his presence there during the war; this is accompanied by an excellent distribution map of known sites in the Horn of Africa.

It is perhaps a matter for regret that this Congress is somewhat rigidly confined to the prehistoric field, for in a continent where prehistory commonly extends up to about a century ago, it is obvious that ethnology and traditional history should play an important and, often, a decisive part. Their exclusion must tend to encourage an excessive emphasis on technique at the expense of the real job of recreating cultures and also to isolate the congress members from some of their most valuable critics. For example, the controversial question of the Abbé Breuil's interpretations of Southern African cave paintings in terms of extra-African civilizations is eminently one that demands examination by archæologists and ethnologists together.

The book is quite well produced, although it contains a good many misprints; it is, however, somewhat expensive for its content (mostly short summaries), and one may wonder why it was thought necessary to reproduce three of Frobenius's well-known reproductions of South African cave paintings. WILLIAM FAGG

Blood-Brothers: An Ethno-Sociological Study of the Institutions of Blood Brotherhood with Special Reference to Africa. *By Harry Tegnaeus. Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Pub.* 10. *Stockholm,* 1952. *Pp.* 182. *Price* £2 10*s.*

78 This is another of the well written and well produced monographs which we have come to expect from Stockholm.

After an introduction, the author summarizes accounts of the blood pact outside Africa and then quotes in detail accounts of African rites. Such rites, in whatever part of the world they are performed, are usually much the same; typically cuts are made in the hands, arms or chests of the participants, and they then drink, or eat food dipped in, each other's blood. The participants always swear to help one another, but their obligations vary considerably, even in the same area. In some cases it is customary, in others incestuous, for blood brothers to marry each other's sisters. In some cases blood brotherhood makes for complete equality; in others chiefs become blood brothers to commoners, and the pact does not affect their relative status. Some pacts are individual; others collective. In some cases men become blood brothers to their wives; in others men and women who make such a pact become taboo to each other.

The custom is widespread in Europe, Arabia, most of Asia, Indonesia, Melanesia and Australia, but seems to be unknown in Siberia and Japan, and the very rare examples in America and Polynesia may be of recent introduction. In Africa it is general in Madagascar and in a wide belt extending from about Mombasa to Fernando Po, but outside this it is sporadic and often absent. This distribution puts out of court such explanations as that of Professor Firth (p. 14) that it is to be explained by 'the immediate advantages which institutional friendship provides,' and of Minns (p. 32) that it is due to the similar working of the human mind. Hocart would derive it from the dual organization, but it is found among peoples who have no trace of this. The author points out that blood brotherhood can hardly be a fictitious kinship, because kinship is not generally associated with blood, but he does not himself venture on any theory. RAGLAN

La Grotte préhistorique de Dar es-Soltan. *By A. Ruhlmann. Collection Hespéris No. XI. Paris (Larose),* 1951. *Pp.* 210

79 The cave of Dar es-Soltan, just south-west of Rabat on the Moroccan coast, was excavated before the war by the late M. Armand Ruhlmann, whose chief interest lay in the study of the cultural sequence of this region during the Pleistocene and early Holocene periods. The present publication, which was unfortunately delayed by the war, gives a well documented account of what is clearly a key site; it forms a sequel to the same author's work on the caves of el-Khenzira (1936) and his joint essay with M. Neuville on *La Place du Paléolithique ancien dans le Quaternaire marocain* (1941).

The cave itself forms part of a raised shore line, 12 to 15 metres above present sea level, attributed to the Monastirian sea. It follows that it could not have been occupied before the recession of this sea, an event which is generally equated with the onset of the last Pluvial and the beginning of the Würm glaciation in Europe. We thus have a valuable *terminus post quem* for the series of industries which M. Ruhlmann describes. The first occupation of the cave, at the end of the last Pluvial, is marked by an early Aterian industry; this is sealed by deposits of the dry post-pluvial period, the lower strata of which were archæologically sterile, while the topmost yielded evidence of two further occupations—an evolved Aterian of comparatively brief duration and, at the very end of the Quaternary Period, a somewhat puzzling industry which the excavator regards as a degenerate Mousterian. The début of the Holocene is marked by falls of stone from the roof, probably due to the onset of wetter climatic conditions; and early in this period the cave was reoccupied by a primitive Neolithic group of Oranian tradition, whose débris gradually filled it to the point where it became uninhabitable. The surface layer yielded only rare fragments of Roman and native pottery and a coin of Hadrian.

In brief, M. Ruhlmann has placed the Aterian securely in the Upper Palæolithic, and produced a useful twofold division of it, though the small number of reliable sites so far investigated in this area suggests that this may well be superseded. On smaller points of interpretation, notably his suggestion that the 'decadent Mousterian' industry represents an intrusion by more primitive people, denying the use of the cave to the Oranians who should appear at this point, his dislike of loose ends leads him into somewhat unconvincing ingenuity. His discussion is marred in places by a polemical attitude, reflecting too much the disputes of the 1930's, and giving too little space to recent work, which is acknowledged in a hasty supplement and a few footnotes. It is matter for deep regret that he had not the opportunity for a more considered synthesis of the studies in which he played so important a part. D. OATES

Bolahun: Als deutscher Arzt unter schwarzen Medizinmännern. *By W. Junge. Stuttgart (Engelhorn Verlag),* 1950. *Pp.* 236. *Price DM.* 9.80

80 The author, an openminded young doctor, though without anthropological training, lived for many years among north-west Liberian tribes. Apart from impressions of his work among the natives he relates many interesting facts about the Kissi, Loma, Gbandi, Gola, Vai and other tribes. Some observations made in the course of his medical work bring to light certain hitherto unknown points of magical belief.

There is much of interest in what he says about the 'bush schools' of the Poro and Sande or Bundu societies. He actually went into a 'boy bush' at a school term when all the inmates had smallpox. This makes it all the less understandable that he should confound the names of the Poro and the Sande bush. In Liberia the widespread male society (including bush school and initiation rites) is generally called Poro, and in Pidgin English 'devil bush.' The equivalent girl school and society is called sometimes Sande (Gola), sometimes Bundu (Mendi). The Liberians name it 'gree-gree bush'; 'gree-gree,' meaning originally a certain charm, was later applied to other magical and mysterious things. Some people may therefore occasionally apply the term gree-gree bush to the boy school too, but never could the girl society be called Poro.

Otherwise what he says about these institutions is well observed and seems correct and interesting, especially the burying of a charm (medicine) at the beginning of a bush-school session. But it seems that a new place is seldom selected for that; it seems to me rather that the same high-forest place is used for centuries, and that only very grave reasons will cause a change. Once I heard of a serious dispute between two Gola subtribes because one party had cut down some trees belonging to the 'devil bush' of the other community.

Well worth noting is what Junge says about the leopard society and about the feeding of the great charm with human blood, and his account tallies well with what I heard about these things myself among the Gola and later on among the Gio.

Altogether it is an amusing book, and also worth reading for the anthropologist, who can, if he wants to, find some interesting and illuminating details in it. ETTA BECKER DONNER

Women of the Grassfields: A Study of the Economic Position of Women in Bamenda, British Cameroons. *By Phyllis M. Kaberry. London (H.M. Stat. Off.), 1952. Pp. xii, 220. Price £1 12s. 6d.*

81 It is a pity that this valuable book is not as readable to the physical as it is to the mental eye. Her Majesty's Stationery Office is evidently not in the habit of reading its own productions in the dim light of West African bush houses. The book will none the less be read there as much as in university libraries for it is a remarkable combination of detailed information and general conclusions, of scientific study and practical suggestions.

Dr. Kaberry was asked by the Nigerian Government to make a survey of the economic and social position of women in the British Cameroons. She was faced at once with two theoretical problems. Even though she decided to restrict her survey to Bamenda Province she still had to decide whether, in that unhomogeneous ethnic and linguistic area, to attempt an extensive and necessarily superficial survey of the whole area or to carry out a detailed investigation of a part of it. She opted in the main for the second course and no one who reads her account of conditions in the Nsaw area can doubt that she was right. In one clear-cut picture after another she gives the essentials of the economic situation, whether land tenure, agriculture, trade or industries, and documents the whole with exact statistical information which can be analysed from one angle after another. When one reflects what merely her collection of family budgets must have entailed in time and energy one can only record one's deep respect. One realizes from it, too, and also from the countless references in the book to the personal problems and idiosyncrasies of individual men and women—which include even the colds caught in chilly modern hygienic houses!—the good terms on which she lived with the people she was studying. That and her occasional flashes of appreciative description of the landscape make her book a human as well as a scientific manual. And her short excursions to those parts of Bamenda outside the Nsaw area are useful for comparative purposes.

As to her second problem, Dr. Kaberry realized that a study of the women of a society involved considering them not *in vacuo* but in relation to that society and that she therefore had to broaden her terms of reference to include, in large measure, a study of the society itself. What, for instance, could be made of the opinion held by some observers that the women of Bamenda were overworked and the men idle unless the economic role of the two could be compared? This meant spending time collecting much information about the men. But in consequence the conclusions reached have a sound comparative basis. Moreover, the economic aspect of the society could not be studied in isolation. An understanding of the land-tenure situation, for instance, could only come from considering it in the light of kinship and political, as well as economic, considerations. And a description of the agricultural activities of the women would be invalid without some account of the values attached to those activities by the society itself.

Throughout the book this balance between the various aspects of social life, and the realization that behind all the hard economic facts 'there's nothing good but thinking makes it so,' constitutes one of its many admirable qualities. Another is the number of statements recorded in the vernacular.

We shall await with interest the study promised by Dr. Kaberry of the factor of temperament in Bamenda society. Light has been thrown on this whole question of temperamental differences by the recent work of Dr. Murdo Mackenzie, whose latest book, *Contrast Psychology*, appeared a few months ago, and one welcomes any attention by anthropologists to this important question.

M. M. GREEN

Shona Customary Law, with Reference to Kinship, Marriage, the Family and the Estate. *By J. F. Holleman. Cape Town (O.U.P., in association with Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. and Beit Trust), 1952. Pp. xix, 401, many diagrams, bibliog., glossary, index. Price £2 2s. S.A.*

82 The Shona of this book are primarily the Hera, Rozwi and Mbire tribes of Central Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia. The analysis falls roughly into three parts. First comes a formal description of Shona kinship organization. The treatment follows closely the methods advocated by Radcliffe-Brown. This material partly duplicates that given previously in the author's *The Pattern of Hera Kinship* (1949). Second we have a lengthy and detailed study of the customary rules regulating sex relations and marriage; here the method of exposition owes much to the *adat*-law analysis of Dutch Indonesian scholars. In the short final section, which deals with principles of succession and inheritance, the influence of Radcliffe-Brown is again marked.

The general quality of the work is throughout very high. The jural principles which underlie Shona custom are expounded with great clarity; the numerous case histories with which the argument is illustrated are both admirably chosen and admirably displayed. Few recent works by British social anthropologists have been so easy to read. Dr. Holleman has been thoroughly successful in achieving his declared aim of supplying 'officials of the Southern Rhodesia Native Department with a systematic and up-to-date account of Shona customary law, in particular marriage and family law.'

For the professional anthropologist the total result is rather less satisfying. The formal perfection of the initial kinship analysis is not altogether convincing. The scheme propounded seems too elaborate to be wholly practical and I for one obtained no clear impression of what Dr. Holleman's neat diagrams signify in terms of relations between real households in real village communities. The second part of the book is genuine enough, but somehow old-fashioned; fundamentally it remains a listing of items of custom rather than an analysis of the relation between custom and social process. Let me exemplify. Dr. Holleman distinguishes in all no less than 12 varieties of customary procedure, all of which result, in terms of native custom, in a legally constituted marriage. The varieties include marriage with and without bride-price payment, with and without labour service and so on. Clearly a Shona who wishes to marry has wide choice as to how he should proceed. Dr. Holleman records meticulously what happens when he has made his choice, but fails to analyse in any detail the forces which operate to make one choice preferable to another in any particular case.

For this same reason the formal analysis of the kinship organization somehow lacks integration with the rest of the book. Ordinarily a Shona is precluded from marrying any near cognate, while in addition there is a formal ranking difference between affines such that the patrilineage of the wife ranks higher than the patrilineage of the husband. If this rank difference is not purely fictional then, at the level of local community, it must be of crucial political significance. Furthermore it seems clear that the practical effect of this ranking difference must vary according to the procedural mode through which marriage is effected. In that case the choice between one marriage procedure and another should reflect the outcome of competition for status in the total system of political and economic relations. But somehow this whole question of the incentives to social action fails to emerge from Dr. Holleman's analysis. In discussing formal kinship he stresses the importance of rank differences; in discussing actual marriages the question of rank hardly crops up at all—it is just that some people do one thing and others do something else.

The book, then, is a wholly admirable guide to the practice of Shona customary law, but it does not provide the reader with many clues as to why Shona law should be what it is.

The bibliography is a list of previously published material relating to the subjects discussed. There is no indication of how far Dr. Holleman's findings differ from those of earlier authorities.

E. R. LEACH

Native Administration in Central Nyasaland. *By L. P. Mair. Col. Res. Stud. No. 5. London (H.M. Stat. Off.), 1952. Pp. 17. Price 2s. 6d.*

83 A system of rule through hereditary chiefs has inherent difficulties for a governing power committed to a policy of development. Chiefs who owe their status to a traditional system of rank may be personally unsuited to carry out the new functions of government, or modern conditions may have given rise to other forms of leadership, potentially effective, but in practice immobilized by official adherence to 'indirect rule.' Hence a new trend in

native administration policy which favours non-traditional local government councils on which hereditary chiefs may play little or no part.

Against this background of experience and proposed experiment Dr. Mair sets out to consider the relative efficiency of the Nyasaland Native Authorities as instruments of government. She has taken two Native Authorities in Dedza district, both of which are traditional chiefs, one Chewa, the other Ngoni. The choice provides interesting comparison of the traditional political structures: the Ngoni chief set apart from his subjects as the apex of a pyramid of rank, the Chewa chief, one among his people, in a rankless system of matrilineal descent. But the comparison cannot yield any general conclusions about the relative efficiency of the two tribal systems, as the Ngoni chief is energetic, literate and 'enlightened,' while the Chewa chief is old and illiterate, but by way of compensation employs a Court Clerk who is as able and active as the Ngoni chief himself.

In an interesting discussion of African attitudes to authority there is again an incipient comparison of Chewa and Ngoni, the former particularly emphasizing their ruler's character as protector of women, cherisher of his people. Unfortunately Dr. Mair is unable to develop the implied contrast, and has to be content with suggesting that a dependent attitude to authority is likely to be found (regardless of the matrilineal or patrilineal bias of succession), wherever people are largely ignorant of the forces that affect their lives.

For the future of the new Group Councils, in which village headmen and a few unofficial members meet to discuss matters of common concern, Dr. Mair is optimistic, and specially encourages the proposals to give them direct responsibility for development in their areas. MARY DOUGLAS

The Administration of Justice and the Urban African: A Study of Urban Native Courts in Northern Rhodesia. *By A. L. Epstein, Col. Res. Stud., No. 7. London (H.M.Stat.Off.), 1953. Pp. ii, 124. Price 7s. 6d.*

84 It has been accepted as a principle that civil cases in the towns in which Africans only are concerned should be dealt with according to tribal custom, and to this end Native Urban Courts have been set up. Members of the courts are nominated by the tribal authorities of the tribes principally represented, and live in the towns only during the term of their appointment.

These courts try a great many cases, and within their limitations work pretty well, but difficulties arise because many of the Africans belong to tribes unrepresented on the courts, many others are out of touch with their tribe and no longer wish to be bound by its customs, and many cases arise in the towns for which tribal custom affords no precedent. Marriage cases in which the parties are of different tribes are particularly troublesome. Appeals can be made to the District Officers, but these have no fixed standards of law or procedure to guide them, and they are apt to take differing views of tribal custom. The courts also deal with minor offences such as assault, and can impose fines or imprisonment, the latter of course quite foreign to tribal custom.

Ideal solutions are out of the question, but Mr. Epstein suggests a number of improvements. RAGLAN

Religion in an African City. *By Geoffrey Parrinder. London (O.U.P.), 1953. Pp. 211. Price 15s.*

85 The Yoruba city of Ibadan is the largest in tropical Africa, with a population of between three and four hundred thousand. Dr. Parrinder studied its religions for two years and here presents an admirably clear and objective report on them.

He begins with the pagans. There are temples to some 16 pagan gods in Ibadan. Some of them are well maintained, but most are in decline. Regular worshippers are few and mostly women, but large crowds attend the festivals and masquerades, many pagan beliefs are widely held, and the cult of ancestors is still practised.

About half the people of Ibadan are nominally Muslims. The numbers are due to the social prestige of Islam, and to the popularity of Muslim divination and the constant dances and drummings. Efforts are now being made to instil the tenets of the religion and to promote secular education under Muslim auspices.

Christians may be divided into the adherents of the mission churches and of the separatist sects. The former reckon some 25,000 adherents and scholars, the most numerous being the Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Methodists, in that order. They devote themselves largely to secular education, thereby gaining many converts. Their services, though well attended, are in general drab and ill understood by the congregations.

There are 14 separatist sects, with some 10,000 adherents and scholars. Separatism is due to various causes, including polygamy, the desire for more colourful services, and an incipient nationalism which regards the missions (and Islam) as non-African. Some of their practices show traces of Muslim and pagan influence. A prominent feature is their objection to medical science, which they regard as contrary to Biblical teaching.

Dr. Parrinder holds that the Yoruba are and will remain a very religious people, but what form their religion will take is very uncertain. RAGLAN

ASIA

Babylonian and Assyrian Religion. *By S. H. Hooke. London (Hutchinson), 1953. Pp. 128. Price 8s. 6d.*

86 Professor Hooke's wide knowledge has enabled him to give a general sketch of what is known of the religious organization, ritual, mythology and daily practice, and to illustrate these with many interesting quotations from the texts. These extend we gather, from about 2800 B.C. to about 300 B.C. They depict a religion which, so far as the priests were concerned, consisted of elaborate rituals including the recitation of lengthy myths, and, so far as the laity were concerned, seems to have consisted almost entirely of exorcisms, spells and prognostications. There seems to have been strikingly little change throughout the whole period, and it is difficult to understand how people apparently so hidebound and superstitious could have achieved so much.

Professor Hooke suggests that the underworld deities were the high gods of an earlier cult (p. 31), but it is more likely that they represented the powers of darkness as opposed to those of light. Nobody has suggested that the Devil was the high god of an earlier cult.

The gods of Egypt were often depicted in animal form; those of Babylonia never were, but they had each his sacred animal and their priests wore animal masks. The difference seems insufficient to suggest that 'the Babylonians and their predecessors the Sumerians did not pass through a totemistic stage of religious development, as we know the Egyptians did' (p. 34). And do we *know* that the Egyptians passed through such a stage? It depends on what we mean by totemism.

Finally, there is no mention of the royal cemeteries at Ur, though these provide the most striking evidence for early ritual that has yet been found. RAGLAN

Excavation at Agrohā, Punjab. *By H. L. Srivastava. Mem. Archæol. Surv. India, No. 61. Delhi, 1952. Pp. 10, 13 plates. Price 7s. 9d.*

87 With funds for excavation so hard come by, it is difficult to imagine what considerations can have prompted excavation at Agrohā, unless it was undertaken at the instance of influential Agrawals. No surface exploration or trial trench could have indicated that any information of archæological importance, such as might have been obtained at many other sites, would be forthcoming. While the difficulties arising out of the problems of partition may be admitted, there must have been some records available for this report to have been written at all, and even a generalized description of the pottery and its fabric would have been better than none. The report produces no conclusions as to dates, but the sculptures and epigraphs seem to be of the ninth century A.D. and nothing recovered, with the possible exception of the copper dirk (no measurements given, but about 15 inches long) and the coin finds in

the pits, would appear to be earlier. The profiles and sections of pottery on plates VII and VIII are useful, especially if they can be regarded as typical of the eighth–ninth centuries A.D. in this area. The sections of pots 3 and 6 on plate VII would appear to have obstructions across the neck; if these are in fact obstructions they must be strainers, though no holes are indicated, and as such are uncommon and important. The 51 rectangular coins of Agodaka are a hoard of practically identical coins, and it is a pity that they should occupy two and a half pages of catalogue while no illustration is given of the possibly important 'composite animals' which adorn the reverse of three of them. The four Indo-Greek coins of separate rulers and one punch-marked coin are obviously a collection and not a hoard and have little dating value. Only as a record of pottery of about the ninth century in the eastern Punjab can this publication be regarded as having any true value. D. H. GORDON

Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual. *By H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece, with an Introduction and Notes by A. Aiyappan. Bull. Madras Gov. Mus. N.S., General Section, Vol. VI, No. 1. Madras (Govt. Press) 1951. Pp. xvi, 25. Price 6 Rs. 4*

88 As a by-product of his fieldwork among the Todas, Prince Peter of Greece gives here honestly and in great detail the data by means of which he succeeded in finding out 11 Sumero–Babylonian names of gods in the sacred—and secret—ritual formulas of the Todas. The author himself is aware of the fact that the nature of the evidence produced is such as to preclude any critical upholding of the thesis. This is to be regretted, as one would like to consider at least a part of it as established, as a valuable pointer to further research by other methods.

Unlike the author who, although reluctantly, adds one more theory to the series about the Todas' origin, Dr. Aiyappan in the Introduction aptly stresses the similarities which the Todas, once stripped of their romantic attire, bear to other South Indian peoples. (Mauss, reviewing Rivers's book in 1907, had already said that they were more Hindu than Rivers thought.) Thus the problem is less about 'possible' survivals in one tribe than about Sumero–Babylonian influences on Indian culture. Here is, perhaps, the way open to future confirmation of Prince Peter's hints. To mention only names of gods, identifications of the same kind have been suggested, *e.g.* by Przyluski (Aditi Anaïtis) and B. G. Tilak (Tiamat and Urugala in the *Atharva-Veda*). L. DUMONT

La Féodalite Chinoise. *By Marcel Granet. Oslo (Aschehoug) (London: Kegan Paul), 1952. Pp. 219*

89 A posthumous book by Marcel Granet will be of interest to all students of Chinese history and sociology. The present work is the result of a course of lectures given in Oslo, though unhappily the author had only worked up the first five lectures in book form before his death in 1940.

The feudal period in China may be considered to have lasted from the beginning of the Chou dynasty to the consolidation of the Empire by Shih Huang Ti, King of Ch'in 222 B.C. The Son of Heaven, though head of the confederacy of states, was not the Supreme Ruler. The *Wang*, King of each State was *primus inter pares* among his feudal lords. The whole confederacy was held together by a complicated system of ritual, prerogatives and duties.

It must be noted that the Son of Heaven was not a Divine King descended from the Gods as are the Emperors of Japan and Annam, the Shilluk kings and many others. He owed his position not to descent but to virtue (*te*) which was granted to him from Heaven. He retained his virtue by carrying out the rituals, and by benevolence, generosity and wisdom. The fertility and wellbeing of the country was dependent on his virtue; when the virtue of the legendary Emperor Yü began to fade there was a deluge, the waters rising to Heaven. Eventually, Yü dug canals and the river flowed in its proper course. Towards the end of the Hsia dynasty the Emperors lost their virtue and catastrophes befell. The last of line was a tyrannical despot, and Tang who rose up against him founded the Shang dynasty in 1500 B.C. Signs showed that virtue from Heaven had descended upon Tang. Yet there was a terrible drought; so Tang confessed his sins and took upon himself the sins of all the empire; rain fell immediately. In the Book of History all virtues and wisdom are attributed to the legendary Emperors Yü and Shun in the Golden Age of the Hsia dynasty. They taught respect to fathers, old men and ancestors; they founded cities, markets, administration procedure, indicated the way of Order and Peace—in fact, of all civilization. In the great astronomical myth, Yü divided the earth into four administrative regions. The vassals of the East were assembled in the spring, those of the South in summer, the West in autumn and the North in winter. Four persons were delegated to the four poles of the universe to regulate the solstices and the rising and setting of the sun. At the birth of a male heir, the *Wang*, king, or lord of the domain, shoots arrows to the four quarters before the child is given nourishment, so as to bind him to the earth from which he will later draw his nourishment. The suzerain, the Son of Heaven, also referred to as '*l'homme unique*,' guaranteed the cohesion of the Chinese confederacy of states. He was the receptacle of tradition and custom, he educated and civilized. By the regulated rhythm of his life he carried out the teaching of the Ancestral Heroes. He did not possess the authority of chief of state, but the sanctity of a holy man. The cohesion proper to a feudal world radiated from his holiness. The residence of the Son of Heaven was the capital, and there were built the Ming Tang, the Astronomical Hall or Hall of Light (see MAN, 1952, 232) and other ceremonial buildings, including an archery school.

The five ranks of feudal lords indicate their order in court ceremony. Whatever the rank of the feudal lord in his own territory, he and his line and the domain formed a unity. He was the chief of all local cults and by means of his virtue the source of fertility. Whatever the product, be it millet, rice, cattle-raising or silk culture, he knew the ritual necessary for its success. Every domain had its altar of Earth and Temple of the Ancestors. The direct cult of the ancestors only went back four generations. On the death of a father, his son removed the tablet of his great-great-great-grandfather, and put it in the chapel dedicated to his line. The ancestor cult was practised only by the nobility, but lesser folk respect the 'dead' (presumably unnamed). Before the Son of Heaven or the feudal lords undertook any activity, divination was necessary to ascertain whether it was auspicious, *i.e.* was an act in harmony with 'virtue' from Heaven.

The merchants and artisans formed a class lower than the nobles. However, there was noble trade as well as people's trade. Noble trade took the form of interchange of presents (? tribute) of luxuries, the work of smiths, carpenters, potters, carvers of jade and the whole of the silk culture. The latter was in the hands of the noble ladies and their attendants. The artisans knew the ritual connected with their craft, iron-workers could cause the success or failure of their lords in war by the magic of their weapons. So the artisans and the feudal lords were bound together by mutual loyalty. The peasants were not serfs, but attached to the domain hereditarily. In battle they were foot soldiers, while the nobility were charioteers. The land was divided into square fields; each square had nine segments, the ninth was cultivated in common and the produce given to the feudal lord. He alone had granaries, and in times of want he distributed grain to the commoners, and by his generosity maintained his virtue. The peasants traded in the local markets, weights and measures were fixed by the feudal lords.

The feudal lord and his nobles ate together ritually. War among the feudal states was forbidden, all friends of the Son of Heaven were sworn friends to one another. History, however, shows the frequent breach of this law. It was right, however, to conquer and absorb the land of the barbarians, both outside the imperial boundaries and in the marches between the states. Sometimes a neighbour state would be regarded as barbarian and attacked.

Besides outlining the feudal structure from numerous literary sources, the author gives much other interesting information concerning hunting, sacrifices (including the evidence for human sacrifice in early times) and many other customs. It is noted that the God of Fire is believed to be the inventor of agriculture. This is referred to the fact that the earliest rice cultivated was in the hills, without irrigation, where the forest was burnt and crops raised for a few seasons until the ground was exhausted, when it was deserted and a new patch was burnt.

In the last lectures, for which the headings only are given, are many points of interest, some of which are doubtless controversial.

Vassals married within the domain of their lord, the nobles into families of another name outside their domain. Thus, local exogamy is considered as prior to that of names, and enforced only for the nobles. Polygamy is traced to the marriage of groups of brothers to groups of sisters; but the rules regulating the polygamous marriage of nobles are specified. In the text, '*jeux militaires*,' '*joute d'armes*' and '*tournois diplomatiques*' are mentioned. In the notes for the seventh lecture, only the following details are given. Military art is bound by rules which make a battle seem like a tournament. The battle is an exchange of bravado and etiquette; the ritual of challenge and submission shows that the aim is to achieve honour. The battle ends by alternate '*prestations et communions*' (ransoms, settlements, exchange of women, feasts). The paramount lord does not forbid battles, but insists on the rules of the game. The feudal order rests upon the principle that families and seignorial rights should not be annihilated or absorbed, but fighting is necessary to establish prestige.

It is a pity that these interesting themes have not been elaborated or documented. B. Z. SELIGMAN

Introduction to the Tibetan Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. *By P. H. Pott. Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde. Leiden (Brill) 1951. Pp. 184, 32 plates*

90 The modest title of this book, which claims to be merely an introduction to the Tibetan Collection at Leiden, scarcely does justice to its contents. The Leiden Collection, for which the Museum of Ethnology is largely indebted to the famous Dutch savant Johan van Manen, is, of course, a rich one and includes a number of images and tankhas remarkable both for their æsthetic quality and their iconographic interest. It is of the greatest value to make it generally known to a wide public. But Dr. Pott has done much more than this. He has used the material at his disposal to illustrate the whole field of Tibetan history, ethnography, art and religion. The result is a wholly admirable summary, suitable for the interested visitor to the Collection, the general reader and the specialist. Dr. Pott is himself a specialist in this field; and that his views are authoritative will be immediately apparent to those who are familiar with his more detailed work, especially his *Yoga en Yantra*. Consequently, though his account is clear and simple, it is so because he is so obviously at home with such difficult subjects as the Lamaist type of Buddhism and its iconography. He avoids easily the two pitfalls of obscurity and a too formal systematization, into which too many writers on the religion of Tibet have tumbled.

The book is well produced and illustrated, and there is a good bibliography. In short, it is a model of what this type of museum publication should be, and reflects the greatest credit on the authorities of the Museum of Ethnology, who sponsored it, as on Dr. Pott himself. DOUGLAS BARRETT

Conquerors and Rulers: Social Forces in Medieval China. *By Wolfram Eberhard. Leiden (Brill), 1952. Pp. xii, 129. Price 20 guilders*

91 This book will surely come to be regarded by students of Chinese sociology, anthropology and history as an outstanding interpretation of the power structure of mediæval China. Eberhard deals with one special complex of problems in this period: the social structure and composition of the politically leading groups and their techniques of assuming and maintaining leadership. In addition, however, he relates his interpretation of mediæval China to the social structures of feudal and post-mediæval China in terms of the social origins and composition of the politically dominant groups.

On the basis of a significant change in the composition of the ruling group, Eberhard ends the period of Chinese feudalism at approximately 200 B.C. Since his treatment is sociological, his interest is not in exegeses in problems of periodization but rather in the social forces which led to a change in the social structure of the ruling group. Eberhard points out that Chou society (*c.* 1050–249 B.C.) in its earliest phases is based on a feudal type of organization as evidenced by the following: (*i*) it is the result of ethnic superstratification (the author accepts the power-factor theory of A. Rüstow, in *Ortsbestimmung der Gegenwart*, Vol. I, Zurich, 1949, as to the origin of feudalism through superstratification); (*ii*) the vassals or nobility had a contract relationship to the 'king'; and (*iii*) the bond between king and vassal was based on faithfulness and loyalty. Beginning as early as the eighth century B.C., the character of Chou society began to change. *De jure* vassals began to act like their Chou king and became *de facto* lords on a footing equal to that of their king. In addition there was always an element of bureaucratic administration in the feudal organization since lords and vassals always kept certain areas under their direct administration. Out of this and other circumstances the relationship between landholder and tenant changed from a purely feudal relation to one based on an economic relationship. With the disappearance of paternalism and the growth of rationalistic thinking, an interest in wars of conquest developed. Armies became personal armies and could be used to fight against the remnants of the old nobility and upper class. Furthermore the lord began to draw the landholders into his administration, and this meant the disappearance of the old nobility or their transformation into landholders. These and other factors led to a new stratification of the society and a new ruling class, the gentry. The gentry constitutes the dominant ruling group of the mediæval period of China (*c.* 200 B.C. to A.D. 1100–1300).

The most typical characteristic of 'gentry society' is the absence of an aristocracy or nobility. The dominance of the gentry group is based on its socio-economic position, and the secret of its stability lies in its town and country connexions. That is, each gentry family maintained a town and a country home. The country home was based on land which was rented to tenants and was the economic basis of the family. The city home was the domicile of the educated members of the family who pursued the arts, scholarship, philosophy and politics; these were the esteemed and subsidized members of the family and it was through them that avenues of mobility were opened to members of the country part of the family. The chief activity of the city gentry was politics and one clique of gentry competed with others for control of the emperor and control of the local administration. This gentry society itself passed through a series of stages during the period under consideration and the author notes these.

The main body of the study is concerned with the social dynamics involved in the creation of new dynasties in Chinese gentry society. On the basis of the sociological aspects of historical evidence, new dynasties could be created in three different ways: (*i*) through conquest and the assumption of power by the leader of the attacking group; (*ii*) through peasant rebellions and the establishment of the peasant leader as emperor; and (*iii*) by the successful overthrow of one ruling gentry clique by another resulting in a change in emperors who were either more or less controlled by the clique which supported them depending on the circumstances surrounding their ascent to power. These three processes are stated in the form of 'ideal types,' and illustrative cases of types 'one' and 'two' are presented in detail.

The author chooses the 'later Liang' dynasty as his example of a successful regime based on a peasant rebellion and, by comparing it with other similar rebellions in China, traces the course of such uprisings from their inception to the type of relationship which the leadership finally establishes with the gentry group. The patterns of conquest-type dynasties are treated in greatest detail. Here the author delineates three patterns of nomadic conquest based on the character of the social structure of the conquering group. The types of conquering groups and their form of organization are: (*i*) 'Tibetan,' characterized by a sheep-breeding economy, small political units, and weak leadership; (*ii*) 'Mongolian,' characterized by an economy based on cattle, traditional chiefships and independent tribes; and (*iii*) 'Turkish,' economically based on horse-breeding and limited agriculture, tribal federations with a dominant tribe which supplied the leadership for the federation, and the allocation of specialized functions (blacksmith, hunting and slave tribes) to certain tribes. One type of nomadic rule, the Western Turk Sha-t'o, is presented and discussed intensively.

In an effort to indicate the main lines of political development in post-mediæval China, the author discusses the change in composition of the gentry group and how this change affects the political organization of Chinese society. His main thesis is that the gentry becomes diluted through the entry of peasant, business and craft

classes, and hence becomes a stratified group out of which the Chinese middle class develops.

Conquerors and Rulers is an important contribution to anthropology as well as to sinology. It embodies a significant attempt to analyse and interpret an important segment of Chinese history in terms of a generalizing approach. It is an excellent case study in the problem of the distribution, allocation and maintenance of power in a society in an acculturation or colonial situation resulting from military conquest. A comparative study of the Chinese case and similar patterns of conquest and rule in other areas, Africa for example, could lead to a comprehensive understanding of certain forms of political organization. ARTHUR J. VIDICH

The Kappa Legend. *By Eiichirô Ishida. Mus. Orient. Ethnol. Folklore Studies IX. Peking Catholic Univ.*, 1950. *Pp. vi*, 152, 10 *plates*

92 The Japanese legend of the Kappa concerns a little monster which lives in rivers or ponds and tries to lure horses into the water. After tracing this tradition to the widespread and ancient custom of sacrificing oxen and horses to the water god, the author investigates the various forms of water gods and water spirits. Evidence from the whole Eurasian continent has been marshalled to solve the intricate problem why oxen as well as horses became the incarnation of water gods or were held sacred to them. In the religious life of the people throughout the early agricultural regions of the ancient Orient the ox occupied the central position before the horse was introduced by the Indo-European nomads. With the overlapping and mixing of the different cultures the horse took a share in the part previously played solely by the ox, or replaced the latter altogether.

The author deals also with the East Asian belief that water spirits appear in the form of dragons. In this connexion I would like to point to some reliefs from the Han Period (206 B.C.–A.D. 200) illustrated in Ed. Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (Nos. 122, 148). In her forthcoming publication Dr. A. Bulling will discuss these representations of dragons emerging from cauldrons which are being pulled out of a river. The Chinese stories of oxen of stone or gold sunk in the river and chained to its bed in order to quell the water spirits might enable us to understand better the '*cornibus aureis*' to which Martial refers (X.7.6) and Suetonius's story of Epidius of Nuceria (De Gramm. 28). An allusion to a phase preceding these Chinese stone or golden oxen may be contained in the following practice recorded by D. Westermann from the Shilluk people (pp. 172f.), to which Dr. R. G. Lienhardt kindly drew my attention:

> To bring the cattle safely across the river, the cows are tied behind the ambach boats. After a milk offering 'the sorcerer goes into the river and says, "Bring the cattle!" Now the ambach boats are thrown into the river, and the sorcerer lies down in the middle of the river. The cattle swim (behind the boats): The sorcerer sings a song of the crocodile; the crocodiles belong to his family (to the clan of the sorcerer).'

Several instances of Celtic folklore have been mentioned. Many more could be quoted in connexion with the following problems: intercourse on a river bank; horses appearing out of a cave; horses sacrificed to river divinities or associated with the fairies and thus with the otherworld. The Irish 'ox of the flood' may well be related to the Spanish 'horses of the flood.' In Irish literature there are also references to drowning and burial in a well. Boand lost her eye when imprudently approaching the magic well 'round which hung a threat of mortal combat.' The celebrated magician Mogh Ruith flew up into the air on a hornless bull hide, etc. These instances on which Professor Ishida's theories have thrown new light may suffice to show the far-reaching importance of his laborious study.

We may hope that during his present stay in the United States the author will find time to collect some evidence from the American continent, for it seems unlikely that the relevant Araucanian myth (*Anthropos*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 332) is unique. Global distribution maps might still clarify the remaining problem why oxen as well as bulls are associated with water spirits.

Whereas many Japanese works on folklore (*e.g.* Kunio Yanangita, *Mountains and Islands*) are incomprehensible to us, Professor Ishida's writing in English is all the more welcome. With his original way of thinking and his painstaking methods he has not only opened up for us new horizons but also placed himself in the first rank of modern folklorists. ELLEN ETTLINGER

Kadar of Cochin. *By U. R. Ehrenfels. Madras Univ. Anthrop. Ser. No.* 1. *Madras*, 1952. *Pp. xiv*, 319, 21 *plates*, 27 *text figs. Price Rs.* 10/-

93 The publication of this monograph on a primitive food-gathering tribe of South India by the University of Madras is welcome news for students of anthropology and ancient Indian cultures. The results of the author's painstaking researches extending well over a year among the Kadar, reported to be clanless and with a bilateral organization, are recorded with precision. The author deserves congratulations on his contributions to the study of Indian ethnology, to which his *Mother-Right in India* was the first theoretical contribution.

The methodological approach is that of a follower of the culture-historical school of Vienna, and Professor W. Schmidt contributes a foreword. Dr. Ehrenfels, who is head of the Department of Anthropology, in the University of Madras, is more interested in discussing cultural traits than in presenting a detailed account of Kadan society as it functions. He made five field trips into the area of his researches, but he avoids mentioning the actual period of time spent in the areas of investigation. Moreover, his evidence seems to be collected mainly from 'the sample group of Parambiculam' (p. 279), an area of intense contact with civilization. His study of acculturation problems would have been more valuable, in my opinion, if he could have placed before his readers documented data from one or two areas comparatively unaffected by contact with the plains people, who have been made the scapegoat for all the evils which have appeared in Kadan society.

The author's aim is 'to enable Indian students of culture history to avail themselves of its main results without an elaborate study of anthropology' (p. 272). Looked at from this angle he has succeeded in presenting a faithful picture of a food-collecting society which is in the process of acculturation. Sociologists, however, will be disappointed if they look for a more detailed discussion about Kadan family system, the regulation of sex life, incest tabus, etc. The author, besides putting a query after 'Brother-Sister Marriage?', remarks that 'Kadar are self-conscious and will meticulously avoid what is considered as "uncivilized" by the plainspeople' (p. 136), implying thereby that incest is not committed simply because the latter would laugh at it. In my opinion the sociological factors involved here have not been properly investigated. The present study will, it may be hoped, stimulate further investigations into those sociological factors which are in operation in the present set-up of Kadan society. The author rightly does not consider it a basic matrilineal Kadan society though he observes a strong tie between the mother's brother and nieces and nephews. He seems to hesitate to label the organization as a bilateral one when he says: 'But if the family organization is not actually matrilineal, it is also *not* patrilineal nor less could it be described as patriarchal' (p. 132).

The biographical sketches are a good and commendable feature of the book, which closes with a bibliography and an index, where one looks vainly for terms like clan, exogamy, descent, succession, property, etc. M. C. GOSWAMI

A Demographic Study of the Eurasian Population in Rangoon in 1949. *By J. C. Koop. Rangoon (Anglo-Burman Union)*, 1952. *Pp. iv*, 56, *duplicated typescript*

94 This highly competent piece of work is adequately described by its title. It contains sections on the history and sociology of the community, its age composition, sex ratio and future prospects. The methods of research are fully explained and the statistics are handled with competence and clarity.

The author, who is a trained sociologist and statistician, is himself a member of the community under study and this 'inside knowledge' has enabled him to overcome many of the technical problems commonly involved in social surveys conducted by the questionnaire technique.

The price of the work is not stated. The author's address is given as 15 Short Street, Kemmendine, Rangoon. E. R. LEACH

CORRESPONDENCE

The One-Leg Resting Position in Australia. *With a text figure. Cf.* MAN, 1950, 64, 216

95 SIR,—The reference to the one-leg resting position in Africa prompts me to observe that this is a common custom amongst the Australian Aborigines in the Northern Territory and north-western Australia.

It is quite a regular practice for an Aborigine who stops to talk to anyone to draw up one leg and place the foot of it on the thigh of the other just above the knee. He generally balances himself lightly with the aid of a spear held in one hand or of a spear-thrower which he might either hold in his hand or rest against the bent thigh. Occasionally a man rests one hand on a branch or other object. The hand used for steadying himself is the one opposite to the leg which is bent.



FIG. 1

Left: Forrest River, Northern Kimberley; right: Arnhem Land. Photographs: A. P. Elkin

Natives sometimes stand on one leg without movement for up to 15 minutes; this has been timed. They sometimes change occasionally from one leg to the other, mainly because the conversation has been rather prolonged. One of my observers says that he has rarely seen them change from one leg to the other, because they are more likely to move on rather than take up a fresh stance.

I enclose two pictures. One is of a man carrying a bundle of spears and standing on his right leg; this I took 25 years ago in Northern Kimberley. The second I took in Arnhem Land in 1948.

A. P. ELKIN,
Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney *Professor*

Note

Mr. William Fagg, British Museum, adds the following note.—ED.

Another photograph of the *Nilotenstellung* in Australia appears in A. Marshall, *Ourselves Writ Strange*, 1948, plate facing p. 128.

I take the opportunity of noting its occurrence at three further places in Nigeria (besides those noted in MAN, 1950, 64). The first two cases were seen, in March, 1950, near Obolo, some 33 miles north of Enugu, a pleasantly rural part of the Ibo country, where a herdsman was resting on a stick with a bent knee held well forward, and about 15 miles west of Oturkpo, where a small Idoma boy stood in the one-leg position, holding a staff upright at arm's length. At Ife early this year, during a stay of two months, I noticed two or three small Yoruba children at different times adopting the position, usually with one hand against a wall or other support, while watching archæological excavations or other work in progress.

Age Grades in Musoma District, Tanganyika Territory. *Cf.* MAN, 1927, 151

96 My notes on this subject published in 1927 were, as I pointed out at the time, incomplete. They are amplified and corrected by the following information which I collected during a later visit to the Ikoma area.

Every Mwikoma is born into one of two cycles each of which contains four groups. These groups are known as *Makurra* (sing. *ikurra*) and are as follows:

First cycle	*Second cycle*
Bamena	Bachuma
Basai	Basiriani or Maririga
Banyamburete	Bagini
Bagamunyere	Banyange

These *Makurra* are found among the Bakuria and most of the neighbouring Bantu tribes, but whereas the *Ikurra* of the Bakuria becomes the *Saro* when its members are circumcised and takes its name from some local event, as stated in the above-mentioned article, the *Ikurra* of the Waikoma, when circumcised, becomes the *Sega* (plur. *Masega*) which are 12 in number and are divided into three cycles. These cycles were described in the original article, but several of the names there given are not correct and they should read as follows:

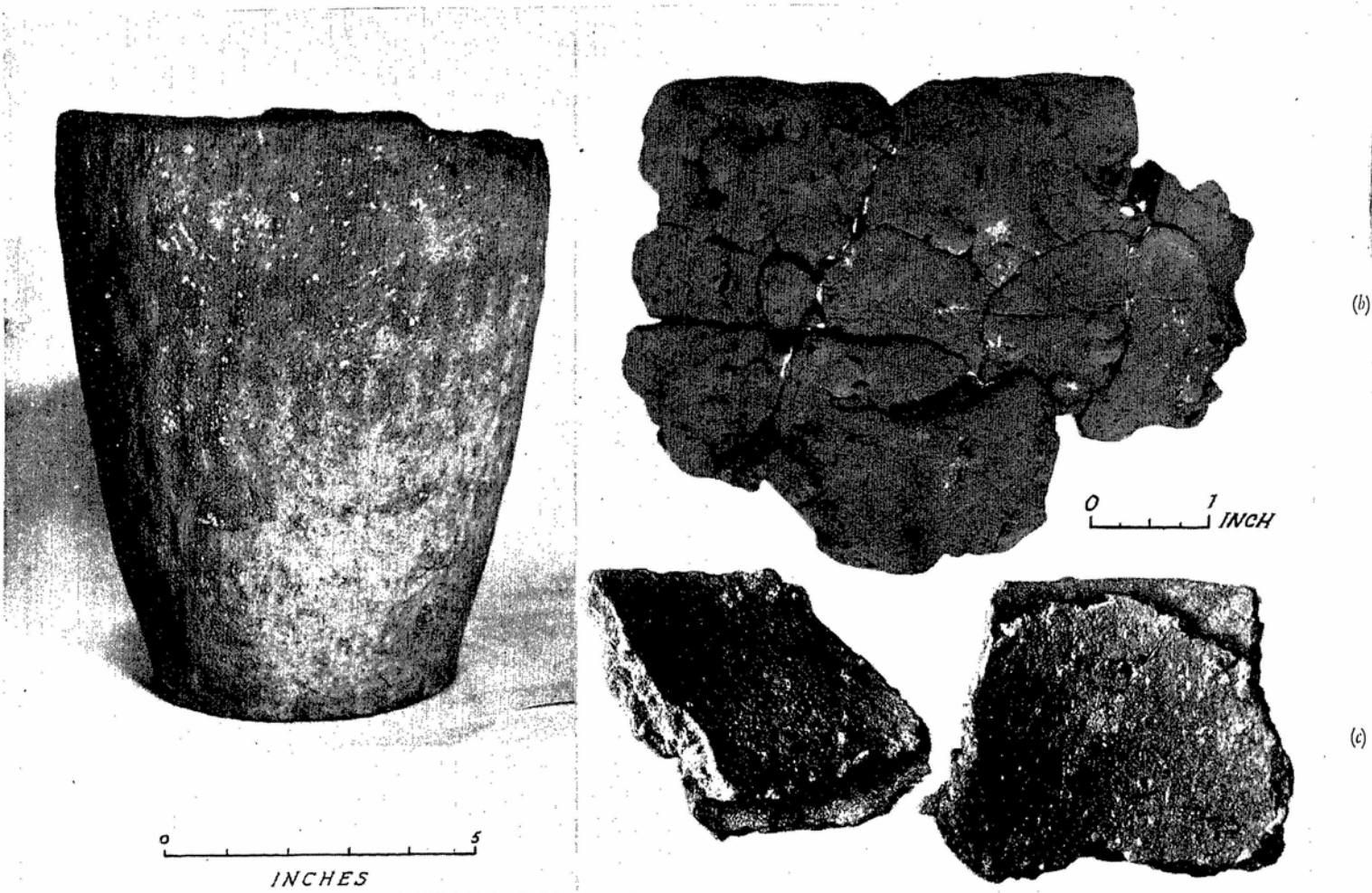
Group A	*Group B*	*Group C*
1. Baramarancha	2. Bakihocha	3. Bakung'uta
4. Bakubura	5. Bakinao	6. Baramate or Basanduka
7. Bakamata	8. Basamura	9. Bamatara
10. Bamasura	11. Bangibabi	12. Bangirate

For long the Waikoma mentioned only the *Sega* and even when I had discovered the existence of the *Ikurra* I found that the two were mixed up in inextricable confusion in the minds of the vast majority of the people. Moreover, it was not clear how the two cycles of *Makurra* were divided into three cycles of *Masega*. Eventually it became evident that each *Ikurra* of the First cycle was divided into two moieties, one *enene* or big, the other *enke* or small. Even so no one could complete the cycles until an elder of the Isenye branch gave me the following table which was accepted as correct by the other elders and, judging by the incomplete statements made by other Waikoma, appears to be so.

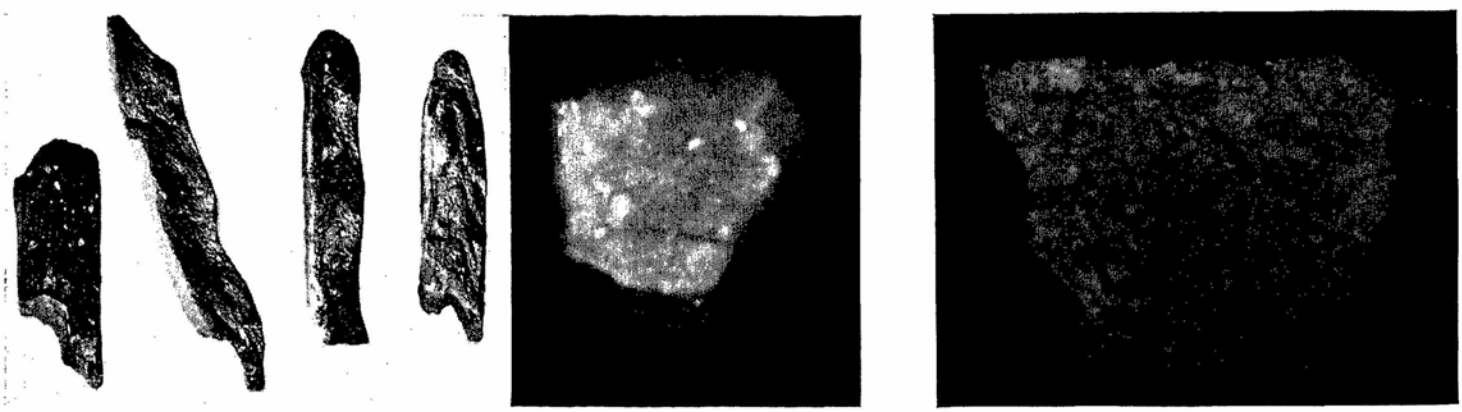
Ikurra	*Sega*
Bamena enene	becomes Basamura
Basai enene	,, Bangibabi
Banyamburete enene	,, Bakihocha
Bagamunyere enene	,, Bakinao
Bamena enke	,, Bamatara
Basai enke	,, Bangirate
Banyamburete enke	,, Bakung'uta
Bagamunyere enke	,, Basanduka
Bachuma	,, Bamasura
Basiriani	,, Baramancha
Bagini	,, Bakubura
Banyange	,, Bakamata

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BRITISH IRON AGE POTTERY: THUMB MARKS, PATCHES AND JOINTS
(*a*) *Lincolnshire (after Yorkshire Museum).* (*b*) *Dunagoil, Bute (after Rothesay Museum).* (*c*) *Calf of Eday, Orkney (N.M.A.S.)*



LAMINATIONS AND JOINTS
(*d–g*) *Photographed edges.* (*h, i*) *X-ray photographs of sherds* (*d*) *and* (*f*). *North Berwick and Traprain Laws (N.M.A.S.)*
Scale ½, *except* (*h*), *actual size*

PREHISTORIC POT-BUILDING IN EUROPE

PREHISTORIC POT-BUILDING IN EUROPE*

by

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97 The subject requires the co-operation of ethnologists and archæologists. The latter have concentrated on the shapes and ornamentation of pottery; the former have shown the methods of simple pot-making—modelling, hammering, moulding, building—but really detailed information is uncommon. Even when it is given, as by Guthe with the archæologists' needs in mind, the record is not completely published.[1] Visible traces of building in ancient pots are frequent only among the cruder exponents of the process, but occasional revealing accidents and imperfections occur among the others.

Continental Europe

Mesolithic Ertebølle pottery in Denmark was long the oldest known and was recognized as built. Clark suggests that it was copied from coiled basketry, being 'coil-built.'[2] But while coiled basketry is made in a spiral, so-called coiled pottery very rarely is; indeed, this confusing term should be abandoned. Ertebølle pottery was built up in rings or strips. That it was a local independent invention gets support from the discovery of similar but even earlier Maglemosean pottery, *c.* 6000–5000 B.C.[3] But nearer the centres of neolithic development postulated by the diffusionist theory are other wares also with a range of impressed decoration, and perhaps from a common root; Childe's 'Cardial Ware' appears to be the earliest pottery over wide areas. When it reaches South Italy, *c.* 3000 B.C., it is certainly ring-built (fig. 1, 1). So are the Forest Zone neolithic comb-and-pit-ornamented wares. From them the technique lasted in Central Russia well into the Christian era,[4] but pottery with textile impressions (neolithic to early Iron Age) may have been made inside moulds lined with cloth.[5]

Holubowicz's study of late neolithic Tripolye techniques in Poland (Schipenitz)[6] differentiates between the coarser fabrics built of rings of flattened strips with a large overlap and the elaborate painted pottery showing narrower, less obliquely pointed rings due, he thinks, to its finer, greasier clay allowing rolls to be flattened on application. But perhaps rolls were used in both cases. From Poland there have also been illustrated a built First Northern neolithic 'collared flask,' full Bronze Age Lausitz Culture built pots with mention of small vessels formed spirally, and specimens from the Roman Iron Age with the 'false rims' of the rings placed centrally.[7]

Mathiassen may be wrong in considering ring building absent in Danish neolithic pottery,[3] for this includes collared flasks. And the sharp angles of Passage Grave pots suggest building in parts if not strips. Related North German Bernburger pots have clear examples of rings,[8] with the ends of the flat handles inserted between.[5] The vessel in fig. 1, 5 (by courtesy of Dr. Bagge), is from a Swedish long cist, and thus probably related to the French S.O.M. Culture. The case of a Lausitz pot (fig. 1, 4, after Krause) is exceptional; the vertical and horizontal joints consist of false rims and the corresponding hollows, which have as always a smooth surface due to handling causing what Childe calls a 'mechanical' slip. Krause reported ordinary ring building in many other Lausitz vessels, including wart-ornamented pottery (*Buckelkeramik*), and in Hallstatt large painted vessels.[8]

Bronze Age and La Tène pots have been published as put together from completed (moulded?) parts, like riveted bronze vessels.[9] More probably they consisted of many relatively narrow rings, but only the joints at the sharpest changes of direction were weak and broke.

Krause considered vessels hammered up from a lump to be as common as built ones in prehistoric Germany, on evidence of bumps and hollows—perhaps often just made by fingertips. Götze indeed noted, as the only important hammered exceptions to building in zones, a series of globular vessels, namely Danubian I and II and Globular Amphoræ.[5] If this is right, then there were two large separate potting traditions in Central Europe. Hammered pottery is said to fracture characteristically along lines of lamination, but it is not evident how one can distinguish these from laminations formed during moulding or building as described below.

Pot-making data are scarce for Southern Europe. In Macedonia late neolithic 'fruit dishes' and middle Bronze Age Minyan goblets had bowls and stems made separately, how is not stated, and 'stamped together.' However, a photograph of a 3½-feet-high pithos (L.B.A.) shows horizontal joints: the regularity of some of its vertical fissures suggests building in patches, four to five inches high.[10] Trojan six-foot jars have horizontal mouldings at one-foot intervals, which is much too great for ordinary ring building.

It would be valuable to learn from ethnologists how likely it is that primitive potters should build their large coarse vessels in rings and use some other method for finer wares. Some Mediterranean earlier finer wares were built, *e.g.* neolithic scratched ware in south-east Italy (Matera), fig. 1, 2. In the Gargano peninsula Battaglia records the technique as general, but on the basis of laminations suggests that there was hammering also.[11] A unique late Bronze Age sherd from nearby Coppa Nevigata has bosses due to two dimples with centres 1¼ inches apart in the corresponding false rim, fig. 1, 3.

British Isles

When Piggott defined 'Neolithic A' round-based pottery he mentioned that joins occurred at shoulders.[12] An Irish example has since been illustrated by Kilbride-Jones.[13] Fig. 1, 9, is from an open Unstan-type bowl from Orkney. Mock carinations could be produced by applying a fillet; fig. 1, 6, variations from Mull Circle, Isle of Man. Of applied rims, fig. 1, 7, from Co. Down, illustrated by

* *With Plate E and a text figure. The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1 April, 1952*

Evans with simpler ones,[14] is curious but definite. (Some of such Irish pottery may turn out to be influenced by Neolithic B.) A fillet rounds off a rim from Antrim and thicker roll squeezed square forms one from North Uist (Eilean an Tighe), figs. 1, 10–11. Rolled-over thickened rims, as fig. 1, 12, from Abingdon, Oxon., demand greater plasticity of the clay.

There is no evidence of structural joints in the rounded lower parts of these Neolithic A pots. They may therefore have been made in a mould [15]; the upper part being added or, when there is no shoulder, perhaps hammered or modelled upwards—consider the thinning in fig. 1, 8. Positive evidence that such pots were not built is provided in Oxfordshire by shell temper used in Neolithic A (Abingdon) and Grooved Ware (Cassington). The flat shell fragments must in both cases lie at right angles to the pressure exerted by the potter. But in the first they run more or less parallel to the outer surface of the pot (fig. 1, 12–13), while in the second they are parallel to the sloping joints of (invisible) rings, fig. 1, 14. Hebridean Neolithic A pots have been noticed to split along laminations parallel to the outer surface.

Grooved Ware in Orkney was recognized as ring-built by Childe, some of that at Rinyo having the false rims in the centre of the thick walls.[16] Another 'Secondary Neolithic' ware also has central morticing, that from the Isle of Man.[17] The best-known 'S.N.' ware, Peterborough or Neolithic B, has been characterized as ring-built by Piggott and others later, unfortunately without published drawings. Despite parallels in the Baltic and Russian Forest Cultures, it has been suggested that Peterborough pottery was a more or less British growth, developed by our own Forest people through contact with Neolithic A pottery.[18] But if the latter was not built, the technique strongly reinforces the evidence of shape and decoration for an eastern origin for Neolithic B.

The relative crudity of Neolithic B pottery has led British prehistorians to despise ring building, *e.g.* calling it 'their rather clumsy "coiled" technique.' For the impression has prevailed that building was something exceptional, and that most British prehistoric pottery was made by 'working up a homogeneous wall from base to rim.' Hence the widely recognized fact that Food Vessel pottery is ring-built has been taken as evidence of its derivation from Neolithic B. Yet the same argument could be used to derive it from the normally better-made Beakers, which were also built, to judge from numerous good typical pots in Scotland—cord-ornamented B as well as A–C.[19] (An ethnological check is, however, desirable on my assumption that pottery of a single class will have been made by the same method or methods, with only minor variations, throughout a culture.) The way the potter countered the thrust of the neck of a Beaker from Dunbar, fig. 1, 15, bears out the architectural analogy of the word 'building.' The sharp edges of its false rims may be due to part removal by final scraping. (Some later British fabrics could not have been scraped because of their large grits.) The joints of a thin-walled little Beaker from Arran are more typical in shape, fig. 1, 16. A few English Beakers have been noted as built: one from Yorkshire by Wray in 1903 [20] and a Wiltshire A Beaker of four rings and base.[21] The Food Vessel in fig. 1, 17, is curious in having one ring entirely on the inside and not increasing the height directly; but a kink suggests that the outside was drawn upwards after the top ring had been put on normally. In a number of examples the walls of Food Vessels were about $\frac{1}{2}$-inch thick compared with $\frac{3}{8}$ for normal Beakers, and the height of their rings $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches from upper to lower edge, compared with 2 to 3 inches for the latter. Probably the original rolls were in each case about an inch in diameter, those of the Beakers being more compressed or modelled.

The diameter of the rolls for the large Cinerary Urns might also be similar. Thus a Cordoned Urn has ring heights from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, fig. 1, 20. This, an urn found with it, and a sherd, all from the Isle of Man (fig. 1, 21–2), show three ways of making cordons without applying fillets: false rims partly exposed; surface pinched up; and parallel grooves.[22] The detailed results of building as seen in section are illustrated by one of the largest Scottish Enlarged Food-Vessel Urns, 16 inches across at the shoulder, fig. 1, 19, [23] It has 11 or 12 rings in $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches of height, and another 6 inches must be lost. The thrust of the neck has been buttressed by pulling up the shoulder ring outside. A thickening roll has been flattened into the hollow below the rim, and a fillet laid round the internal bevel. Across the neck groove are ornamental stop ridges. This pot illustrates certain normal features important for recognizing building *even in intact pots*. The lower edges of the flattened rolls sometimes appear as rounded ridges on the unsmoothed inner surface. Slight bumps and ridges left by the potter's fingers run more or less horizontally round the vessel. Most frequently there is a hollow on the inside a little above the lower edge of a ring; perhaps pressure uniting the two rings was greatest there. (The same pressure may cause the line of the joint to curve.) A counsel of perfection is to have these various irregularities always recorded in drawn sections instead of the usual smoothed-out average thickness.

False rims pointing downwards should indicate a pot built rim first, a procedure quite common in Africa but not certainly known in Britain. Most likely is a Ronaldsway jar (fig. 1, 18, after Megaw [17]), but there is a curious outward curve of the ends of the joints. A Welsh Overhanging Rim Urn has one downward false rim [24]; extra thickness of the wall suggests, however, that the bottom broke away during ordinary building, and was fastened on again.

Traces of building which I have noted include over 40 Cinerary Urns, twice as many as either Beakers or Food Vessels (the latter including one Irish Bowl); but on the poorly made Scottish Iron Age sherds they are far commoner, most sites supplying examples freely. A base with a false rim has been mistaken for a lid, though the technique was recognized at the site.[25] Bases without such turned-up rim are common, fig. 1, 26; fig. 1, 27, is a rare variation. Fig. 1, 23–5, show exceptional forms of rings. In England attention has been drawn to building technique at Glaston-

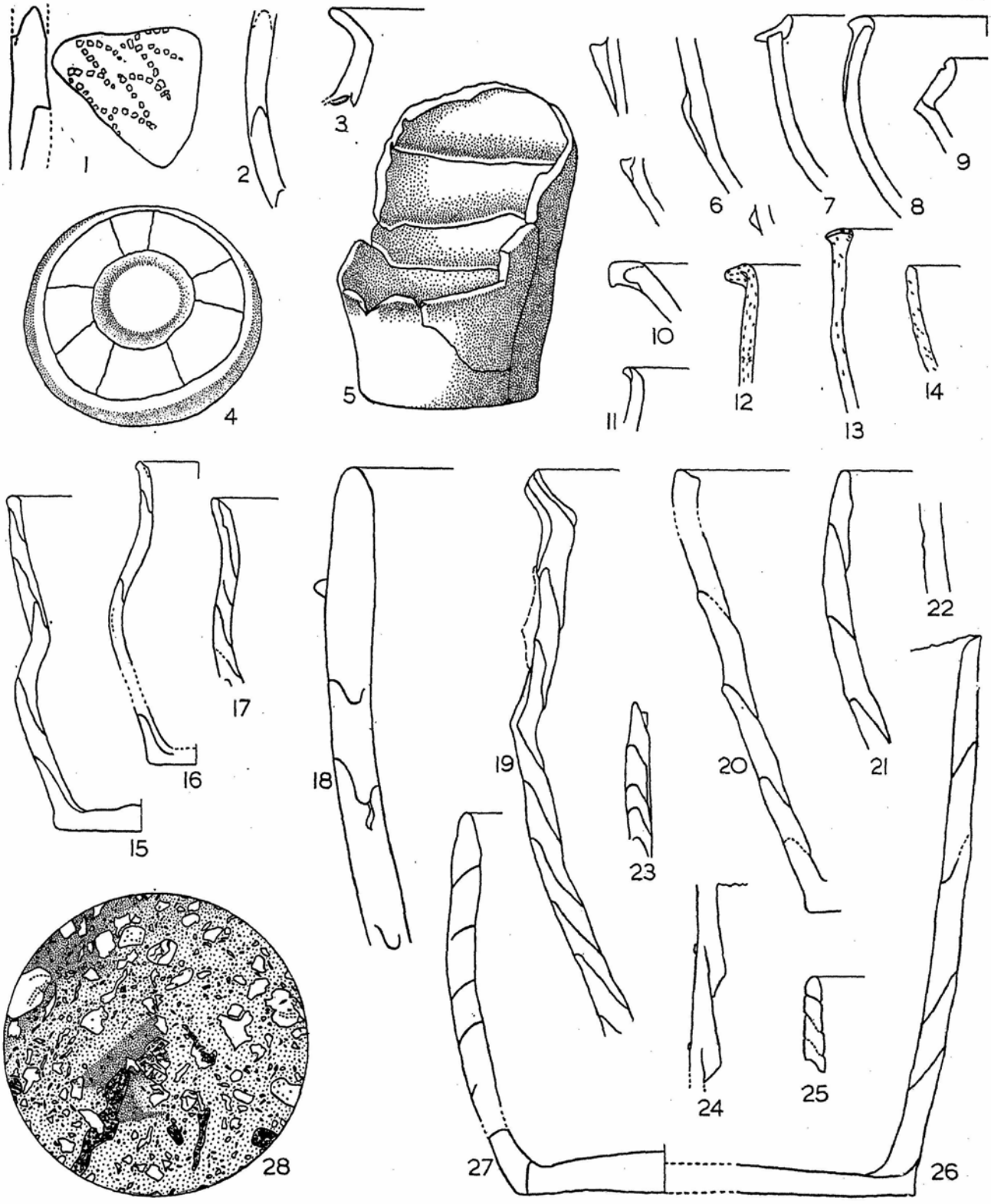


FIG. 1. BUILDING JOINTS IN PREHISTORIC POTTERY

CONTINENTAL: 1–3. *Torre a Mare, Murgia Timone, Coppa Nevigata, Italy.* 4. *Trebbus, Germany (after Krause).* 5. *Basgården, Västergotland (after Stockholm M.).* BRITISH: *Neolithic A:* 6. *Mull Circle (Manx M.).* 7–8. *Ballyedmond, Co. Down (after Evans).* 9–10. *Kierfea, Orkney and N. Uist (N.M.A.S.).* 11. *Antrim.* 12–13. *Abingdon; and Grooved Ware:* 14. *Cassington (Ashmol. M.). Secondary Neolithic:* 18. *Ronaldsway (after Megaw). Bronze Age: Beakers:* 15–16. *Dunbar and Arran. Food Vessel:* 17. *Fyvie. Cinerary Urns:* 19. *Brechin (N.M.A.S.).* 20–2. *Kirk Andreas and Ballafurt (Manx M.). Iron Age:* 23–6. *Wiltrow, Shetland; Foshigarry, N. Uist; Galson, Lewis; and Hatston, Orkney (N.M.A.S.).* 27. *Forvie (Abdn. Univ. M.).* 28. *Greatly magnified section showing lamination (after Ritchie).*
Scale: all ½ except 4 and 28

bury (Iron Age B),[26] and on an Iron Age A pot from Yorkshire.[27]

Sometimes features can be photographed. Regular thumb marks probably indicate rings in a Lincolnshire pot (Plate E*a*). The smoothness of a typical false rim and groove is seen in Plate E*c* from Orkney,[28] and Plate E*b* is a particularly bad piece of potting from a vitrified fort at Dunagoil, Bute, the rings put together of patches and unsmoothed. In Plate E*d–g* the edges of sherds from Traprain and North Berwick Laws (thoroughly washed!) have many laminations in addition to building joints. Plate E*e* has unstructural laminations parallel to the bottom break along a joint (outside morticing); from the upper edge, a false rim, a joint is seen curving steeply down to a fingertip hollow on the inner surface; a deeper hollow lower down marks another ring. Plate E*d* is cut and polished, but it is hard to decide which are laminations and which a joint. Plate E*f* has three false rims and faint indications of two more, and Plate E*g* three false rims and a groove.

Of Plate E*d*, *f*, X-ray photographs have kindly been obtained by Mr. P. R. Ritchie following Mr. Digby's example.[29] The five dark lines on the latter, Plate E*i*, are due to air spaces along the heads of the rings—on which the potter has exercised less pressure than on the sides. The former sherd, Plate E*h*, has probably only one false rim, but air bubbles could have lodged at some point along a joint, and being central-morticed this sherd has joint planes running in two directions. One dark line is a crack on the sherd's surface.

Lastly Mr. Ritchie has had a sherd impregnated with bakelite and sliced for microscopy like a petrological specimen. Fig. 1, 28, is reduced from his drawing of a part 3 millimetres across. The large white spaces are rock fragments, sand. Tiny air bubbles are elongated at right angles to the potter's pressure. Solid particles and air spaces lying parallel to one another form the typical laminations. The dark strata may contain material crystallized during firing, and in any case lie on or close to a joint. The direction of all these should, if a bigger area were enlarged, allow ring building to be demonstrated in fine-clayed wares too well made to have visible joints or coarse laminations, or even long bubbles visible to X-rays.

It is to be hoped that by some such method there may be ascertained the extent to which building was used for the fine wares of the earliest centres of civilization in Asia and Egypt.[30] Ultimately one would want to know the original areas and extent of the various basic pot-making methods, their spread and interlock, and their modern survival. The early distribution map of building, moulding, etc., has probably as much bearing on the origin and diffusion of pottery as the map of dark-faced and light-faced wares or the various forms of decoration. 'Built of rings' is, moreover, no more completely descriptive than 'decorated with impressions,' and minutiæ of the type described above deserve both archæological and ethnological observation, whether they are potter's idiosyncrasies or of wider significance.

Acknowledgment

Thanks are due to many individuals and museum authorities for help in assembling the material of this paper.

Notes

1 C. E. Guthe, *Pueblo Pottery Making* (1925).
2 J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric Europe* (1952), pp. 206, 228.
3 *Nord. Fortids*, Vol. III, Part 3 (1943), p. 96.
4 Voévodski, *Eurasia Sept. Ant.*, 1929, p. 82, and *Sov. Arch.*, 1936, p. 51.
5 Götze in Ebert's *Reallex. der Vorgesch., s.v.* Töpferei.
6 Holubowicz, *Przeglad Arch.*, 1946–7, pp. 131–58.
7 Kostrewski, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulgare*, 1950, p. 223.
8 Krause, *Z.f.E.* (*Verhandl.*), 1902, p. 412, and *ibid.*, 1903, p. 320; *Universo e Umanità*, Vol. V, p. 69.
9 Günther, *Bonner J.*, 1910, p. 354.
10 A. W. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* (1939), p. 24 and Plate XX.
11 Battaglia, *Bull. Paletn. It.*, 1930–31, pp. 99–101 (bibliog.).
12 Piggott, *Arch. J.*, 1931, p. 74, *cf.* p. 112.
13 Kilbride-Jones, *P.R.I.A.*, 1951, p. 83; see also Evans and Davies, *P. Belfast N.H.S.*, 1933–34, p. 91.
14 Evans, *U.J.A.*, 1938, p. 55.
15 Confirmed by Scott, *P.S.A.S.*, 1950–51, p. 32.
16 V. G. Childe, *Skara Brae* (1931), p. 127, and *P.S.A.S.*, 1946–47, p. 34–9.
17 Megaw, *P.P.S.*, 1947, pp. 152–7, and Clark, *ibid.*, 1935, p. 88.
18 V. G. Childe, *Prehist. Communities* (1940), p. 83.
19 Stevenson, *P.S.A.S.*, 1938–39, pp. 223–9 (bibliog.); *ibid.*, 1948–49, p. 235.
20 Wray, *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XXXIII (1903), p. 31.
21 Passmore, *Wilts. A.M.*, 1913–14, p. 43.
22 For M.B.A. and L.B.A. see also Fox, *Archaeol.*, 1937 (Simondston), and Clark, *Ant. J.*, 1936 (Mildenhall).
23 *P.S.A.S.*, 1940–41, p. 209.
24 Savory, *Arch. Camb.*, 1949, p. 77.
25 Scott, *P.P.S.*, 1948, p. 61.
26 A. Bulleid and H. St. G. Gray, *Glastonbury Lake Village*, Vol. II (1917), p. 501.
27 Sheppard, *Yorks. A. J.*, 1939, p. 40.
28 Callander, *P.S.A.S.*, 1936–37, p. 149.
29 Digby, *Compte Rendu, XXVIII Congrés Int. des Américanistes* (1947), p. 605.
30 Ring-built: Chinese neolithic (but not the painted?), *Antiquity*, 1933, p. 398; Egypt, Naqada II painted ware, information from E. Baumgärtel.

THE COLOUR OF THE WILD CATTLE OF LASCAUX

by

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98 The wild cattle on the friezes in the cave of Lascaux are, apart from certain distortions, so well drawn that they deserve a close study, especially since they are the best prehistoric pictures available of the wild ancestors of domesticated cattle. They all belong to *Bos primigenius*. According to Windels' Lascaux monograph there are in addition specimens belonging to *Bos longifrons* (Nos. 21, 23, 24, 44 and 63). This is not so. *Bos longifrons*

is the name used for a domesticated breed known from the Neolithic onwards, which in spite of its Latin name did not have a long face. The identification appears to have relied mainly on the slender head shown in the pictures quoted. In fact, they are cows of *Bos primigenius*.

The coloration of *B. primigenius* is well known from other evidence. The bulls were black or reddish-black, with a light-coloured (white, yellowish or reddish) line extending along the back and with some similar hair between the horns. The cows were usually reddish-brown, with darker head and legs, and many of them appear to have had the light-coloured stripe also. There was probably a yellowish-dun variety of cows in the southern areas. Cattle exhibiting wild coloration can still be seen in Morocco today. In Lascaux both bulls and cows appear in their correct colours. The black bull, No. 26, shows particularly well the light-coloured stripe and the light hair between the horns. I am inclined to doubt that attempts have been made to redraw the profile of the back, as has been suggested; it is simply the white line that has been brought out by redrawing it. The cow, No. 21, again shows the light stripe on the back and, in addition, the dark head.

Apart from these normal-coloured bulls and cows of Lascaux, there are some extraordinary ones, shown in outline only, or filled in with white and a certain amount of black stippling. Since the characteristics of normal coloration are shown so accurately, these individuals deserve to be taken seriously. I have always held the view that there were pale-coloured specimens, such as occur very rarely in wild herds of other animals. They appear to have been either practically white with small blackish spots on the head and fore portion of the body (Nos. 9, 13 or 14, and 15) or, in addition, with a blackish nose and chin (No. 18). The legs of all these individuals appear to have been dark. Similar coloration occurs in English Park Cattle, a resemblance which Professor Lutz Heck regards as evidence for the primitive character of this domesticated breed (*J. Nass. Ver. Naturk.*, Vol. XC, 1952, p. 107). This author suggests that white specimens were perhaps not killed by hunters and that they eventually became the ancestral stock used for domestication. While I do not agree that domestication started from such material, the idea that white specimens had a magical value is very acceptable. The only problem is whether such white specimens really occurred in nature.

In the case of *B. primigenius*, a species extinct in the wild state, this can no longer be verified, but there is most suggestive evidence available concerning the American bison. In Garretson's monograph on the American Bison (New York, 1938, p. 28, fig. facing p. 14) colour aberrations of this normally brown species are described. Among the herds that thronged the prairies in the nineteenth century, rare individuals were met with that were pied or spotted. In addition, there were mouse-coloured ones, as well as others ranging from light grey to creamy white. The white buffalo skin figured facing his p. 32 shows a dark head and a certain amount of irregular black cloudiness, mainly on the fore part of the body. This pattern is very reminiscent of the white Lascaux auroxen. It may, therefore, be said that in a species as closely related to *B. primigenius* as is the American Bison individuals not unlike those shown in Lascaux Cave do occur. Compared with the enormous number of normal-coloured individuals they are, of course, very rare. These observations strongly support the theory that the animals shown on the friezes have a magical significance.

SHORTER NOTES

A Note on Changing Norwegian Attitudes towards the Lapps (Sames). *By Professor Gutorm Gjessing, University of Oslo, Norway*

99

It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that the Lapps[1] have been able to a great extent to preserve their own culture and social structure in spite of the pressure from the overwhelmingly expansive Western civilization. This is particularly remarkable because the Lapps represent a minimal minority within the countries in which they live, *viz.* Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Kola), and Norway and Sweden at least definitely belong to the Western types of societies. I am, however, concerned here only with the relations between Norwegians and Lapps, because the situation in Norway in many respects differs from that in the other countries in question.

Whilst Sweden has had her colonies and also a European empire, and is therefore not without traditions of being a governing minority in the midst of peoples with languages, cultures and social structures different from her own, and thus in being compelled to modify her political activity according to these social organizations in order to attain her aims, Norway has never been bothered by these problems, at any rate not within the last 900 years. By the ordinary Norwegian the Lapps have thus been considered a tiny minority within the Norwegian population. Obviously this has affected the character of the relations between the two peoples.

One of the reasons for the persistence of the Lapp socio-cultural structure undoubtedly is the fact that the introduction of Scandinavian political authority did not necessitate the breaking-down of traditional Lapp political systems, simply because political authority never has been integrated in the Lapp social structure. This, however, is not the only reason, since the persistence of the Lapp socio-cultural pattern primarily is a Reindeer Lapp phenomenon, the situation being rather different as far as the Sea Lapps are concerned. The latter, living in constant contact with Norwegians and, by and large, on the same economic basis were thus subject to economic rivalization, whilst the economic system of the Reindeer Lapps made it possible for them to exploit the bare mountain plateaus of little or no use to the Norwegians. Thus the Reindeer Lapps have succeeded to a much greater extent in leading their own life in relative isolation from Scandinavian settlers. As the vast majority of Norwegian Lapps are Sea Lapps, or permanently settled inland Lapps, this, too, has contributed to making the contact situation in Norway different from that in Sweden. In Finland, on the other hand, the linguistic relationship between Lappish and Finnish, and the late westernization of Finnish culture, have diminished the possibilities of friction.

Moreover, archæological and historical sources provide in north Norway a time perspective in the study of culture contact, which is rather unusual, covering at least 1,500 years, and which also permits us to state changes in the systems of values, and hence

also in the character of the relations and mutual attitudes between the two peoples. We will here be concerned with a marked change in the general Norwegian valuation of the Lapps, primarily relative to the Sea Lapps, which took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and is obviously of general interest.

The mutual attitude during the Middle Ages is indicated in Snorre Sturlason's *Sagas of the Norwegian Kings*, from *c.* A.D. 1230. During the civil wars King Sigurd Slembe in the winter 1138–39 had to acquire two vessels from the Sea Lapps on Hinnøya in Nordland. The King lived with the Lapps in their winter settlements whilst the boats were being built, and he obviously consorted with them as equals. They entertained for him and there was no shortage of food and drink, for the King himself quoth:

> It was pleasant in the earth-dwelling
> when merrily we were drinking,
> and the son of a King happily
> could walk between the benches.
> There was no lack of fun
> at the merry drink.
> Men rejoiced with each other
> as anywhere else.

But those who have read the chapter on 'Sea Finns' (*i.e.* Sea Lapps) in Professor Amund Helland's monumental, statistical-historical work, *Norges land of folk* (*Norway's Country and People*, 1906), will really have received a discouraging impression of these peoples, for Helland says: 'Physicians and missionaries, as well as travellers, agree in defining the Sea Finns (*i.e.* Sea Lapps) as an inferior people, both materially and spiritually.' Altogether, according to him, the Sea Lapps are lazy and indolent, slapdash and dirty, dishonestly and morally rapacious, immoral and grossly ignorant. Hardly a good word for them is to be found in his description, but it is nevertheless extremely interesting because, if we go through the sources of Sea Lapp history from the close of the seventeenth century down to the eighteen-sixties, we will find an entirely different picture of them.

Probably the most detailed appraisal is in Hans Lilienskiold's work *Speculum Boreale* (1698), in which he draws a comparison between the Sea Lapps and the Norwegian people. If one is to believe him, the Sea Lapps of that time were more enterprising as fishermen, whalers and sealers than were the Norwegians. Furthermore, the Sea Lapps added to their economic resources by hunting, boat-building, the preparation of skins, and other things which the Norwegians only did occasionally, and other authors express the same opinion; in all cases these opinions can be substantiated from other sources independent of these authors, as the Sea Lapps were far less deeply in debt than were the Norwegians.

And apart from the missionaries, of course, who, in pursuit of their occupation, constantly complained of idolatry and witchcraft, and apart from the Lapp's thirst for alcohol which, according to the older authors, seems to have been unquenchable, we always find a strongly positive appraisal of the Sea Lapps throughout the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Here I may mention such authors as Thomas V. Westen, Knud Leem, Keilhau, Rode, Stockfleth and others, right down to Eilert Sundt's treatise in 1865 on the Nordland boat.[2] The fact which Helland produces as a proof of immorality—the only proof he has to offer—is that the Sea Lapp women went fishing together with the men, and spent the night on board. The older authors used this same fact as an example of the diligence of the Sea Lapps.

These contrasting valuations reflect a considerable change in the general opinion of the Lapps—for Helland is right when he says that the health reports from district doctors, missionaries and so on give this gloomy picture. Now, the dividing line in the Sea Lapps' economy—which actually brought something of a crisis into their lives—came when Pomor trade ceased in the Russian revolution in 1917. The Pomors were traders from Archangel who came every year in their own vessels and traded fish and other Finnmark products for timber, iron wares, flour, etc. The importance of this trade was immense, not only economically, but also socially, and it is perhaps best measured by the fact that it developed a special *lingua franca*, a mixture of Norwegian and Russian, with some Swedish, English and Dutch words, which was understood all along the north Norwegian and Murmansk coasts. When this trade declined during the years preceding the Revolution, which marked its final point, no compensation was provided for the Sea Lapps in the slump that followed. This is one of the most important reasons why many Sea Lapps have been unable to cope with financial competition today. However, this happened a decade after Helland wrote that chapter, and could thus hardly have been the reason for his having written it.

In the eighteen-sixties and seventies Darwinism was making itself known in Scandinavia. Herbert Spencer, Tylor and others carried evolutionism into culture research and opinions; and these were ideas which captured the imagination of the so-called 'educated public,' for they were promptly assured that they were themselves assisting in carrying the evolution of culture forward to what was to be the height of human happiness. And thus it happened that, in spite of evolutionism having been based upon the postulate that human beings of all races were equally mentally equipped and were to go through the same stages of cultural evolution, this theory unavoidably led to the derogation of other peoples—and not least of the so-called 'primitives.' Mental trends and occurrences in Norway played their part—M. B. Landstad's work on folk songs, Asbjørnsen and Moe's collection of folk tales and Ivar Aasen's comparative study of dialects—the 'great Spring Opening,' as it was called; and much followed in its train. Not least among the driving forces were the national fervour of the poet, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson; and the historian, Professor Ernst Sars, the rise of the peasants, the language campaign, the Union struggles with Sweden and many other things. Warning of the Union struggles came as early as 1863, in the form of a compromise—the resolution concerning the claim for a revision of the Union. All this and much more caused Norwegians to be so engrossed by national considerations of various kinds that they had more than enough to do thinking of themselves and their own national problems. Ibsen tried to take up arms against this ethnocentrism, but without any apparent success.

However, it is worth while noting that all these nationalistic expressions were waves from international currents, and this changing valuation of other cultures and peoples is, in fact, a characteristic trait not only in Norway but in the whole of Western Europe and North America, not least in the protestant and industrial countries.

This leads on to one more factor which I believe to have been important. In the eighteen-forties and fifties there came not only a national but also an industrial awakening in Norway. One after another the industrial buildings came up, rearing against the skies and, naturally enough, the pride in these great plants was both great and genuine. Culture came practically to comprise factories, but the Lapps had neither the education nor the capital to give rise to an industry—and a people without factories could obviously not be a people of culture! This more or less unconscious identification of culture and industrialism is relevant even today, as is substantiated by the fact that 'backward' or 'under-developed' are being used as official terms for non-industrialized, rural areas without mechanized agriculture—even by social scientists who strongly oppose evolutionist ideas.

And thus began that strange conjunction the democratization of the schools system for Norwegian pupils, and the demand that schools in Lapp districts should be conducted along Norwegian

lines, whilst tuition in Lappish was gradually reduced, as the language of the people (the dialects) was given more and more room in the schools in purely Norwegian districts. About the same time as Helland wrote his chapter on the Sea Lapps, the strict programme for Norwegianization of school education really started under the second Steen Government (1898–1902). In 1902 the Norwegian Storting (Parliament) passed a law concerning the selling or renting-out of government-owned land in Finnmark, which would actually have barred the Lapps from purchasing land if it had been literally enforced, since the law was supposed to be enacted so that 'sales can be made only to Norwegian citizens of a class befitting the district, its cultivation and utilization otherwise, who can speak, read and write the Norwegian language and who use this language in daily life.'

Only in very recent years has it become apparent that the government authorities are considering a radical revision of their cultural policy towards the Lapps.

Notes

[1] The Lapps themselves never have accepted this name which is of Finnish origin, and which they have always felt to be contemptuously meant. Their own name, *sabme*, plur. *samek*, has therefore been recognized in Norway as their official name in the Norwegianized form *same*, plur. *samer* (pronounced, *'sa.me(r)*). Norwegian scholars and scientists now unanimously use this term, and it is also gradually intruding into Swedish and Finnish literature.

[2] Eilert Sundt was Norway's first sociologist, and, as a matter of fact, one of the earliest in the world. His first sociological work, based on his own fieldwork, was published in 1850, 10 years before Herbert Spencer's famous book on *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical*. All Sundt's sociological works were, however, published in Norwegian, and had thus no chance of influencing the sociological lines of thought abroad, all the more so as Scandinavian sociology as a special field of study has been firmly established only during recent years.

The Classification of Skull Shape, with Special Reference to Fürst's 'TrI' Index. *By Miss M. L. Tildesley, M.B.E. With 2 text figures*

In 1935 Professor Carl Fürst[1] proposed for the classification of skull shape an index which he termed '*Tres Indices* (*TrI*).' It was based on the dimensions of the three major skull diameters relative to one another: maximum glabellar–occipital length (*L*), maximum breadth (*B*) and basio–bregmatic height (*H*). Values for each of the three indices 100 *B*/*L*, 100 *H*/*L* and 100 *H*/*B* were divided into the three familiar categories, the middle one ranging from 75 to 80 in the case of 100 *B*/*L*, from 70 to 75 for 100 *H*/*L*, and from 92 to 98 for 100 *H*/*B*. Fürst numbered the categories of each index 1, 2 and 3, beginning with that at the lower end of the scale, and his *TrI* consisted of three digits giving, by number, the category of each of the three indices of a skull, in the above order. Thus 321 would signify that it was brachycephalic, orthocephalic and tapeinocephalic.

One purpose of the *TrI* classification by numbers was 'to save no small part of the mental effort demanded of lecturer, audience and reader alike in keeping distinct these not-so-simple terms.' Another purpose was to substitute for the common practice of describing skulls as dolichocephalic, mesocephalic and brachycephalic that of classifying shape by height as well as length and breadth. He also thought that the *TrI* could be 'a useful accessory in research work, directing attention to important points which would reward special investigation.'

In a second paper that same year[2] Fürst added a diagrammatic representation of his *TrI* categories which would increase their usefulness for the above purposes. The 19 combinations possible to *TrI* were shown as in fig. 1. The three corners of the diagram are marked respectively *L*, *B* and *H*, and in the three categories nearest to each letter the diameter it stands for dominates, being large in relation to each of the others. In the middle of the opposite sides are the three categories in which this same diameter is short relative to the others. In the centre category none dominates either of the others. Clearly a diagram of this kind can be of considerable help in making skull shape, as expressed in tripartite division of the three main skull indices, easier to realize than when expressed in the polysyllabic neo-classicisms which tend to cumber anthropological description.

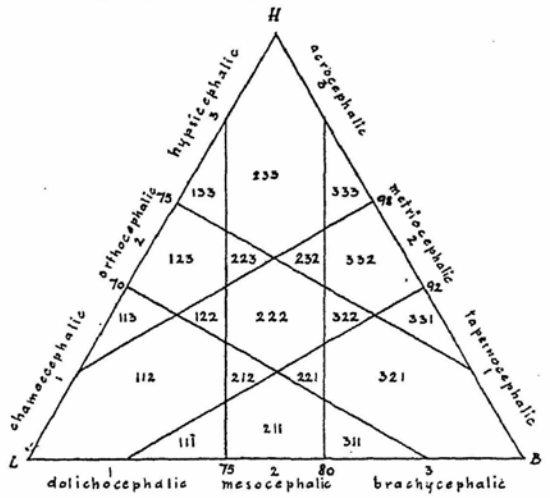


FIG. 1. FÜRST'S 'TRES INDICES' DIAGRAM

Fürst gives in his first paper the *TrI* category frequencies for seven series of crania. But however useful *TrI* may be for the first two of the three purposes he had in mind, distributions of *TrI* frequencies are not very efficient 'as a useful accessory in research work, directing attention to important points which would reward special investigation.' The fact that the *TrI* categories are very unequal in size robs the frequencies of much of their suggestiveness and may often cause them to mislead. The space given to the various categories by Fürst's diagram does indeed indicate the fact of inequality, but does not show the relative sizes of those categories which have definite limits (those which adjoin the enclosing triangle being without any size limit). The *TrI* category limits derive from those enclosing the middle categories of the three indices; but the latter combine with unequal effect. Take for example skulls that, being brachy–orthocephalic, have a *TrI* beginning with 32, and skulls that are meso–hypsicephalic and therefore have 23 as the first two digits of their *TrI*. Both groups can be metriocephalic and thus have 2 for their third digit, but whereas '23' skulls can have any metriocephalic value from 93·7 to 98, the only metriocephalic values open to the '32' skulls lie between 92 and 93·7. Obviously there is more chance for '23' skulls than for '32' skulls to have 2 as the third digit of their *TrI*, and as there is no difference between the sizes represented by their first two digits (one of these having a range of five indicial units and the other being unlimited) the 232 category is larger than the 322; they are shown equal in Fürst's diagram. But they could be shown in their actual proportions. A diagram constructed as in fig 2 gives this additional information regarding the *TrI* categories.

The form of this diagram is based on the fact that any two of the three indices 100 *B*/*L*, 100 *H*/*L* and 100 *H*/*B* determine the third: 100 *H*/*B* for example equals

$$100\left(\frac{100\ H/L}{100\ B/L}\right).$$

Only two axes are necessary, therefore, for a diagram giving all

the above information and much more besides. In fig. 2 the *X* axis is graduated for values of 100 *B*/*L* and the *Y* axis for values of 100 *H*/*L*. Within this frame of reference the full information regarding the mutual relationships of the three major diameters in a series of crania can be given by a scatter diagram of the frequencies of these two indices, the categories into which their combined values are divided being equal in size and shown as equal in the diagram. Any size could be chosen, but usually the sides of the squares by which they were represented would correspond to single units of the indices. The vertical lines through values 75 and 80 on the *X* axis and the horizontal lines through 70 and 75 on the *Y* axis divide the field into nine areas corresponding to the nine possible combinations of the three conventional groupings of the length–breadth and length–height indices. To divide the field into the three conventional breadth–height categories, one selects two or more values wide apart on the *X* axis, multiplies them by 92/100 to get the corresponding values on the *Y* axis, plots the points indicated and draws the straight line which passes through them; one then multiplies two or more *X* values by 98/100 and obtains the points through which to draw a second straight line.[3] Between these diagonals (which will not be parallel to one another) is the area in which the metriocephalic indices lie, with the acrocephalic indices in the space above and the tapeinocephalic indices below. The diagram now has, like Fürst's, 19 sections corresponding to the 19 possible *TrI* categories, with the added advantage that it indicates the relative sizes of the latter (where these are not unlimited). The unlimited categories adjoin the sides of the enclosing square. The three categories nearest to *L*, *B* and *H*

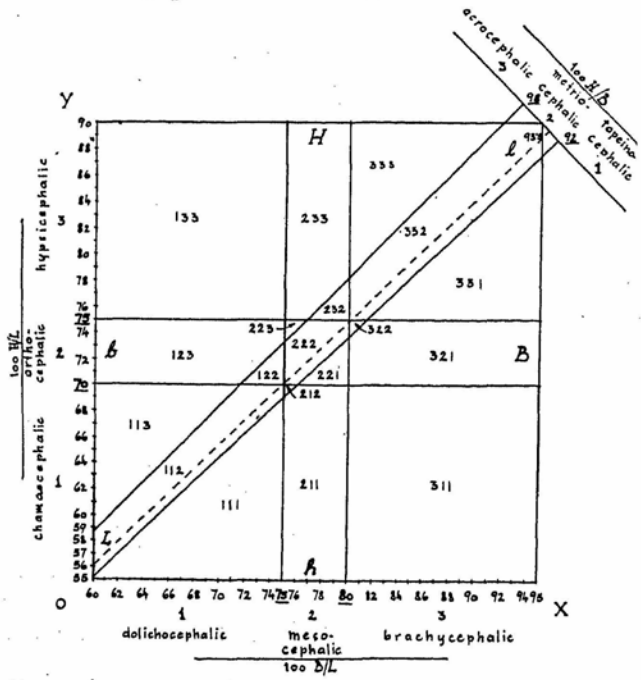


FIG. 2. 'TRES INDICES' DIAGRAM SHOWING PROPORTIONATE SIZES OF *TrI* CATEGORIES

respectively, in fig. 2, are those in which the diameter indicated is large relative to both of the others; the three categories nearest to *l*, *b* and *h* are those in which the given diameter is short relative to the others. In the central category, 222, no diameter dominates either of the others.

It remains to explain the dotted line in fig. 2. Since 100 *H*/*B* is determined by 100 *B*/*L* and 100 *H*/*L*, those skulls whose 100 *B*/*L* index is 77·5, in the middle of its mesocephalic section, and whose 100 H/*L* index is 72·5, in the middle of its orthocephalic section, should logically have their 100 *H*/*B* index (93·5, to the first place of decimals) in the middle of its metriocephalic section. The dotted line is the graph of the 93·5 values of 100 *H*/B. If 93·5, instead of 95, were made the mid value of the metriocephalic section, the diagonals which indicate the limits of the latter would be symmetrically placed in regard to this line. An equally logical arrangement would be for the mid value of the orthocephalic group to be shifted from 72·5 to 73·5, as Hjortsjö (1947)[4] has done. He has also modified the ranges of the mesocephalic and orthocephalic groups to bring them into a more logical relationship to the range of the metriocephalic. But any change in a grouping already used for numerous cranial series recorded in the literature would make it impossible to compare their group frequencies with those given by the new grouping—a sacrifice of comparative material which would surely only be justified if a more logical form of division enabled one to extract from a measured sample more information about the population (or populations) it represented, or to draw sounder inferences from the comparison of such samples. Since a more logical grouping of the indices would not make the *TrI* categories equal in size, it would offer no advantage in the above respects over the older grouping.

Let us now consider the uses of a diagram such as fig. 2. In such a diagram one could plot the position of any individual skull by calculating its length–breadth and length–height indices alone: this would also show its position in the breadth–height grouping. For a cranial series, the frequencies of the various combined values of the two indices (each recorded, say, to the nearest whole number for easier subsequent working—72, for example, signifying all values from 71·5 to 72·49 inclusive) would show the distribution of head proportions over the whole field. By noting the *TrI* categories over which the frequencies were more thickly distributed one would be better able to visualize the predominant shapes. If the exact frequencies for the *TrI* categories were desired, it would only be necessary to calculate the breadth–height index for those skulls whose positions in the diagram were in squares cut through by one of the diagonals, in order to determine how many lay to one side or the other; and then add up the frequencies shown within the category limits.

While graphical representation of the *TrI* categories readily becomes a help in translating indices into skull shapes, as Fürst saw, the advantage of combining it with a scatter diagram is that the latter gives a better idea of the form of the distribution as a whole, and of the continuity that may to some extent be lost sight of in the *TrI* frequencies. By classifying a series into different 'types' these easily suggest a 'mixed' population, and do not at the same time furnish the means of checking this impression. If, on the other hand, the scatter itself seems to be more irregular or more dispersed than random sampling alone would account for, this impression may be checked by the distributions of the two indices as given in the marginal totals: one could compare their variance with those of reasonably homogeneous populations, and one could test whether the series of logarithms of the marginal frequencies could be samples from a practically normal distribution (the indices themselves, if their component characters were normally distributed, would follow a skew distribution). Again, the form of the scatter might suggest a degree of correlation between the indices markedly different from what obtains in various relatively homogeneous populations. The frequencies in the scatter diagram would give the data for testing this impression. If the results showed the series to be most probably 'mixed,' the distribution of head shapes in the scatter diagram would help, together with any evidence from other characters, to show how it could best be divided. If light were sought on the derivation of the series (or, in case of division, of a sub-series), head shape might help to indicate possible origins. And then the most accurate instrument to use for

estimating which of two alternative origins is the more probable (in the light of these and other cranial characters) would seem to be a discriminant function used as shown by Rao.[5]

One of the simpler tests that one could use for evidence of a significant difference between two sample series of head shapes recorded in the proposed form of diagram, is the χ^2 test; for this the frequencies of the *TrI* categories would serve—or indeed of any other grouping of the values in the scatter diagram, so long as any category with a frequency less than 5 was joined to a neighbouring category—since χ^2 does not assume any particular background distribution. But for most of the questions to which one would hope to obtain an answer from the observational data, the frequencies in the scatter diagram itself and in its marginal distributions would provide the best material for analysis.

Notes

1 Carl M. Fürst, 'Eine Zahlenbezeichnung für die Kombinationen der Indices der drei Dimensionen des Schädels,' *Anthrop. Anz.*, Vol. X (1935), 209–14.

2 'Graphische Darstellung der möglichen Kombinationen der Indices der drei Dimensionen des Schädels (TrI).' *Anthrop. Anz.* Vol. X (1935), 321–2.

3 Where the index 100 *B/H* has been calculated instead of 100 *H/B*, the limits corresponding to 92 and 98 are respectively 108·70 and 102·04.

4 Carl-Herman Hjortsjö, 'Limit Values of Mesocephalic, Metriocephalic and Orthocephalic Anthropological Characters,' *Lunds Univ. Arsskr.*, N.F., Avd. 2, Vol. XLIII (1947), No. 6.

5 C. Radhakrishna Rao, 'The Utilization of Multiple Measurements in Problems of Biological Classification,' *J. R. Stat. Soc.*, Ser. B, Vol. X (1948), No. 2, pp. 160–3.

The Association of Social Anthropologists of the British Commonwealth. *A note of a meeting communicated by Professor M. Gluckman, Secretary*

101 A meeting was held at the London School of Economics from Friday to Sunday, 2–4 January, 1953. It was attended by: Miss Bott, Mr. Collins, Dr. Colson, Mrs. Douglas, Mr. Dumont, Professors Evans-Pritchard, Firth, Forde and Fortes, Dr. Fortune, Mr. Freedman, Dr. Kaberry, Professor Haimendorf, Dr. Little, Dr. Mair, Mr. Mayer, Mr. Miller, Mr. Rees, Mrs. Seligman and Dr. Stirling. Professor Mozell C. Hill, Professor Dube and Dr. Ellen Hellman were present as guests.

Papers were read by Professor Mozell Hill, of Atlanta University, on 'Some Methodological Considerations of American Community Studies,' by Professor Firth, on 'Modern Anthropology in the Pacific,' and Mr. L. Dumont, on 'Is there an underlying structure in the Indian Caste order?'

Dr. Ellen Hellman (South African Institute of Race Relations) and Dr. Marian W. Smith (London School of Economics) were invited to become members of the Association.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Elements of Social Organization. *By Raymond Firth. London (Watts), 1951. Pp. vii, 257. Price 18s.*

102 This book consists in substance of the Josiah Mason Lectures given in the University of Birmingham in 1947. The subject of the lectures is described as 'an examination of the role of social anthropology in contributing to a better understanding of some of the problems of modern civilization.' The book is therefore primarily addressed to the general reader and as such can be most strongly recommended as being an excellent source from which to learn what modern social anthropology is doing. The first two chapters give a general account of the nature of the subject, and five other chapters deal very interestingly with social change in peasant communities, the social framework of economic organization, the social framework of primitive art, moral standards and social organization, and religion in social reality.

For the anthropologist the book offers a theory of society and social change which seems to require a new, or perhaps rather an unusual, conception of social organization. Professor Firth writes 'Social organization has usually been taken as a synonym for social structure. In my view it is time to distinguish between them.' It is true that 'structure' and 'organization' refer to the same reality, but surely there has always been a difference of connotation between the two words. If the words were synonyms it would be pleonastic to write continually about 'structure *and* organization' as do Herbert Spencer and so many others. Most persons would probably recognize that one important difference between the structure of a crystal or a molecule and the structure of a worm or a rat is the presence or absence of organization.

The dictionary definition of 'organization' is 'connexion and co-ordination of parts for vital functions or processes.' One conception of social organization that has been widely current for 80 years is that by which the term refers to some socially established (institutional) arrangement of co-ordinated activities. A description of the organization of a factory or of the Metropolitan Police Force would consist of a statement of the duties of the various persons, or the rules relating to their behaviour as taking part in a collective activity. What John R. Commons, one of the leading writers on institutional economics, describes as a Going Concern is 'an organization having a limited goal and operating within a set of Working Rules,' and a factory or the Metropolitan Police Force is a 'Going Concern' in this sense. On this view the distinctive characteristic of social organization is the existence of the set of working rules accepted by the individuals who take part in a collective activity.

As against this old-fashioned conception Professor Firth offers a definition of social organization as 'the systematic ordering of social relations by acts of choice and decision' and he repeatedly emphasizes that he is referring to acts of personal or individual choice. The exercise of choice, the making of decisions, 'rests on personal evaluation.'

Professor Firth does not refer to the distinction that is commonly accepted between 'routine' and 'strategic' decisions and their place in organization. A policeman on his beat has to decide whether to blow his whistle or not, or whether or not to arrest an individual on suspicion of 'loitering with intent.' These are routine decisions, and the making of such decisions is a part of the duty of a policeman and is controlled by the set of 'working rules.' A soldier in battle may have to make decisions but he is not free to decide that he will throw away his rifle and run away. Strategic decisions within an organization are different again and the organization itself provides for the manner in which such decisions should be reached. By virtue of his position a manager of a factory, or a commander-in-chief of an army has the duty to make strategic decisions. In some types of organization a strategic decision ought to be arrived at by agreement of all the members or a majority of them. In the old-fashioned conception it was the social organization that provided the working rules in accordance with which both routine and strategic decisions should be made.

In another place (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. LIII, p. 487) Professor Firth has recently written about 'the basic question of how factors of individual motivation, choice and decision enter into the alteration of a social situation. To this question British social anthropology has as yet paid little heed. A concept of social organization distinct from that of social structure would seem to be of some value here as a preparatory step.' Professor Firth is also reported as saying in a seminar 'By social organization I mean individual action on the basis of choice and decision, insofar as it affects relationships with other individuals, and the consequences of such action.'

Professor Firth wishes to emphasize what he calls 'the dynamic aspect of social organization.' In the modern jargon of anthropologists the term 'dynamic' is used in a special sense to refer to change of a social system or of a form of social life. Dr. Firth points out in more than one passage that alterations in the social life may result from the personal choices or decisions of individuals. 'In a small community of the type we have been discussing, a single decision by a chief may change radically the practice of the community in some major respect' (p. 79). Doubtless the same thing can be said of a decision by Malenkov in Moscow.

It is clear that Dr. Firth proposes a conception of social organization different from that which some of us have held for many years, the conception expressed by Spencer, for example, when he speaks of 'the mutual dependence of parts which constitutes organization,' and when he defines organization as consisting of 'such a construction of the whole that its parts can carry on mutually dependent actions,' and when he refers to the 'dynamics' of social change by saying 'with social organisms, as with individual organisms, the structure becomes adapted to the activity.' In this conception the organization is thought of as consisting of what Commons calls the set of Working Rules which at any given time are accepted and observed by the individuals.

But I have not been able, in spite of good will and careful reading, to form a clear idea of the new conception that Dr. Firth offers us. The emphasis is on personal decisions of individuals based on personal motivations as being in some important sense the components of social organization, and there is also emphasis on social organization as being in its 'dynamic aspect' the means by which changes in social life come about. The book under review, addressed as it is to the general reader rather than to the social scientist, is doubtless not the place in which we could expect the author to expound his conception. It is to be hoped that he will find some other opportunity to give us a systematic exposition.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

Roads to Agreement: Successful Methods in the Science of Human Relations. *By Stuart Chase. London (Phoenix House), 1952. Pp. xiv, 250. Price 18s.*

103 This is a sequel to *The Proper Study of Mankind*, published in 1948, and applies the same treatment to problems on a considerably larger scale. Its last chapters indeed deal with the United Nations, U.N.E.S.C.O., and other worldwide issues. Throughout it discusses actual cases where this or that device has been successful in leading to agreement. In an early chapter the methods of the Society of Friends for reaching unanimity are examined in detail, and compared with the traditional procedure of public meetings and similar conferences in the United States. The New World tradition has clearly diverged very early from the Old, and results in a notable inclination to forms of agreement which have remained living and valuable.

The keynote is that knowledge is indispensable; knowledge of the facts in a particular case; a background of knowledge of fellow workers and fellow citizens. There are remarkable examples of reconciliation among children, with experimental groupings; and other modes of 'getting on with' people, analysed according to area, roots and levels of conflict, offsets to conflict, and techniques of agreement, applying normal scientific method to remove causes of difference. Levels extend from personal quarrels to national and racial; in each case between an in-group and an out-group, each of which knows its members better, and shares their ignorances and frustrations. The value of the scientific study of languages (not of language at present) looms up, and is treated more fully later—the principal failure to communicate being in what used to be taught as elementary logic. There is a striking commentary on normal competitive culture in the U.S.A. contrasted with the outlook of some 'primitive' folk: 'North American Indians consider the rest of the North Americans slightly crazy, because of our aggressive, driving, competitive behaviour' (p. 35), and some sociologists are inclined to agree.

From elementary generalities about man's social nature, his need for co-operation, and capacity for it, experiments show the elements of social training in animals, and a 'vast network of mutual agreements in man, which is "culture"': and this underlies the simplest daily activities even of children: 'a nonconformist in a bus gets harsher treatment than an unbeliever in church' (p. 44).

As much of any culture is adaptation, not to fellow men, but to climate, it follows that it can be adapted to changed circumstances. 'A surgeon does not mend bones'; he provides conditions where broken bones mend themselves. Similarly in industry, strife ends when the worker 'feels good about his job.' Sociological laboratories provide artificial 'climates' for industrial processes, as at Bethel (p. 53), described in some detail; a chapter deals with 'role-playing' as a device to familiarize procedures. This kind of enquiry begins with F. W. Taylor in 1878 into the work groups as a 'product of both human nature and the culture,' the 'managers' being outside it, and applying conditions and facilities. Russian factories retain rigid clan barriers from an autocratic age. Autocracy in the U.S. Navy has instituted an 'office of naval research' which has been of service to other organizations as well. One conclusion is that 'the higher the skill and the more varied the task, the better the morale' and conversely.

There is drastic criticism of the old 'economic mean' and of the 'class struggle.' Foremen and shop stewards are more 'class-minded' than the mere workers. The chapter 'What Makes Workers Work' is central, and leads to 'Conditions of Labour Peace,' following Selckman and Scanlon—and again reinforced with examples. Others illustrate 'Maturity in Labour Relations,' and actual drawbacks: 'Workers will produce freely when they feel free'; and they 'don't want to be done good at.' The Tavistock Institute in London, among others, represents this phase.

'Conciliation' and 'Arbitration' are obviously distinct, and there is a sketch of a notable American conciliator, Cyrus Ching; his phrases are quoted: 'we had conditioned them to communicate' (p. 163), 'gradually they learn the art of listening.' Another masterpiece of conciliation is the Tennessee Valley Authority, where social and physical sciences have been combined and 'the river takes as many decisions as possible.' The problem, here as elsewhere, is 'how to tap the energy locked up in groups.' Other instances 'From the Files' include the San Francisco (p. 185) 'Gripe Week' when the Mayor publicly invited citizens to state to him their grievances, with fruitful result; Milo Perkins's 'Food Stamp Plan' which restored a whole district to solvency and self-respect, and the 'Conference Committees' of Congress which go some way to remedy the drawback that the U.S. Administration is outside Congress, not as in Great Britain within Parliament (p. 189).

Chapters on 'Danger; Men Talking,' and 'Semantics' develop a theme already sketched, the risks of inaccurate speech. The disorganization of academic education is evident when more than 50 universities have to teach 'semantics,' having lost their hold on what many still call 'logic.' And finally, the same general principles are applied rather sketchily to foreign politics and the United Nations.

Here is a remarkable application of anthropological method and experiment to a 'civilized' society.

On the dust cover is a portrait of the author.

JOHN L. MYRES

Urgeschichte der Menschheit. *By R. Grahmann. Stuttgart (Kohlhammer), 1952. Pp. 311. Price DM.14.60*

104 This usefully arranged summary of the story of early man and his cultures proceeds mainly by short accounts of individual skeletal remains and of local cultures.

The Pleistocene Ice Ages are dated according to Milankovitch, and it is suggested that the great increase of high land in and after the Miocene caused cooling which made possible the accumulation of ice when fluctuations of solar irradiation gave small receipts. In a review one can only select for notice some special points. The Australopithecines are treated in accord with Broom and Le Gros Clark, but the author hesitates before Dart's inference of the use of fire by *A. prometheus*. He follows Breuil in suggesting Pliocene dating for these South African forms. *Pithecanthropus robustus* and the Modjokerto skull are considered to be about contemporary with the Gunz, *P. erectus* with the Mindel, and *Homo soloensis* with the later Pleistocene. Some of the Choukoutien finds (*P. pekinensis*) are considered mid-Pleistocene. The giant forms are emphasized.

The Steinheim girl is thought to show *sapiens* features along with a Neandertal brow. The Swanscombe skull and accompanying flints are fully recognized, and are dated to the warm Mindel-Riss interglacial as established by fluorine estimation. The Piltdown skull and jaw are thought by the author to belong to one another and he agrees with Weinert that the apishness of the jaw has been exaggerated; a Riss–Würm date is suggested, but this makes them perhaps too old. They are thought to be contemporary with the Fontéchevade (1947) skulls studied by Vallois. The Neandertal group is treated as a cold-region specialization from the earlier *sapiens* stem, and the Garrod–Keith–McCown skulls from Palestine are thought to be either halfway to the Neandertal type or hybrids between it and *sapiens*.

The fully *sapiens* types of the late Pleistocene are reviewed, with some exceptions, and emphasis is laid on the contrast between the Brünn group (the Pschedmost skull is specially figured), with which Combe Capelle is included, and the Cro–Magnon men. The tall narrow-headed broad-nosed Asselar (North Africa) man is thought to be a possible ancestor of many Bantu types. Oldoway and Elmenteita (East Africa), late Pleistocene or later still, are tall, narrow-headed and very narrow-nosed.

Nearly all finds of skeletons that may be Pleistocene (except Barma Grande and Solutré) or earlier are mentioned in this book which then proceeds to a very clear and concise statement concerning each of the chief cultures of the Old Stone Age. This is well done and brings in much recent work, but the present review has concentrated itself on an account of some of the specially interesting suggestions about skulls and bones.

H. J. FLEURE

Von geistigen Menschenbild der Urzeit. *By Richard Pittioni, Vienna (Deuticke); 1952. Pp. 134. Price $2.16*

105 The quite untranslatable title can be best explained by stating some of the specific questions with which the book deals. The author's aim is to answer from archæological data alone such questions as these: what sort of community corresponds to the recurrent assemblage of associated types which the archæologists term a 'culture' (and to the higher and lower orders of associations that Pittioni terms a '*Welt*' and a '*Gruppe*' respectively)? How far can individual initiative or leadership be deduced from prehistoric relics and monuments? For instance, was the extraction of copper the work of a community inspired by the common purpose of producing metal to common thought and action, or of gifted individuals who had the power to get others to accept *their* purpose and so to work for them as they directed? To what extent may we infer logical thinking, an appreciation of causal relations, from the observed processes of tool-making?

These are questions which archæologists ought to ask, and it is good for social anthropologists to know how far prehistorians have got in the attempt to answer them. Both have cause to be grateful to the author and will do well to study his book. His answers, Pittioni claims, are based 'exclusively on thoroughgoing interpretation of the documentary sources, guided by a unitary method. It does not start with the individual object, trying to interpret it in isolation, but with the culturally determined context in which the object is just one member.' Of course answers to the questions posed cannot be attempted for each one of the bewilderingly numerous concrete cultures distinguished by prehistorians; only general replies are proposed which shall be valid for all societies within each of 11 technological stages. As stadial-chronological divisions of prehistory the author offers the sequence of *Lithikum*, *Keramikum* and *Metallikum*, explained and defended in his paper to the Austrian Academy of Sciences (*Anzeiger phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1950, No. 5), as a more logical alternative to the familiar but now much criticized Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, and subdivides each into four or three substages. Within each stage and sub-stage related assemblages of archæological data are grouped together and subdivided into hierarchies of 'Worlds,' 'Cultures,' 'Groups' and 'Types.' On his arrangement even *Kulturen* are more abstract than the cultures of English prehistorians; they are not defined by types capable of ostensive definition which would become marks of *Gruppen* or even *Typen*. So in the *spätes Lithikum*, '*Aurignacien*' and '*Magdalénien*' denote two *Gruppen* within the Blade Culture (*Schmalklingenkultur*) of the European-Mediterranean Flake World, and Aurignacian itself embraces the *Typen echtes Aurignacian*, *Perigordian*, *Westgravettian*, *Ostgravettian*, which latter alone are cultures in Professor Garrod's scheme.

Pittioni gives a general characterization of each stage under the following headings (*Kategorien*): (1) *Werkzeugskunde* (industrial technology); (2) *Wirtschaftsformen* (including the food quest, division of labour and trade); (3) *Siedlungskunde* (relation of settlements to natural environment, architecture); (4) *Gesellschaftsform*; (5) *Vorstellungsinhalt*; (6) *Sprachbildung*; (7) *bildliche Darstellung und Beziehung zum Jenseits* (forms of symbolizing without obvious utilitarian value). Of course in 130 pages it would be hopeless to attempt to demonstrate generalizations in such varied domains by an array of concrete instances from a number of cultures in each stage. Indeed the author has packed so much into the book only by stating his conclusions in very abstract Austrian compound words. We may envy our colleague's ability to use such terms as *numenologische Relationsperson* to describe so conveniently anyone from a shaman to a pope, but cannot hope to expound these conclusions in a review.

To prehistorians at least this book opens up new vistas, and the acceptance or rejection of specific conclusions is a secondary matter. Still I must state my conviction that the unit assemblage should be the 'culture' in the English sense, distinguished from others by concrete type fossils capable of ostensive definition. Within such, local variants may of course be distinguished, and several cultures, sharing several abstract traits, may often be grouped together as perhaps a 'culture cycle,' but the latter often seem rather subjective constructions and their common features susceptible of more than one explanation. This objection, however, applies only to the identification of archæological counterparts to 'nation' (*Volk*), 'tribe' (*Stamm*), etc., under '*Kategorie* 4.' The ingenious suggestions made under headings 3, 7 and especially 5 are unaffected. Still these answers provoke fresh questions.

Does the regular manufacture of a constant type, like an ovate, by unerring repetition of the same process and the transmission of this process from generation to generation presuppose a concept of the result to be obtained (the type) and a phonetic name for it? Pittioni confidently answers both questions in the affirmative. But could not a hominid recognize when the ovate had in fact been obtained by the repetition of a learned process with no more conceptual thought than a rat that has learned to recognize a triangle irrespective of its size or colour? And does learning the process of manufacture absolutely demand precept as well as example? The behaviour of palæanthropic men in manufacturing a flint tool was no doubt an application of a logical notion of causality. But if formulated at all as precept, the latter might just as well run 'if you and I do this to him, he will behave thus.' In a natural reaction against the extravagances of the Culture-historical School, and of the Marrism once favoured by an Occupying Power, the Viennese professor may have gone too far in rejecting the use of ethnographic parallels in the interpretation of prehistory. It would indeed be uncritical to assert that neolithic potters and hoe cultivators in Europe *must* have been women because these are normally female occupations among recent societies in a similar technological stage. Pittioni's arguments that '*die grundlegenden Handlungen die zur Tierzucht und Bodenbau führten, nur von dem männlichen Teil der soziologischen Ausgangseinheit, vollzogen werden konnten*' and '*die Frau keinesfalls die Erfinderin und erste Erzeugerin der Keramik angesprochen werden darf*' seem no less subjective.

V. GORDON CHILDE

Dating the Past: An Introduction to Geochronology. *By Frederick E. Zeuner. 3rd. edn., revised. London (Methuen), 1952. Pp. xx, 495, 103 figs., 24 plates. Price £2 2s.*

106 This introduction to the dating of man and the earth has already become a standard work of reference favourably reviewed in MAN and elsewhere. It hardly seems necessary therefore to discuss the volume as a whole in this review, and I may best confine myself to additions and emendations in this revised third edition. The immensely energetic work put into the first edition has persisted, and the author has brought subsequent editions into line with accumulating knowledge, without fear of retraction or emendation. By clever juggling, excision of material no longer essential, the discarding or combining of charts, and increasing the appendix at the end of

his book very considerably, he has managed to retain a pagination which differs little from that of the first edition. Some of the more important additions which he has made may be briefly reviewed.

In the first edition Antev's dating of the recession of the terminal moraines from Long Island to Ontario carried us back 27,600 years. The present edition adds 9,000 years to this, about one-half of the total being based upon varve counts, and the remainder on estimates. The shorter estimates of Brian and Ray, based on the same evidence, are also given. Fig. 28 has been redrawn to cover a far wider range of pollen analyses in Europe, while fig. 29 has been recast and the post-glacial chronology of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and England has been considerably expanded. Discussing the astronomical theory Zeuner here introduces Spitaler's corrected estimates (taking full account of the obliquity of the ecliptic) as additional support for Milankovitch's very similar figures. The dating of the ancient shore-lines of Morocco has been expanded from Choubert and others with a useful correlation table. The section on the Nile (always a difficult river in any system of chronology) has been considerably revised and augmented, partly from Zeuner's own researches in this area, partly from the work of Huzayyin and others. Evidence from the Syrian coast has been added and the dating for the whole Mediterranean area has been considerably tightened up. Where further review will become necessary, in the light of papers read at the Second Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, remains to be seen. This book appeared at about the time when the Congress was sitting.

In Africa J. Desmond Clark's *Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia* has added considerably to our definitive knowledge of the Zambesi and Victoria Falls, while G. Bond's work in the Bulawayo area has also been made use of to carry our knowledge of Rhodesian chronology a step further. Further south the Vaal River sequence has been entirely redescribed, and improved considerably.

Turning to the age of the earth, Zeuner introduces a section on the Rubidium–Strontium method, and another on radioactivity methods applicable to the Quaternary. A useful chapter on Biological Evolution and Time includes a good chart (p. 365) showing the relative minimum times during which various groups of animals are known to have existed on earth, starting with *Xenusion* (representing a group intermediate between annelid worms and the *Arthropoda*) eight hundred million years ago, and ending with man, who is given a mere million.

Considerable additions have been made in the Appendix, on Dendrochronology, Varve Analysis, the Pleistocene and Palæolithic chronologies, the Use of Radioactivity, a discussion on Evolution and Time, etc., expanding the appropriate chapters and making important additions to theory.

I need hardly continue, save to say that Zeuner is to be congratulated upon his sustained research in the field of geochronology, which he has clearly made his own. A. J. H. GOODWIN

A History of Board Games, Other than Chess. *By H. J. R. Murray. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1952. Pp. xiii, 267. Price £2 2s.*

107 This is not so much a history as a very complete catalogue and description of the board games of the world, classified under the five main headings of alinement, war, hunt, race and mancala games. Every variety is listed according to its geographical distribution, its rules and nomenclature are described, and a full bibliography is given. This book will therefore replace as a standard work of reference the older writings of Hyde and Culin. Quite new, of course, since their days is the discovery of the gaming boards of the ancient Near East, and Mr. Murray's reconstruction of the games played on them is a fine piece of scholarship, based on the author's wide learning and experience. The section on the involved problem of board games in the classical world owes much to Professor Austin's careful work, but Mr. Murray throws further light on some questions, notably on Pollux's comment on the 'five-lined game.'

The ethnological interest of board games lies first in the evidence they afford for borrowing between peoples, and second in the part they play in the life of the community. On the first question, Mr. Murray's detailed work has made many points more certain. The spread of mancala in its different forms, for example, is accurately traced; and new evidence makes very doubtful Tylor's famous conjecture that the Mexican *patolli* derives from the Indian *pachisi*. On the subject of the origins and purpose of games, the author concludes that most games began simply as pastimes; but he gives clues through his references on pp. 159 and 235 to the much more interesting cases of board games played with more 'serious' intention, for divination, to aid the recovery of the sick or to keep the spirits amused at wakes.

With the aid of Mr. Murray's work, topics such as these can now be pursued with much greater ease and certainty, and the author is to be complimented on his success in producing, with much care and industry, this very complete and orderly work, which forms a fine supplement to his earlier book on the *History of Chess*. On p. 234 and in the bibliography, the reference to G. Marin's article on 'An ancestor of the game of Ludo' should read '*Man*, XLII (1942), 64.' W. C. BRICE

Witchcraft. *By J. T. Munday, E. M. Voules and G. W. Broomfield. London (Central Africa House Press), 1951. Pp. iv, 64. Price 2s. 6d.*

108 This is an interesting little book, interesting if only for its revelation of the lack of understanding from which many good men and women dedicated to service in Africa suffer. This lack of understanding springs from inadequate contact with the African mind, and from the Christian missionary conviction that Western spirituality alone is best for the African.

The Revd. J. T. Munday, who served for 25 years in Northern Rhodesia, gives a logical historical account of witchcraft in Britain, but this fails to obscure the obvious fact that he is unacquainted with the African wizard or witch's own definitions of his craft. 'Magic,' he says, 'only becomes witchcraft when used secretly for anti-social purposes.' But in Africa as anywhere else in the world, there are non-wizards and non-witches who secretly commit diverse anti-social acts. Evil inflicted in response to magic or to a curse is not necessarily witchcraft. Nor is a person addicted to witchcraft entirely anti-social in behaviour. Miss Voules's experience of witchcraft in Pemba Island, where, incidentally, she also served for 25 years, differs much from Munday's. 'On the whole,' she says, 'it is true to say that in Zanzibar and Pemba there is little or no distinction between a *mchawi* (witch or wizard) and an *mganga* (witch-doctor).' Munday's distinction between social and anti-social magic breaks down here, and we are still without a logical definition of witchcraft. This difficulty is perhaps due partly to 'the non-logical African mind,' which, according to Miss Voules, '*makes little of the fact that an entirely innocent person may be condemned as guilty by the witch-doctor*' (italics mine).

Since the authors of *Witchcraft* do not seem to have grasped the essential nature of witchcraft in Africa, we need not expect much from them by way of solution. 'Religion,' says Munday, 'cannot cure it [*i.e.* belief in witchcraft], but simple scientific knowledge can.' 'If, therefore,' writes Dr. Broomfield, 'an African receives a scientific education, and *believes* [my italic] what he is taught, he will no longer imagine that his ill-health is caused by the activities of witches or that thunderstorms are an expression of the wrath of offended spirits.' These admissions by men who believe in the efficacy of the New Testament, are somewhat startling, especially since science does not satisfactorily explain why mankind should be afflicted with suffering and disease in the first instance. Moreover there is an aspect of science which ascribes, more or less, the evolution of the Universe and the human mind to unconscious forces or chance selection. Science does in fact prove that disease is largely due to impersonal forces, but science being man-made has purpose, a purpose which can be infinitely more destructive of human life than witchcraft and thunderstorms. It may, however, be that the authors of *Witchcraft* do not expect the simple African mind ever to preoccupy itself with these implications of science. S. D. CUDJOE

What is Race? Evidence from Scientists. *Paris (U.N.E.S.C.O.), 1952. Pp. 87, many diagrams*

109 Our senior scientific society has a valuable warning in every volume of its *Philosophical Transactions*: 'It is an established rule of the Society, to which they will always adhere,

never to give their opinion, as a Body, upon any subject either of Nature or of Art.' *O si sic omnes!* Unesco's pamphlet is a poor production with grave errors, though some serious workers have obviously tried to make it less unsatisfactory; its earlier draft must have been very weak. One could argue against all attempts to subdivide mankind into races, one must protest against the attempts to show migrations of peoples with little reference to evidence, and why drag in the old tale of the garden of Eden? H. J. FLEURE

ASIA

The Kamar. *By S. C. Dube, with a foreword by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf. Lucknow (Universal Publishers), 1951. Pp. xiv, 216, 15 plates, 3 maps, text figs. Price Rs. 12/8*

110 Students of India in general and of middle India in particular will be grateful to Dr. Dube for this monograph on the Kamars, rightly described by Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf as a 'lucid and sympathetic description of . . . a tribe hitherto practically unknown to anthropology.' Russell and Hira Lal, it is true, give them eight pages in *The Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces*, but Dr. Dube devotes eight chapters to a general account of the tribe, their economic life, their social structure, the phases of their lives, their tribal law and its breaches, their myth and ritual, their culture contacts and problems of tribal adjustment. These chapters are followed by five appendices, *viz.* a table of kinship terms, a census of five Kamar villages, five genealogies, a glossary, and a bibliography. There is also a succinct index.

The Kamar, a small tribe of some 30,000 in all, are for the most part still at the most primitive stage of agriculture, that of the digging stick, an implement which the author has unfortunately neither described nor depicted, though presumably it has a metal blade like that of the Hill Reddi in Hyderabad. They were described by John Ball in 1876 as living in caves, and although they now live in houses they still depend largely on food-collection, and such agriculture as they have is shifting. Dr. Dube has aimed at giving a full and integrated picture of Kamar culture and he has done it well; and beyond that he has dealt with the problems arising from the contact of these primitive hunters and cultivators—their name Kamar has no association apparently with iron-working—with the external world of officials, traders and moneylenders, at whose hands they suffer the victimization and exploitation so familiar to all of India's primitive tribes. His treatment of these problems and his views as to the measures which need to be taken for their solution are moderate and sane, and might well be acted upon by those now in authority and responsible for the welfare of this and other tribes. It is, however, disturbing to read of 'black-listed officials' being 'still transferred to the tribal areas by way of punishment.' This trouble is nothing new, as any hill officer of the old régime in Assam can testify, but it is hard on the tribesmen, who are far more defenceless than the more advanced people of the plains, who can at least make themselves heard through the Press. Forsyth's *Highlands of Central India* (1889) might perhaps have been included in the bibliography (he does not mention the Kamars specifically, but has a good deal to say on aboriginals in general), and the glossary and index would bear some expansion. The illustrations are good and misprints commendably few. Dr. Dube is to be congratulated on his careful and objective work. J. H. HUTTON

Land and Society in Malabar. *By Adrian C. Mayer, with a preface by Raymond Firth. Bombay (O.U.P., for Inst. of Pacific Relations), 1952. Pp. vii, 158. Price 11s. 6d.*

111 On the basis of extensive reading in the literature and of five months in the area, Mr. Mayer gives a short but stimulating account of the changes in the caste system of Malabar and of associated changes in land-holding. In the past, 'the upper castes made control of the land their prerogative, and . . . the prestige of this control was among the most important incentives in the society' (p. 2). Mr. Mayer demonstrates how prestige now derives decreasingly from land ownership and increasingly from other forms of wealth, and how, in the process, Malabar is changing from a caste to a class society.

We are given an admirable account of Malayali agriculture and of recent modifications in the legal rights of the different categories with interests in the land. A correlation is suggested between the number of non-cultivating intermediaries and the degree of litigiousness. Mr. Mayer also has some sage comments to make on the position of the landless labourer, who remains unaffected by legislation which gives greater security to tenants.

In one respect Mr. Mayer is misleading. In Chapter II, using the past tense, he describes the traditional social system; in Chapter IV he distinguishes various forms of land-holding; and in Chapter V he correlates these with different levels of the caste hierarchy. What he nowhere makes clear is that the current rights of the land-holding categories result from 150 years of legal misinterpretation and rationalization, and only superficially resemble the rights of those categories in the past to which Chapter II appears to refer. Logan's *Malabar* provides ample title deeds to show, for example, that *janmam* rights in the past were by no means simply rights of land ownership. The bibliography omits several nineteenth-century publications on land tenure in Malabar.

It is strange, too, that although Mr. Mayer uses family budgets to reveal 'the incentives behind land use,' he ignores T. K. Sankara Menon's economic surveys of nine Cochin villages in 1935–36, and also the more recent *Report on the Enquiry into the Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Cochin State* (1947). He quotes instead from Travancore two dubious budgets representing 'comfort' and 'indigence.'

Mr. Mayer must also be taken to task for lesser faults. Not all Nayars were traditionally warriors and non-cultivating tenants (p. 27): some were barbers and washermen, some were landlords. Nayar marriage in North Malabar is not 'matrilocal' (p. 46) but virilocal. Human manure *is* used in India (p. 57). There is no north-west monsoon (p. 68). In spite of a statement to the contrary (p. 31), caste law was certainly applied 'above the village level'; for castes represented in a village by a single family, wider application was inevitable. 'The social system' is said to have 'two fundamental principles of organization, by caste and by kinship' (p. 25); what about territorial segmentation?

Mr. Mayer also shows a misunderstanding of the Nayar *tarwad*, into which members were born as equal co-parceners in a joint, impartible property. Thus children did not 'inherit' from their mother's brother (p. 46); and 'cross-cousin marriages operating between pairs of *tarwads*' can hardly be described as a means whereby 'property was kept in the hands of the two *tarwads* thus linked' (p. 98); wherever marriages were made, property remained with the *tarwad*.

These blemishes, however, are in the brickwork; Mr. Mayer's main edifice is sound. He has produced a very readable little book which deserves wide currency among sociologists and economists, administrators and reformers, in India and elsewhere.

ERIC J. MILLER

Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India. *By M. N. Srinivas. Pp. xv, 267, 12 plates, 4 maps. O.U.P. 1952. Price £1 10s.*

112 This book, to which Professor Radcliffe-Brown contributes a foreword of five pages, is a description of the Coorgs or Kodaga of Coorg in Southern India approached primarily, one might almost write 'exclusively,' through the medium of their ritual life, an approach for which the author, a South Indian Brahman, is particularly well qualified.

A short introductory chapter gives a brief account of the history and geography of Coorg ending with a note on slavery, there a mild institution under the old régime. A much longer chapter deals with the structure of Coorg society and its relationship to castes other than that of the Coorgs themselves, to territorial divisions, to the family and to the *okka* or lineage, a joint family, that is, corresponding perhaps more nearly to the *illam* of the Nambudiris or to the *tarwād* of the Nayars than do most joint family groups in India. In this chapter the Coorgs, who have for many centuries enjoyed a comparatively isolated independence in which they have formed a

military aristocracy among other castes, are viewed against the background of the caste system. Then follow two chapters on the ritual idiom of Coorgs, who are viewed in a series of *rites de passage* in which the Coorg passes from one status in his society to another, the most important surviving rite being *mangala* or marriage ritual, and also in the concepts of *madi* and *polé*—holiness and 'tabu,' for which the author uses the terms good- and bad-sacredness. The fifth chapter is devoted to the cult of the *okka*, that is the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family, the basic group of Coorg society already alluded to, and the sixth to the cults of the social units larger though less important than the *okka*, the cults, that is, of the *ur* or village, of the *nād* or group of villages, and of the *dēsha* or region. In this sixth chapter the approach is by way of the festivals of village godlings, of the harvest festival, and of folklore.

The seventh chapter, 'Hinduism,' is probably for the general reader the most valuable and interesting of all, since it reflects in a critical and penetrating way the process, aptly called sanskritization by the author, by which Hinduism has absorbed and continues to absorb and superimpose itself upon the tribal religions which preceded it. For the Coorgs still retain not only a tribal consciousness which separates them from the Hindus of surrounding areas, but a good deal in custom and in ritual which is clearly alien to Sanskritic Hinduism. For instance although they regard themselves as Kshatriya they will eat the domestic pig; again the mourner in his funeral song speaks of 'Narayana's thieving horde' which has come to steal the dead man and which the mourner would have cut to pieces had he been aware, recalling vividly the Naga warrior stamping and threatening with his spear the evil spirits who are carrying off the life of his dying comrade. The final chapter is called, perhaps a little irrelevantly, Religion and Society, and deals briefly first with the agricultural year, secondly with one or two features of Coorg folklore, and thirdly with widowhood and with the orientation of Coorg culture towards war and hunting. An appendix contains a critical review of the Kāvāri myth translated from the Sanskrit into Kodagi in the nineteenth century and now accepted by Coorgs as an account of their origin. There are a bibliography, a glossary and an index.

Dr. Srinivas's work has been extremely well done. Now and then one is inclined to question his interpretations: thus the ritual giving of milk he regards as 'a symbol of pleasure, luxury and happiness,' and as indicating solidarity between the giver and the recipient. That may very well be, but in view of the widespread use of milk and, as in Coorg, of milk-exuding trees as fertility symbols, one cannot help thinking that the original intention of the ritual was to ensure survival and rebirth, whatever later values may attach to it. The limitations of the almost exclusively ritualistic approach to the study of Coorg society were no doubt foreseen and deliberately accepted by the author as a means of determining and concentrating the scope of his studies. Subject to minor considerations of this kind the author has produced a very thorough and valuable piece of work, and it bears every mark of having been carried out by a strictly critical and detached but nevertheless sympathetic observer, who has greatly added to our knowledge of and understanding of the Coorgs.

J. H. HUTTON

Physisch-Anthropologische Untersuchungen an einigen Stämmen Zentralindiens. *By Margarethe Weninger. Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica, 3. Vienna (Herold), 1952. Pp. v, 156, map, 48 tables, 5 plates*

113 This monograph is an account of the physical anthropology of the Bhil, Korku, Nahal, Gond and Baiga tribes of India based on data collected by Professor Wilhelm Koppers of Vienna. The anthropological measurements have been taken according to the technique of Rudolf Martin; the collected data also include valuable morphological observations relating to hair, skin and eye colour and form, and nose form. Measurements and morphological data on peoples from other parts of India, West Africa and Australia have been used as comparative material for the study. The book is cyclostyled. It is illustrated with a rather confusing sketch map, several diagrams and a series of photographs of members of the various Central Indian tribes.

The anthropometric data are treated statistically using the methods given in Vol. I of Martin's *Lehrbuch* (1928). It seems a pity that Dr. Weninger has not seen fit to present and analyse her moderately large samples in rather fuller detail. Only the means and ranges of measurements are given, although indices are classified in conventional groups with estimates of their 'errors.' Nowhere are the individual measurements tabulated.

On the results of her work Dr. Weninger believes that these Central Indian tribes resemble in certain respects the Mongoloids, the Vedda peoples and the Australian aborigines, but she finds that they display no real similarity to either West African Negroes or Mediterranean peoples. In stating these opinions Dr. Weninger tends to disagree with some of the conclusions of other workers in her field.

This short study is a useful contribution to the physical anthropology of these closely related Central Indian tribes, the determination of whose racial affinities is of great interest in charting the racial history of southern Asia.

MARIE C. NUTTER

The Sacred Scriptures of the Japanese. *By Post Wheeler. New York (Schuman), 1952. Pp. xlvi, 562. Price $10*

114 The author has collated the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi* and all the other sacred texts of the Japanese, and has thereby produced a complete quasi-chronological mythology of Japan. His text is by no means easy to read. Not only is it of course longer and less connected than any of his originals individually, but he breaks it up by printing every sacred name in capitals and giving it a line to itself. The sacred names are those of the *kami*, the deities and divine personages who are in varying degrees the objects of cult. An index gives about 1,600 of these names. The text in fact with its endless killings and begettings has little interest apart from its connexion with cult.

In his introduction the author tells what is known of the history of his authorities and gives a synopsis of the text, and at the end he has chapters on earlier cults such as phallic worship and human sacrifice, traces of which have survived, and on parallels to the myths in other parts of the world and the reasons which make it probable that much of the mythology was imported, principally from China and India.

RAGLAN

EUROPE

Vorgeschichte der Lausitz. *By J. Neustupný. Berlin and Leipzig (Technische Herstellung und Vertrieb Volk und Wissen Verlag), 1951. Pp. 140, 12 plates*

115 This useful booklet by the well-known Czech archæologist gives a comprehensive review of the prehistory and early history of Lusatia (Lausitz), a small country which lies west of the present frontier of Poland and north of Bohemia, to which it belonged for a few centuries up to 1635.

The author deals with all periods from the Palæolithic up to the twelfth century A.D., and the respective chapters are arranged in a chronological order according to the orthodox scheme. Each chapter begins with a general introduction depicting conditions which prevailed at the time in this part of Europe; this introduction is followed by a detailed description of the more important archæological remains of Lusatia of the period in question. The main emphasis is put on the latest periods: out of 122 pages of the text proper, 49 are devoted to the time from the third and fourth centuries A.D. onwards. In the last chapter all mediæval written sources are mentioned; these and also archæological remains served for a study and description of the material culture, settlements, trade connexions, organization, etc., of the Slavonic inhabitants of the country. A very short review is added dealing with the fate of the Lusatian Sorbs, or Wends as they are called by the Germans, after the twelfth century when the country was conquered by the Germans. It describes the struggle of the Sorbs–Wends against the imposed Germanization. In spite of a centuries-long political and economic pressure, they succeeded in maintaining their national identity and their ancient Slavonic language, which is still spoken by some 300,000 inhabitants of Lusatia.

In his description of the prehistoric past the author keeps, in the

main, to the generally accepted views. However, there are some points with which one cannot agree. In describing the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, the author mentions (pp. 55ff.) that during the period from the sixth to the second century B.C. the Scythians had exercised some influence on the material culture of the country, as is well exemplified by the find from Vettersfelde. In fact this find, and also a few Scythian arrowheads found in other places in that region, mark only a single Scythian inroad. All these remains date from the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and no other Scythian antiquities were found which would point to a lasting or prolonged Scythian influence beyond that date. It seems also that the Bastarnae (p. 68) were a Celtic, not a Teutonic (Germanic) tribe; such is the opinion of several authorities. T. SULIMIRSKI

Life is with People: The Jewish Little-Town of Eastern Europe. *By Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog. New York (Internat. Universities Press), 1952. Pp. 456. Price $5*

116 The '*shtetl*,' the Jewish community in the small towns of Poland, Rumania and other parts of Eastern Europe is a thing of the past, but many of its former inhabitants are now in America, and it seemed to the authors desirable to get a full and accurate record of life as it was lived there while it was still possible. This they were enabled to do by a grant from, surprisingly, the Office of Naval Research.

There was in the *shtetl* an infinite number of social gradations, the makers of the uppers of boots, for example, ranking higher than the makers of soles, but broadly speaking the people were divided into the '*sheyn*' and the '*prost*.' The men of the former spent all their time, or all their spare time, in the study of Hebrew textbooks, the Law and its commentaries, and in discussing them and their application to everyday life. The latter knew little Hebrew and usually followed the lower ranking occupations. None of the women were expected to know Hebrew or to have any theoretical acquaintance with the Law, but those of the *sheyn* were expected to be more punctilious in its practical observance. To comply with the multifarious rules of ritual purity, to prepare the dishes appropriate to the endless succession of feasts, fasts and family observances, and to give the young children the perpetual attention which was considered proper was by no means all that they had to do, for it was necessary to take continual precautions against the evil eye and other malign influences.

The Jews had almost no contact with Gentiles except the illiterate peasants with whom they traded, and though there were stories in Yiddish for the *prost* and the women, there was almost no secular education.

The authors are to be congratulated on preserving the record of a people who, though living the narrowest of lives, were remarkably kindly, generous and tolerant. RAGLAN

The Farmer's Tools, 1500–1900. *By G. E. Fussell. London (Melrose), 1952. Pp. 246, 111 illus. Price £2 2s.*

117 Mr. Fussell, author of other authoritative books on the history of British agriculture, has contributed in this, his latest work, a valuable addition. It is felt, however, that a more precise title would have indicated the fact that the book deals almost entirely with the larger tools used by the farmers. The illustrations, also, are almost exclusively of these. The dust cover stresses the fact that here is 'the first full and complete record of farming tools ever published in this country.' With an index that omits 'Fork,' 'Hoe' and 'Scythe,' this cannot help but be an exaggeration so far as the smaller tools are concerned. The museum curator with a thirst for knowledge about the multitude of small implements which come his way will remain dry and disappointed, but the agricultural historian particularly interested in the history of the commercially made larger tools will doubtless be well contented.

T. W. BAGSHAWE

Reindeer Are Wild Too. *By Joan Newhouse. London (Murray), 1952. Pp. xiii, 174*

118 Miss Joan Newhouse, a Cambridge graduate in Geography who also took a Diploma in Anthropology, spent about half a year with the Kautokeino Lapps in Finnmark, Norway. She had been doing social-welfare work at Hammerfest during the post-war reconstruction period when she met a family of Lapps who agreed to let her join them later. Finding relatives of her friends on the boat to Alta the next year, she moved with them to the winter pasture grounds. There she took part in reindeer-herding activities with the herders. At the Kautokeino market she attended a wedding and the annual meeting held by Norwegian officials with the Lapps to discuss administrative problems. Then came the spring migration to an island off the coast, where she stayed long enough to see the first calves born in May. In early August she started out again with another family, which took her on as a domestic help, and accompanied them on the autumn migration up from the fjord towards the mountains. Her adventures were, however, interrupted in October by a letter calling her home to England, where she was to get married in December before leaving for East Africa.

One cannot but admire the interest, energy and courage which led Miss Newhouse to set out for the wilderness, to share a type of life to which she was unaccustomed. Although she knew little Lappish, talking Norwegian with her hosts, she was able to collect much material, which is presented in the form of an entertaining travel book. Many of the details of Kautokeino Lapp life are well observed and accurately described. However, she seems to have thought that Lapps had seldom been visited before and that their customs were very imperfectly known, for no books or articles by other travellers are mentioned.

Naturally methods and events were misunderstood in some cases. For instance, it is not strips of bark that are used on raw reindeer legskins to prevent them from losing their shape while they are drying (p. 162), but shavings of wood; a pinch of salt is sometimes added to a pot of coffee, not a 'handful' (p. 16). Pack reindeer usually make slow progress on the first day of an autumn journey because they are too wild, not because they are in 'poor condition,' and the loads with the babies must surely have been, as usual, the first in the train, not the last (p. 154).

More serious is the abuse of hospitality involved in retailing certain items of gossip, and above all in identifying two persons alleged to have stolen reindeer (pp. 107, 125), which might result in local prosecutions.

The weakest part of the book consists in the sweeping statements made about the Swedish Lapps, although she seems to have spent only two days in one of their settlements, after a rapid journey through Sweden by train and tourist boat. According to the Introduction, it is 'only in the small districts of Karasjok and Kautokeino in northern Norway and in the adjoining Karesuendo [*sic*] district in Sweden . . . that the Lapps have managed to preserve their traditions of language, dress and tent nomadism . . .' (p. xiii). Sweden's 200,000 reindeer are widely scattered throughout the country and are cared for by Lapps whose own language and herding methods, besides other customs, are largely preserved. Finland's Lappish cultures have been entirely ignored. MIKEL UTSI

OCEANIA

A Pattern of Islands. *By Arthur Grimble. London (Murray), 1952. Pp. 250, 1 map. Price 18s.*

119 Sir Arthur Grimble went to the Gilbert Islands in 1914 as a Colonial Service cadet, and before he was removed to other spheres became Resident Commissioner. In those days before and during the First World War many of the natives remembered the time before the establishment of the Protectorate, when warfare was endemic; in some islands many were still pagans, and even the nominal Christians regarded magic as an essential part of everyday life.

Sir Arthur was a sympathetic and sensitive observer of the Gilbertese; his understanding of their culture was perhaps all the deeper because he was primarily interested in them as people. The fruits of his observations may be found in a number of valuable papers and in his fine collection in the British Museum. This book does not set out to be a serious work of ethnography; it is a series of

finely written sketches or anecdotes of life in the Gilberts as lived by the natives, the administrators, the missionaries and other whites, but with the interest centred mainly on the natives. It contains a good deal of ethnographical information, particularly on magical and religious beliefs, mythology, the system of clan rights and obligations and matters connected with fishing and seafaring; and it succeeds, where more serious works often fail, in distilling the essential spirit and atmosphere of the culture. It also arouses one's admiration for the fine work of the Colonial servants and one's indignation at the deplorable conditions of service in those days; however, things are better now. Sir Arthur has a gift for choosing words, and a sense of humour that sometimes has an edge but never any rancour. *A Pattern of Islands* can be recommended both for its real value and for the great pleasure it will give the reader.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Some Notes and Suggestions regarding Conservation of Important Archæological Sites and Objects in South Pacific Territories. *By Felix M. Keesing. South Pacific Commission, Report No. 1 on Project S. 10, 1951. Pp. 13, xiii. Price 5s.*

120

The object of this duplicated report is to emphasize the importance of recording and preserving archæological sites, to encourage territorial and local administrators to take action, and to indicate what action is desirable and likely to be practicable. It has the great merit of recommending simple and feasible measures. It also lists the institutions in various countries which are likely to be interested in hearing of discoveries and to help with advice, and gives a *pro forma* survey report. There is a useful bibliography.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Bibliography of Cargo Cults and Other Nativistic Movements in the South Pacific. *By Ida Leeson. South Pacific Commission, Technical Paper No. 30. Sydney, N.S.W., 1952. Pp. 16. Price 2s. sterling*

121

This useful bibliography is one of the products of the Office for Social Development of the South Pacific Commission. It has been prepared under the general stimulus of Mr. H. E. Maude, Executive Officer for Social Development, by Miss Ida Leeson, former Mitchell Librarian and now on the Commission staff.

The bibliography has eight sections—a general one followed by material on the British Solomon Islands, Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Netherlands New Guinea and Australian New Guinea (here termed Papua and New Guinea). The list of items has been carefully compiled and includes material in French, German and Dutch, as well as in English. For the comparative student the section on Netherlands New Guinea is particularly useful, and in all the sections a number of out-of-the-way references are to be found. In the general section, one reference which would have been worth including is that to pp. 75–105 of M. J. Herskovits's study of *Acculturation*, which contains an elaborate citation of 'nativistic' cult material. But anthropologists will welcome this up-to-date collection of references.

R. FIRTH

CORRESPONDENCE

Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 75

122

SIR,—I have read with interest, Dr. Schneider's remarks on my account of Nuer marriage. Circumstances have greatly changed since I was last in Nuerland and it would appear that divorce is now frequent. Dr. P. P. Howell has given some attention to the question in his forthcoming book on Nuer law, and were I to discuss the points raised by Dr. Schneider it would be necessary to do so in the light of what has happened since the institution of Government Courts. As this new information was made accessible to me in manuscript and not, presumably, to Dr. Schneider it would not be proper for me to make use of it. I am not saying that it invalidates Dr. Schneider's criticisms, but it cannot be left out of a discussion of them. I shall therefore not reply to his criticisms till the new information is available in print to both of us.

Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

American Credit Institutions of Yoruba Type. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 51

123

SIR,—The Yoruba institution of *esusu* described by Dr. W. R. Bascom in Volume LXXXII (Part I) of the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute exists in the Bahamas and possibly in Jamaica and Florida, as well as in Trinidad and British Guiana.

In the Bahamas, the institution is known by the Yoruba name *esu*, and is said to have been brought from Africa. Each *esu* is known by the name of the person who originates it, as 'Stanford Pinder's *esu*,' and the originator reserves the right to exclude potential members whom he deems uncertain risks. One individual may hold two memberships in one *esu*, or one or more memberships in several *esus*, but this causes a certain amount of difficulty in delivering the money every pay day, and in keeping track of one's turns. *Esu* membership is usually less than 10, but as many as 24 members are reported. Membership is often limited to employees of one business, members of one lodge or church, or to close friends or relatives, so as to ensure both a minimum of defaulting and strong social pressure on the holder of the money not to abscond. In case the holder does abscond, he is prosecuted by the government as a thief.

Contributions vary between 10*s.* and £3 per week, £1 being the commonest sum. Wealthier Bahamians put their savings in banks or in the postal savings, but poorer people in New Providence Island fear involvement with the law, and prefer the *esu*, where they can be in arrears a few weeks without difficulty, and where they can get ready money for any emergency. In the Out Islands of the Bahamas, where there are no savings facilities except *esu*, the institution is highly important as a means of buying a share of a fishing boat, building a house, or getting married.

The originator of the *esu* takes a small cut out of the funds each week. When a member falls in arrears, the originator is expected to make up the difference from his own resources until the arrears are paid up. If the member falls in arrears before he has received his *esu*, the amount he owes will be subtracted from his *esu*. If he defaults after having received the *esu*, it is up to the originator, sometimes called the 'captain' as in Trinidad, to put pressure on him to pay up or return all the money he has received beyond what he has paid in. A member who realizes he cannot continue to make weekly payments, or who moves away, may sell his membership for what it will bring, but the man who buys him out must be approved by the originator of the *esu*.

The Church of God or 'Jumper' Church forbids *esu* membership to its communicants, on the ground that all cooperative activity should be under church auspices. A group of Catholics have founded the St. Francis Credit Union in hopes of adding earned interest to the accumulated capital of *esu*.

Bahamians returning from contract labour in the United States have reported that there are many *esu* operating in Florida, especially in the Bahamian communities in and near Miami. They state that American Negroes are joining these *esu* and setting up their own. They also report that *esu* have existed among contract labourers mostly Bahamians and Jamaicans, while working even in the northern and western states.

Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. DANIEL J. CROWLEY

A Correction. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 67

124

The Hon. Editor regrets that the price of T. Heyerdahl's *American Indians in the Pacific* was incorrectly given as £1 10*s.* It is in fact £3 10*s.*

(a)





(b)

(c)

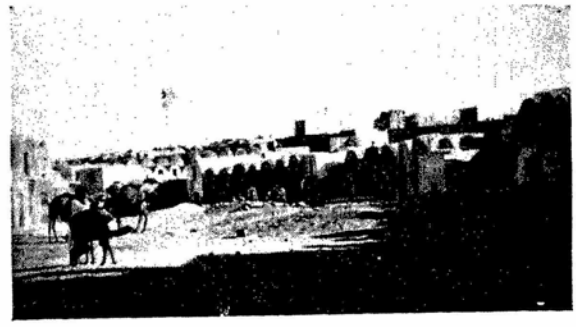




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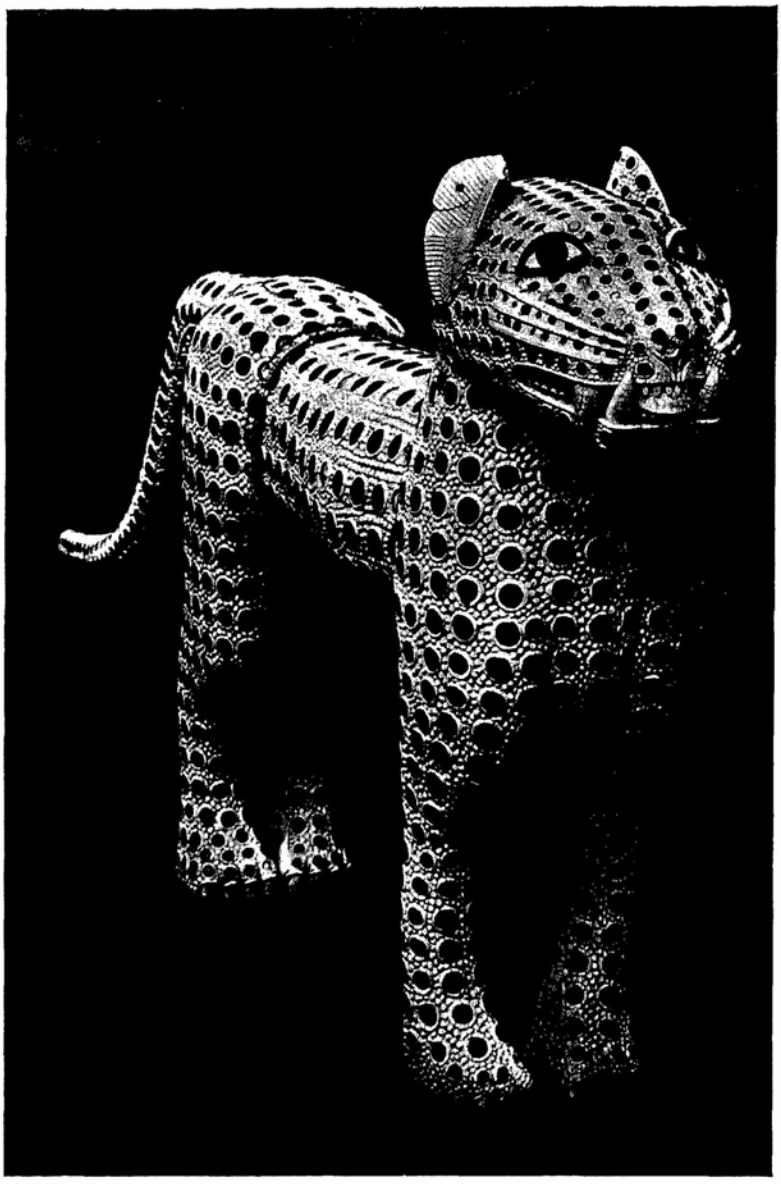




(f)

CAVE HABITATIONS AND GRANARIES IN TRIPOLITANIA AND TUNISIA

(a) Interior of troglodyte dwelling. (b) Granary at Nalut. (c) Troglodyte pit near Garian. (d) Interior of granary, Cabao. (e) Distant view of granary at Cabao. (f) Ghorfas at Medenine



ONE OF A PAIR OF LEOPARDS CARVED IN IVORY FROM BENIN, THE PROPERTY OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

These leopards, each carved and joined from five large elephant tusks and inlaid with small disks of thin brass hammered into under-cut circular depressions to represent spots, were collected in the palace of the Oba Ovonramwe by the British expedition to Benin in 1897 *and presented to H.M. Queen Victoria on its return to this country. They were placed on loan in the British Museum by H.M. King George V in* 1925, *and are on exhibition in the Ethnographical Gallery there. Their excellent condition suggests that they may not be of great antiquity, especially as an exactly similar head of much older appearance exists in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Vienna, and was presumably part of an earlier pair. The above specimen (length* $32\frac{7}{8}$ *inches) is illustrated by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum and also of H.M. Stationery Office, from a block used in* Traditional Sculpture from the Colonies, *the illustrated handbook of the exhibition held at the Imperial Institute, London, in* 1951.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty:

May it please Your Majesty,

WE, the President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, on behalf of the general body of Fellows, present our humble duty to Your Majesty and take occasion of Your Coronation to assure You of our loyal attachment to Your Majesty's Throne and Person.

FOR a hundred and ten years, from the earliest days of the scientific Study of Man, our Institute has had the honour of establishing and upholding the great and honourable part which British scholars have taken in the development of Anthropology. The work of the Institute and of its individual Fellows at home and abroad has been devoted especially to studies bearing upon the cultures of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and Empire and of the United Kingdom itself. Mindful as we are of Your Majesty's deep concern for the wellbeing of all Your subjects, we trust that the Royal Anthropological Institute may be allowed to contribute even more fully in the future than in the past to knowledge of and understanding between Your peoples and so to their greater advancement and happiness.

WE pray that Your Majesty may be granted a long, peaceful, prosperous and happy reign over the peoples united in allegiance to the British Crown.

(*Signed*) J. P. MILLS
President

(*Signed*) W. B. FAGG
Honorary Secretary

June 1st, 1953

THE ABOVE ADDRESS WAS DELIVERED AT THE HOME OFFICE ON THE EVE OF THE CORONATION OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II, AND THE FOLLOWING REPLY HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR HOME AFFAIRS, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR DAVID MAXWELL FYFE, P.C., Q.C., M.P.

HOME OFFICE,
WHITEHALL, S.W.1
16th June, 1953

Sir,

I have had the honour to lay before The Queen the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute on the occasion of Her Majesty's Coronation, and I have it in Command from The Queen to convey to you Her Majesty's warm thanks for the expressions of loyalty and devotion which it contains.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(*Signed*) DAVID MAXWELL FYFE

The President, Royal Anthropological Institute

CAVE HABITATIONS AND GRANARIES IN TRIPOLITANIA AND TUNISIA*

by

H. T. NORRIS

125 The Jebel Nafusa is the central portion of a horseshoe of mountains about 3,000 feet high which extends from the Matmata region near Gabes in Tunisia to the coast not far from Misurata in Tripolitania. While the region of Garian is largely undulating plateau covered with olive trees, the Nafusa region to the west is now desiccated in great stretches although basically the ecology is similar to districts further east. This centres in arboriculture and dry cultivation with the use of terraces and small barrages following the water courses leading down from the mountain scarps. The tree grown *par excellence* is the olive, and its importance for the Berber population can hardly be exaggerated.

The Nafusa region is the most easterly Berber province of North Africa. While Arabization has been widespread and the eastern region of Garian is now wholly Arab, the core of the Nafusa, namely Giado, Iefren and Nalut, forms a solid block of Berber villages and towns united by ties of language, religion and tradition. Antagonism between Arabs and Berbers is based upon a combination of factors, mountaineer against nomad, religion, the fact that the Berbers belong to the 'Ibadi sect and their language. Socially this shows itself in the absence of intermarriage between Arab and Berber which the Berbers apply also to Arabized Berbers of the Maliki rite. Their 'brothers' are not their next-door neighbours but their 'Ibadi brethren of the Kabyle, Aures and Beni M'zab. This social and religious cleavage is immensely strengthened by the economic factors which go with it. The 'Ibadi Berbers are essentially arborealists. At one time they kept few animals. Today they have goats and sheep, but invariably the shepherds are Arabs. The Berber is a peasant keen to gain money, a trait strong amongst many of the 'Ibadi. The Arab, even when settled, remains at heart a Bedouin. He does not look after trees but prefers his tent. His life essentially centres in his herds and he has an inherited disdain for the 'house-dweller.' One may in brief sum up the Arab-Berber relationship by the diagram in fig. 1.

The region possesses two unique types of construction, the troglodyte dwelling and the communal granary. The former is known all over the district and is the common habitation of the Arab, Berber and Jewish communities, although Garian in Tripolitania and Matmata in Tunisia are the best-known and perhaps the two most concentrated localities.

Despois[1] has subdivided the troglodyte dwellings into four types (see fig. 2): (*a*) horizontal, the most elementary type and the smallest, (*b*) grand court (he gives Zintan as his example), (*c*) the pit in depth, a characteristic Nalut type (with camels, goats and sheep in the external court), and (*d*) the type of mixed habitation combining a troglodyte dwelling with some other form of habitation.

Garian district conforms to the grand-court type. These are approximately 30 to 40 feet deep, the main pit excavated in the hard soil either round or square in plan. Each pit or habitation is known as a *haush*. In the centre of the court is a catchment for rainwater, an outline of stones surrounding a small pit dug in the hard calcareous surface forming the floor of the pit. Each cave leading off from the court, like a spoke from the hub of a wheel, is known as a *dar*, and on the average there are six or eight of these to one *haush*. The pits are occupied throughout the year and contain any number of people up to 40. Each pit may contain

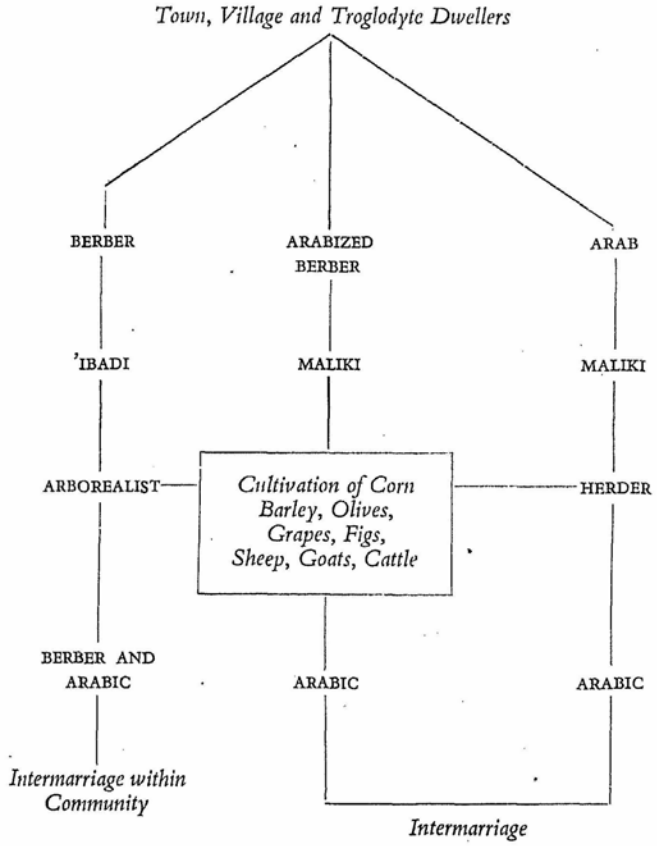


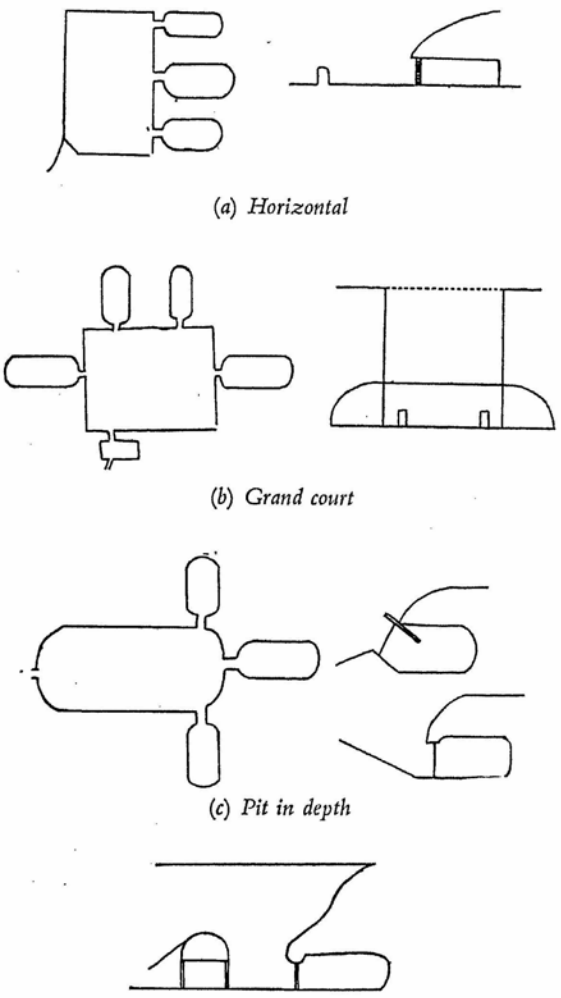
FIG. 1

a *bayt* of a tribe or part or whole of an *aila* depending on the size of the tribe or local community.[2] Water is brought to each habitation by donkey or by hand from the nearest water source or wells which often adjoin mosques in larger villages. The camels, sheep and goats are housed in rough habitations on the surface or enclosures consisting merely of stone walls forming a pen. The entrance to the habitations is a descending shaft often facing south, cut out of the soil and strengthened with olive branches and with crude steps cut into the floor. Before the main court there is usually a side room for straw and animals.

The nearby village of Tigrinna has a large number of troglodyte habitations formerly occupied by a Jewish

* *With Plate F and three text figures*

community. One pit contains a well constructed synagogue with later additions incorporating an original square plan forming the main place of worship with an excavated cave opposite for a school or similar building. The *dars* within each pit differ little from the Arab type. The water catchment in the centre of the court however is usually divided into segments. The interior of each *dar* has been whitewashed frequently. (See fig. 3 and Plate F*a*, *c*). Side rooms for storing oil, barley or household utensils are often part of the original cave, being partitioned later by a thin wall of mixed straw and plaster thickly coated with whitewash. Adjoining smaller caves contain dome-shaped ovens, three or four feet high, and sometimes a *dar* (usually for storing) is dug into the side of the pit at a higher level.



(*a*) *Horizontal*

(*b*) *Grand court*

(*c*) *Pit in depth*

(*d*) *Mixed habitation*

FIG. 2. PLAN OF NAFUSA TROGLODYTE DWELLINGS
After J. Despois

The pit-in-depth type found at Nalut is a cruder construction dug into harder rock or earth. These are frequently under modern houses and are used as cellars or for storing grain. Their original purpose was undoubtedly that of habitation. At Cabao such pits under more recent habitations are olive presses.

The type of mixed habitation can be seen at Tigrinna in the Arab village below Qasr Tigrinna. The plan is similar to the other *haush* but the pit may contain only two or three caves, one covered by a façade of stone walls and outhouses.

The primitive horizontal plan is found throughout the Jebel Nafusa and in adjoining regions of Tunisia around Foum Tatahouine. Defence appears to be an important factor in their construction. At Matmata and Ghoumrassen, where the cliff is stratified horizontally into resistant or friable zones, caves are dug into the latter, each cave occupying allotted space on the cliff ledge divided by stone walls and houses. Other troglodyte habitations at Matmata follow in general the grand-court plan of Garian allowing for the difference imposed by excavating on the one hand vertically into the hard mountain soil and on the other into the crater-shaped mounds of earth common in the district.

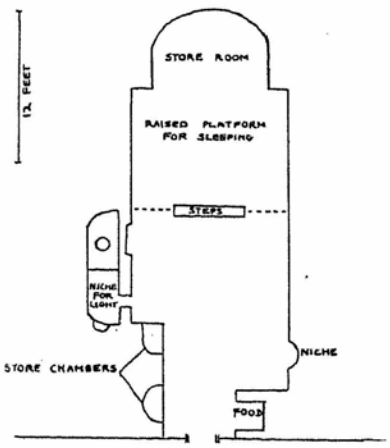


FIG. 3. PLAN OF A JEWISH 'DAR,' TIGRINNA, TRIPOLITANIA

While the primitive horizontal plan is very ancient, the common grand-court plan is undoubtedly an evolved and more recent type although perhaps derived from the former. Filled-in pits are dotted all over the Jebel Nafusa and southern Tunisia but most appear to be recent or not more than 300 years old. The Jewish community at Tigrinna can trace traditions back to early times, and Barth reports a tradition that it was the Jewish community which introduced the idea of troglodyte habitation, but the fact remains that the present habitations are comparatively recent. One tribe called the Ousaden near Garian partly live underground in the ruins of a Roman structure called Qasr al Ajbab. Economic factors have influenced troglodyte dwelling in Garian and Matmata. The red soil is favourable to their construction and it is cheaper to excavate a pit than to build a group of houses. At Bu Zian and Mugharbat whole sections of the village above ground have fallen into decay, and the remains of *ghorfas*, some elaborate, in the latter village indicate former prosperity. The whole

of the region is little 'house-conscious.' Villages are therefore not so much sleeping places but shelters for animals or stores for barley, olives, figs and grain. The dominating element is one of security of crops, livestock and economic surplus. The troglodyte dwelling serves for human habitation, while the above-ground dwellings are restricted to store houses, schools and mosques. It is, however, true that in the strictly Berber areas near Iefren, Giado and Nalut greater use is made of above-ground dwellings for habitation and of troglodyte caves for olive presses and animals. Several factors are responsible: the harder rock and soil make the troglodyte habitation smaller, and the pit-in-depth plan gives free access to beasts which is impossible in the grand-court type; secondly, density of population is far less in the west and building stone more abundant.

In the region between Matmata and Garian the *ghorfa* structure is a dominating element in above-ground architecture. The elementary structure is a simple vaulted room or corridor varying in length from three to five metres and from one to two metres in height. Each *ghorfa* has a wooden door with a lateral 'Saharan' lock. The normal *ghorfa* is divided into compartments with two floors or in the form of grottos in the sub-soil. The proprietor has a key but usually leaves it to a guardian, each family owning two to five *ghorfas*. But at Nalut, Cabao, Giado, Tatahouine, Medenine and elsewhere the usual form is a fortified granary, a building of superimposed *ghorfas* in a square court often to a height of six stages with 230 chambers as a Cabao or 12 metres high with 515 rooms at Nalut (see Plate Fe). These structures are called *mukhzan* or *qsar* in different areas and socially impose a strong collective responsibility as each *ghorfa*-owner is under obligation to see that the structure is in satisfactory condition as its instability may hazard the whole granary. If the village is essentially a place to conserve victuals and grain, the fortified granary is the obvious symbolic structure of this fact. At Tazmerait the *qsar* was built at the same time as the habitations; both types are complementary in the social life of the Jebel Nafusa. F. Peltier[3] classifies them as closed citadels and associates them with a type of society more nomadic than sedentary. He connects the usual *qala'a* with a more sedentary population. The *qala'a* is found on a summit or mountain scarp and often has high walls and buttresses flanked by towers with granaries and shops. This is so at Chenini near Foum Tatahouine. Elsewhere the plan is similar, but more elementary with crude walling, reliance being placed on inaccessibility of position as much as on strength of fabric. Qasr Tigrinna, Qasr Asbih and Mugharbat in Garian district are of this kind. It is interesting that the type prevails predominantly to the east of Iefren while the closed-citadel 'granary' is found almost exclusively to the west. It is the more thickly populated, predominantly troglodyte, Arabized, eastern region which has the usual mountain-top citadel. An exception, however, is at Ghoumrassen in South Tunisia where a gigantic closed citadel of *ghorfas* has been built on a mountain spur surrounded by all types of cave habitation (horizontal type).

The closed citadels are either compact and high or wide and low with not more than two storeys. Beni Barka in Tunisia is a veritable town of *ghorfas*. The *funduq* or caravanserais at Medenine are built back to back and are giant courts with *ghorfas* low and wide and not more than two storeys high (see Plate Ff). The courts were used as places of refuge and also served to keep flocks. Frequently the lowest *ghorfas* were used as shops or habitations. At Bennisan near Tatahouine a *qsar* for Bedouins contained a court, a market, a mosque and a spring. These nomad structures are all found in the Jefara or near Medenine and Foum Tatahouine. In the Jebel Nafusa at Nalut,[4] Cabao (and also at Qasr al Hajj in the Jefara) the fortified granaries are taller and more compact, entered by a tunnel, bare and windowless on the outside. Inside, the impression is of gigantic beehives connected by fantastic wooden galleries and stone steps, the interior court either filled by more *ghorfas* as at Nalut (see Plate Fb) or by a saint's tomb or mosque and massive oil jars as at Cabao (see Plate Fd). Gateways of granaries and *ghorfas* may have prints of hands or names of the architects who constructed them. One granary near Tatahouine is dated A.D. 1178.

The granary is a social phenomena; it is in effect a bank. Each member of the community has a share in its maintenance for personal and communal reasons. A family may own several *ghorfas* handed down from father to son, who, while possessing the keys of his own particular set, nevertheless entrusts the care of the granary as a whole to the custodian of the main entrance. But the essential nature of the building is a granary; it is in no sense a castle although at times it may have been used as such, and the village defence centres on it. If the west Nafusa has been more nomadic than the east, it partly accounts for the lack of such structures in the Iefren and Garian areas where their introduction appears to have been after invasion of the mountain district had begun. But the castles of Garian area and the Arabized zone in general are more often the purely fortress type of structure without central court and *ghorfas*. Nomadism may be a partial explanation but there appears to be a fundamental connexion between the Berbers and this central-court granary system. In the regions of south Morocco, a purely Berber district, R. Montagne[5] has made the following points about buildings of similar type though lacking the eastern *ghorfa* structure. Dealing with the results of domination by great chiefs he writes 'the collective citadels are destroyed because they form the natural centre of resistance,' and 'the society is centred in the organization of collective magazines called in the east *igherm* and in the west *agadir*. Each hamlet, each village or canton possesses a magazine inside which families deposit all their provisions.' He sees this as a survival from the time when south Moroccan tribes lived a nomadic existence while the more sedentary Kabyles of Djurjura ignore the usage. In Sous collective magazines exist in humbler forms dug in the rock or stone constructions built in the open air. He adds 'These fortresses, whose function is so well adapted to the qualities of the race, are justly the pride of the Berber republics and the role which they have played in the life of the country suffices to show the aptitude of the people for collective organization.'

Such a structure, it seems, must have a Berber origin as

its whole conception seems alien to traditional 'Arab' custom as introduced to North Africa.

It may well be that the *ghorfa* is derived from some troglodyte habitation. There is in fact a strong resemblance between the open court plan of *ghorfas* at such a place as Ben Gardane on the Tripoli-Tunisia border and the grand-court troglodyte dwelling at Garian. But at this stage it is futile to speculate on origins without some material evidence for connexion.

The Nafusa villages of today are invariably built on natural defensive positions, rarely above a water supply but not far from it. They are disorganized conglomerations of cottages and troglodyte dwellings lacking any public place or artisans. Each man is his own artisan and the only two centres are the *qsar* and the mosque. Giado is an agglomeration of 300 years consisting of two Berber groups joined by the erection of a mosque and a market. Iefren district contains a number of village agglomerations, *e.g.* Khlayfa and satellite villages whose origin appears to be due to over-population or inter-tribal quarrelling. But this is also the region which is most open and subjected to Arabization, a process perhaps helped by tribal segmentation of the Berbers.

Displacement of population has taken place in the Jebel Nafusa on a large scale. In Giado district not only have tribal centres moved but there has been a reforming of groups after partial displacement and fragmentation.

The Nafusa never seems to have been a completely sedentary district, hence the 'nomadic' types of granaries there. This displacement is no doubt the explanation of much of the deserted countryside. But near Cabao and Khlayfa there are more ruined than occupied structures and their density is greater in the east than the west, a fact not entirely unconnected with the Arabization of the district and its exposed position. It would seem that before the attacks of the Beni Hillal and Suleym the region was blessed with a larger population, particularly in the west. In the east settlement had always been higher on the plateau owing to better soil. The west had been forced to concentrate not only in the mountain valleys where soil could be found but also in the Jefara. Wherever over-population had arisen in the west as at Cabao there was need to annex the Jefara for wells and cisterns. Cultural decadence is often associated with economic decadence. In the east the reverse applies. The economic position has improved but cultural development has been retarded, where building construction is concerned. It is in the west that the tradition of granary-construction has survived and in the east that troglodyte dwellings are now used on a large scale.

Four threads of tradition, economic life and historical fact run through the development of society in the mountains of Tripolitania. The first is the decrease of population in the west, the mainly Berber areas, and density in the east of the Arabized population, not only a decisive factor in cultural dominance but one affecting the present types of habitation and agricultural life of the population. The second factor of tradition is the persistence of a type of habitation, the troglodyte dwelling, developed, but preserving an ancient tradition prehistoric in origin in the life of the inhabitants. With this type of dwelling goes the persistence of another structure, the *ghorfa* and its most spectacular culmination in the communal granary, an institution associated with a semi-nomadic society and with the Berber social system. A third cultural factor has been the relationship between Arab and Berber, the conflict of different religious, economic and social traditions culminating in the virtual Arabization of much of the eastern portion of the mountain plateau. Lastly comes the persistence of a historical memory amongst the Berbers when the whole Jebel Nafusa in the tenth century formed the backbone of an 'Ibadi dynasty.

Notes

1 J. Despois, 'The Jebel Nafusa,' *Encyclopedia of Islam.*

2 The mountain region of Garian and Nafusa is divided up into a number of *mudiriya* all of which contain one or more *qabila* or tribes each of which is subdivided into one or more *Aila*, again subdivided into one or more *bayt.*

3 F. Peltier and F. Arin, 'Les modes d'habitation chez les Djebaliya du Sud Tunisien,' *Rev. du Monde Musulman*, Vol. VIII, May 1909.

4 R. Basset, 'Les Sanctuaires de Jebel Nafousa,' *J. Asiatique*, 1899, Vol. I, p. 423, Vol. II, p. 88.

5 R. Montagne, *Villages et Kasbas Berberes*, Paris, 1930.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON 'EARTHLY SPIRITS' AMONG THE NUER

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126 Mention has been made in literature on the Nuer of 'earthly spirits' or *kwoth piny*.[1] These are contrasted to 'sky spirits,' *kwoth nhial*, which are associated with another and entirely different category of ritual expert. Professor Evans-Pritchard sometimes refers to *kwoth piny* as 'talking medicines' or even 'fetiches,' but I prefer to use the word spirit in this connexion because, although they are often associated with material objects—gourds full of ashes, roots and the like—it is the spirit within them which is important, and such spirits are often found in animals and natural phenomena as well. They are also something quite different from the magical medicines known as *wal*, a word which also applies to more ordinary drugs, purges and even medicines supplied by the

Sudan Medical Service. Without a full exposition of Nuer beliefs in the supernatural, which I am not competent to attempt, the use of such terms is liable to cause confusion and even to produce preconceived ideas in the mind of the reader. Such terms would in any case require an altogether special definition when applied to the Nuer. I therefore use Nuer terms throughout.

One of the main categories of *kwoth piny* is referred to collectively as *kolangni*, a name which applies also to a particular spirit of the same kind. These spirits are used to assist in the diagnosis and cure of certain ills and to provide for fertility in women and cattle, and are sometimes considered themselves the cause of the evil. The possessor of this type of spirit, the *gwan kolang*, acts as the medium through which the spirit is approached. The spirit speaks through his mouth, through some object, from the ground, or sometimes through dreams. Nuer say *be kolang pat*, literally 'the *kolang* will be slapped,' referring, I think, to the clapping of hands which is a common feature of the séance and to the singing of songs with the rhythm punctuated by hand claps. Such séances take place within a hut and usually in the dark, so that it is not easy to see what actually happens. The audience is usually in a state of emotional excitement by the time the spirit begins to speak, and if ventriloquism is practised it must be of a very simple kind. Nuer say that the words are spoken in a far-away voice and often in a language which is not even intelligible to the onlookers.

There are two main categories of *kolang*, many of which have definite personalities, and it is typical of Nuer mentality that many of them are considered to be linked by kinship ties. The first category is the *kolang* proper which are considered to be of Nuer origin and character, while the second, *goah*, are referred to as Dinka spirits and essentially of external origin. None of these spirits are necessarily held by any hereditary process, but they can be acquired by purchase, usually with cattle. This, however, is not part of a simple commercial transaction; there must be some form of initiation in which by appropriate ritual the spiritual properties are transferred from the old owner to the new, even though the spirit is also manifest in some material object which actually changes hands. Moreover, the original owner does not thereby loose his hold over the spirit. Nuer would say he is selling the 'child of the *kolang*,' *gat kolang*. Possession of such spirits is therefore also something in the nature of membership of a cult.

The names of the spirits are often those of cattle (*i.e.* colours) *Maluil*, *Maluth*, *Macar*, etc., while others are purely personal names, the origin of which I am unable to discover.[2] The most important of the *kolangni* are *Kolang*, *Biel*, *Gulung* and *Maluth*, while under the heading of *goah* come *Malual*, *Maluil*, *Macar*, *Mabor*, *Mathiang*, *Gou cien* and *Jok*. I have not the necessary information to describe all these in detail; many are closely associated with each other, some are rare and their possessors hard to find. I describe here the characteristics of some of the more important ones which may be taken as typical examples.

I begin with *Biel* because, although *Kolang* which gives its name to all spirits of this category might be thought to be the most important and common of them all, *Biel* is of more frequent occurrence, at any rate in that area of Nuerland from which this information largely derives. This was certainly so at the time when I collected most of the information recorded here, though I believe that fashions change and other spirits, sometimes entirely new ones, acquire a sudden popularity.

Biel is normally inherent in the special cattle ashes (*pok Bieli*) which are kept by the owner in a gourd, and which are sometimes sold for cattle in the manner already described. This is a less abstract manifestation actually held by the *gwan Bieli*, the 'owner of *Biel*,' but in a more general way the spirit is also associated with a certain type of snake and other natural phenomena. I think it is wrong to refer to *Biel*, or any other similar spirit, as totemistic, for it is not attached to a particular clan or lineage but only to 'owners' who may come from any Nuer patrilineal descent group. Moreover, although the owner would respect the snake or any other object associated with the spirit, members of his kinship group would not necessarily all do so, though his closer kinsmen might. Snakes are in any case respected by all Nuer and never molested.

There are four main types of *Biel*. First *Biel rir*, '*Biel* of the cobra.'[3] Since this kind of snake is often found in the forest or in the bushes surrounding anthills in open grassland, *Biel* is sometimes called *Biel jiath*, '*Biel* of the trees.' Then there is *Biel loic*, '*Biel* of the cattle pegs,' which has special powers concerning the fertility of cattle, and is used, not only to make barren cows produce, but also to make all cows produce cow calves. This type is normally only possessed by the *wut ghok*, 'man of the cattle,'[4] and is used with incantations and ritual, including the rubbing of the animal's tongue with butterfat (*liedh*). Although especially the prerogative of the *wut ghok*, the spirit may be acquired by commoners (*dwek*), the usual fee being a cow calf and a bull calf. Thus though all *wut ghok* are necessarily possessors of *Biel loic*, possessors of *Biel loic* are not all necessarily *wut ghok*. *Biel yier*, '*Biel* of the river,' is specially associated with fish and also with hippopotami and is called upon to ensure success in fishing and hippo-hunting, though in addition it has special powers of curing children. Fireflies seen on the river's edge are called *gwan Bieli*, and the spirit is considered the prerogative of the appropriate ritual expert, the *kwar thoi*,[5] but can be possessed by others. *Biel kwoth dhoar*, '*Biel* of the spirit of the bush' is held by certain lineages and is believed to have exceptional curative powers, while *Biel nhial*, '*Biel* of the sky' has special functions in connexion with fertility in women. The possessor will give the woman ashes (*pok Bieli*) to eat and rubs her with butter while calling upon the spirit to assist her. *Gulung*, the spokesman of *Biel*, has no independent existence and no man can possess the one without the other. *Gulung* speaks on Biel's behalf through the mouth of the possessor when in a trance-like condition.

Kolang, which has no special associations, also speaks through the mouth of the medium, while *Maluth*, which is associated with a black and white snake (*wea*),[6] never speaks except in the mind of the owner. Unlike most *kolangni*, *Maluth* cannot be purchased, but is acquired by a

man who actually sees the snake. There are similar characteristics found in the case of the *goah*. These spirits are usually said to be acquired by Nuer from the Dinka and in some cases the possessor returns from visiting these people with some unusual disability, a missing finger joint or even a limb, which is thought (by other Nuer) to have been given in payment for the spirit, a belief which is also held in the case of magical medicines (*wal*) which have a definite material form, no particular spirit and more often than not are used for anti-social purposes.

When spirits of this type are required to diagnose the cause of illness or continued mortality among children, the owner is approached and some fee, which may be anything from a single goat to two head of cattle, is paid and a séance is called. The participants enter the hut, usually in the late evening or at night, and begin to chant special songs gradually working themselves up to a high pitch of emotional excitement. These chants are a common feature of the procedure, and I quote one in full as a typical example. Like all Nuer songs, it is difficult to translate because there are many obscure references, and often archaic words and expressions are used which the Nuer themselves find hard to explain or do not even know.

ci Biel bud e ca pal *ca pal edan ku lau*	*Biel* is always saying the people scorned me, they have left me unattended,
ba ruac luoi neko *Nyangeany Luth Kwai* *tengni gha dul* *Kolang did wic tengni* *gha dul* *gar medid jual tengni* *gha dul*	they must come back to me; you, *Nyangeany*, O *Luth Kwai* show yourself to me, shake our locks; you great *Kolang*, shake the hairs of my head, you, child of the big tail, pull my locks and shake them.[7]
ca yang nonge ke rei ruob *yang gata jiath yang* *bum dau* *yang thainyalan, yang* *bum dau*	I brought a cow through the forest a cow of the trees, its daughter, with its calf; the cow of *thainyalan* and its calf.[8]
Biel kadh bange Biel *gata jiadh kath bang* *wa Biele kath bang.*[9]	
Biele ba nong liedh yang *Gulung ba nong liedh yang* *Biele re rode nhok ke dwal* *gat Malual ce rode nhok ke* *dwal*	*Biel*, I will bring you butter from the cow, *Gulung*, I will bring you butter from the cow. *Biel* has no reason to fear, you, son of *Malual* do not make yourself afraid.[10]
wel a wel wel Goue *wel a wel wel Gou* *ci Gou le ben moc yang* *ci yange yang rolan* *gat jiath bany man Gai*	*Gou* has come, he has come give him a cow, give him a cow of our country Son of the trees has left his mother sad, *Biel* has left his mother sad.[11]
lar yango nhiari mo	Tell us the name of the cow you want,
lar yango nhiari mo *lar yango nhiari mo*	Tell us the cow you want, Tell us the cow you want.[12]
Biel yieri lar yango *nhiari mo* *lar yang nhiari mo*	*Biel* of the river tell us the name of the cow, tell us the cow you want.
gore ne bor ke lar *gore ne lual ke lar*	If you want a white one say so, if you want a black one say so.
Kurnyin joghe lar yango *nhiari mo* *lar yango nhiari mo*	*Kurnyinjok*[13] tell us the cow you want.
madh Wea ca yang *Maluth Cotroal ca yang nong* *madh wea ca yang nong* *yangede wane mo* *yang gan Nyandeang* *te wane mo*	O friend *Wea*, *Maluth* called Cotroal, I have brought the cow, O friend *Wea* his cow is here, the cow of *Nyandeang's* children is here.[14]
yang liedh de ba le wane *yang cak de ba re wane mo* *ghok rioghni dien ke wane mo* *dhor kong a dien te wane mo*	The cow which will give the butter is here, and the cow with the milk is here, the gourd with the flour is here, the pot for the beer is ready here.
did gaya lou *ran a nguot ke nuaghne*[15]	
ca ku koap ghan rir jiath *ca ku koap elong* *cake koap ghan gat thuoi* *ca ku koap elong* *ca ku koap elong ghan baiele* *caku koap elong*	I give out a powerful smell, I the red snake of the trees, I give out a powerful smell, I the son of the grass, I give out a powerful smell I the anthill dweller.[16]

A full account of Nuer religious beliefs is necessary before we can see these spirits or *kolangni* in their proper setting. The following summary may, however, be of use to future investigators and to amplify future accounts.

(*i*) The word *kwoth* is used by the Nuer to describe nearly all aspects of the supernatural and has often been translated as 'God' or 'Gods.' There are many specialists in Nuer society who possess or are possessed by *kwoth* in one form or another. There are the more orthodox ritual experts, the *kwar* as opposed to *dwek*, the ordinary people, who have what may be called a respectable status in society, whose position is hereditary, well founded in tradition, and whose role is essentially social and beneficial. There are also the *gwan kwoth*, who acquire exceptional supernatural powers and often exceptional prestige. The *kwoth* which possesses them is more nebulous and is often referred to as *kwoth nhial*, sky spirit. Of these there are many who gained outstanding power over their fellows and are sometimes called *guk*, and figure large in Nuer history, while others have enjoyed only a local and relatively unimportant position in Nuerland. There are also *tiet*, who are specialists in various forms of magic and medicine, and *gwan wal*, owners of specific medicines of a magical nature. There are *peth*, those of the evil eye, and *rodh* who are ghouls, both of whom practice witchcraft of the worst kind and have nothing which is good. Finally there are the *gwan kolangni* already described. These are a category apart, yet, since the Nuer express beliefs in the supernatural in terms of spirits or peculiar manifestations of *kwoth* which are found in persons and in material objects or natural phenomena, there is much which confuses those who attempt to classify them.

(*ii*) *Kolangni* are essentially spirits, even though specific objects are associated with them. *Biel*, as we have seen, is found in special ashes (*pok Bieli*) and is shown to the public in this form, and is also found in certain snakes, in trees, in anthills, in the river, in fireflies, in the bush. Nuer would say that this kind of snake is *Biel*, fireflies are owners (*gwan*) of *Biel*, *Biel* is in the river and so on. Nevertheless, the spirits are endowed with personalities, and are subject to human emotions. They are pleased, they are angry, they are hungry, they are sad, and Nuer will attempt to placate them and will even set aside offerings of food. Like human beings too they are related; a relationship which the Nuer will express in terms of kinship. Some speak from the ground or from some object, others through the mouth of the medium, some not at all or only through some other spirit.

(*iii*) Many of these spirits can be acquired by purchase, though some are also the special prerogative of hereditary ritual experts. Purchase, however, is something more than a direct commercial transaction: owner and would-be purchaser must together perform the ritual to enable the transfer to take place; nor does the original owner thereby lose his control over the spirit.

(*iv*) I think the Nuer regard these spirits in three ways. First as possessed by or possessing certain individuals who may use them for diagnosing the cause of sickness and for curing it. The *gwan kolang* will demand fees for these services. If the cure is unsuccessful, the client may demand the return of these fees and it is a fact that such demands frequently come before courts established by the Government. Secondly, they may be regarded as free agents which attack people and cause illness without any ill will on the part of the owner. Finally, the *gwan kolang* may direct the spirit against his enemies in the form of witchcraft, but although some *gwan kolangni* are feared as dangerous men, I do not think that this is a common feature of the belief.

Notes

[1] *Kwoth*, a word applied to all aspects of the supernatural; *piny*, ground, earth as opposed to sky, etc. See Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer Tribe and Clan*, sections vii–ix, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XVII (1934), Part 2.

[2] They are often used as proper names by the Nuer, *e.g. Kolang, Gulung, Biel*, etc.

[3] *Rir*, probably the Egyptian cobra, *Naja haje*.

[4] The *wut ghok*, cattle expert and one of the orthodox Nuer ritual experts. See Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, pp. 51f., and *The Nuer*, 1940, p. 177.

[5] *Kwar thoi*, the river expert and sometimes also the *kwar nyang*, crocodile expert.

[6] I have not been able to identify this snake, which may be merely fabulous. The black and white colouring suggests the cobra *Naje nigricollis* which has a distinct black and white pattern of scales round the head and neck.

[7] *Bud*, literally to 'continue to say,' 'repeat'; *Nyangeany*, daughter of *Biel*, a spirit which jumps from person to person during the seance; *teng*, 'to shake the hair of'; *jual*, 'tail.'

[8] *Gat jiath*, 'son of the trees,' *i.e. Biel*; *thainyalan*, a bull name for *Biel*.

[9] A literal translation of this is impossible, but it means roughly: *Biel* gets angry about nothing—he thinks his children have forgotten him, but they have not. *Kath* or *kadh*, 'a person who interrupts,' a person who considers himself aggrieved.

[10] *Malual*, another spirit and sometimes referred to as the father of *Biel*.

[11] *Biel* has taken up residence elsewhere leaving his mother behind, *Gou* is said to be a kinsman of *Biel*.

[12] *Nhiari*, an archaic, possibly Dinka word, meaning 'to want.'

[13] A bull name for *Biel*.

[14] Both *wea* and *cotroal* are bull names for *Maluth*, and *wea* also refers to the snake already mentioned above. *Nyandeang* is said to be the mother of *Kolang*.

[15] I am unable to translate this passage. *Did gaya* means literally 'things of sadness', *nuot* means 'slaughter' and *nuagh* means 'neck.' Nuer say that a man is sometimes killed by *Biel* and is held by the neck. The reference, however, may be to cerebro-spinal meningitis which was rife among the Nuer at that time.

[16] It is *Biel* himself who is now talking. *Koap* means 'to give forth a smell' and is used of snakes; *rir* is the cobra associated with *Biel* which lives in the trees (*jiath*), in the grass tufts (*thuoi*) and in the anthills (*baiele* being an archaic word meaning to 'come from an anthill').

OBITUARY

Sir Francis Knowles: 1886–1953

127 The death of Sir Francis Howe Seymour Knowles, fifth baronet, which occurred on 4 April at the age of 67, has deprived us of a scholar of rare quality who contributed to the advancement of more than one branch of our subject. After reading law at Oriel College, Oxford, he turned to anthropology for his post-graduate work, and in 1908 was one of the first two students to be awarded the Diploma in Anthropology, to which he afterwards added the degree of B.Sc. In 1909 he was appointed Assistant to Professor Arthur Thomson, specifically to carry out teaching and research in physical anthropology, the first post of its kind in the University. During the next three years he catalogued and measured two large collections of skulls, the Rolleston and the Williamson Collections, and using the material thus obtained wrote a paper on 'The Correlation between the Inter-Orbital Width and the other Measures and Indices of the Human Skull,' which was published in the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute (Vol. XLI, 1911). He collaborated with Sir Arthur Keith in reports on various skeletal remains, and in a paper establishing the palæolithic age of the teeth from St. Brelade's cave, Jersey. At the request of Professor Sollas he examined the bones of the so-called 'Red Lady' of Paviland, showing the skeleton to be that of an Aurignacian man (*J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, p. 365).

In 1912 Knowles started fieldwork on the Iroquois Reserve, Ontario, and from 1914 to 1919 he held the post of physical anthropologist to the Canadian Government. His monographs 'On the Glenoid Fossa in the Skull of the Eskimo' and 'The Physical Anthropology of the Roebuck Iroquois' were published by the National Museum of Canada. The latter paper, which deals with the skeletal material excavated by W. J. Wintemberg on an ancient Iroquois village site, is an outstanding example of co-operation between a physical anthropologist and an archæologist. An attack of typhoid, contracted in the field, permanently affected his health, and forced him to give up his career as a physical anthropologist.

Knowles then settled in Oxford, and took up the study of the methods used by ancient and modern Stone Age peoples in making their tools and weapons. After working through the collections in the Pitt Rivers Museum, he set out, with characteristic thoroughness, to discover how the different types had been made. By long and patient experiment, using only the materials and tools known to have been available to prehistoric man, he perfected his own technique. His discovery of the secret by which alone the best results can be obtained, *i.e.* the preparation of a striking platform from which cross-flakes can be detached, was published in 'The Manufacture of a Flint Arrowhead by Quartzite Hammer-stone.' The technique there described was later seen by Professor Elkin in use among the aborigines of Arnhem Land, a confirmation of his experimental work which gave Knowles much pleasure.

Other evidence of his mastery of the subject appears in the series of exhibition cases he arranged for the Pitt Rivers Museum, showing the techniques employed in stone-working from the earliest times to the gun-flint-makers of Brandon, and illustrated with his own pen-and-ink or skilfully coloured sketches. Shortly before his last illness he completed 'Stone-Worker's Progress,' which will be published, like the former volume, in the Museum's series of *Occasional Papers on Technology*. We are also indebted to him for the practical classes he gave to our students, who, inspired by his enthusiasm, were encouraged to try their hands at making flint implements, learning thereby to appreciate the skill of prehistoric man. Some of his pupils are now themselves teachers of archæology, and are passing on the knowledge they gained from him.

His passion for acquiring practical experience was not confined

to stone-working. He was expert with the spear-thrower and with the boomerang; models in wire of the flights of returning boomerangs thrown by him are shown in the Museum. His pleasure in carved ivory led him to experiment in this field also, fashioning delightful little figures of animals and fishes out of elephant tusks, sperm-whale teeth and bits of amber.

Knowles was elected a Fellow of the Institute in 1942, and kept in touch with its activities, though seldom able to attend meetings. Owing partly to recurrent ill health, partly also to his modest and retiring temperament, he was less widely known than his qualities deserved, but his friends will remember him with affection for the man he was, and with admiration for his contribution to knowledge. His work will endure, because it was founded on acute observation and patient experiment, achieving a high standard of scholarship in which meticulous accuracy was illuminated by flashes of genius.

B. M. BLACKWOOD
T. K. PENNIMAN

Bedřich Hrozný: 1879-1952

128 Born at Lysá on the Elbe, the son of an evangelical pastor, Bedřich Hrozný was intended for a career in theology.[1] But under Professor Justin V. Prášek he developed an early aptitude for Assyrian and Babylonian studies, in the Faculty of Philosophy in Vienna. Later he received a bursary to Berlin under Friedrich Delitzsch, and soon began to do original work. Returning to Vienna, after four years, as reader, he devoted himself to early economics, and to links between Egypt and Mesopotamia. In 1913 the Deutsche Orient-gesellschaft invited collaboration in the decipherment of Winckler's copious archives from Boghazkioi, the ancient Hittite capital, many of which, though cuneiform, were in unknown languages. Hrozný succeeded in identifying an Indo-European idiom which he identified as Hittite, together with others. He also propounded a decipherment of the hieroglyphic texts of Asia Minor and Syria on an Indo-European basis. In 1934 he travelled widely in Asia Minor copying such inscriptions. In 1924–5 he had already discovered a rich collection of cuneiform documents derived from Assyrian merchants at Kultepe, the definitive publication of which has begun in the year now ended. These threw much light on political and economic conditions before 2000 B.C.

Later, Hrozný attempted, less successfully, to decipher the proto-Indian inscriptions of Mohenjodaro and similar sites, but his bold assumptions have not been accepted by everyone.

Later still, the Linear Script of Knossos attracted his attention, but most of the inscriptions were still unpublished, and his system of transcription led to such extraordinary identifications and even translations that it remains in suspense.

On the other hand, the *Oldest History of Asia Minor, India and Crete*, constructed round his work onthese inscriptions, contains nevertheless some graphic and constructive writing, and won the State Prize in Czechoslovakia in 1947. A complimentary volume of essays showed how widely Hrozný was esteemed among students of early languages and scripts.

JOHN L. MYRES

Note

[1] Biographical information included in this notice is in part drawn from an obituary in *Literární Noviny*, 20 December, 1952, kindly translated by Mr. S. E. Mann.

SHORTER NOTES

Physiology and Psychology of the Couvade. *By Professor R. Ruggles Gates, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University*

129 Some years ago I suggested (MAN, 1944, 55) a possible physiological explanation of the couvade, based on cited medical observations made in the Southern States of the U.S.A. It was pointed out that pregnant women give off œstrin, and that symptoms of pain and malaise in the husband might arise from inhalation of œstrin under conditions in which there are few baths, the husband and wife sleeping together in poor ventilation, frequently with the bedclothes pulled over their heads. Such conditions were described in Negro and poor white families in West Virginia.

Lord Raglan (MAN, 1944, 80) took exception to such an explanation, and pointed out that the couvade custom is associated with various taboos in primitive peoples. He concluded that the couvade was the result of a religious belief, possibly based on the idea that 'unless due precautions are taken, the life or soul of a man will pass into his newborn child.'

That such an explanation is inadequate appears from the former widespread occurrence of the custom in civilized countries. It was known in Roman Europe and mediæval China as well as among many modern primitive peoples. It is not only referred to in Elizabethan drama, but was evidently discussed in Europe and known as a peculiar and unexplained condition as late as the seventeenth century.

In browsing through the valuable library, including many herbals and incunabula, owned by Mr. Albert E. Lownes of Providence, Rhode Island, recently I happened across the following passage (pp. 193f.) from *The Natural History of Oxford-shire* by Robert Plot (1640–96), published at Oxford in 1677, which has kindly been transcribed by Mr. Lownes. It seems to throw new light on the matter, but without providing a solution.

> 3. In the *birth* of *man* it is equally strange, that the *pangs* of the *woman* in the exclusion of the child have sometimes affected the *Abdomen* of the *husband*, which yet to such as have experimented the secrecy of *sympathies*, and understood the subtilty and power of *effluviums*, perhaps may not seem difficult: But that the *man* should sometimes suffer such *pains*, whil'st the *woman* is well, and before she is in *labor*, is a *problem* I fear beyond all hopes of *solution*. And yet that this has happen'd to some *persons* in *Oxford* is very certain, and that to knowing *ones* too, very unlikely to be deceived, and of unquestionable veracity: whereof *one* of them told me (*whom* I enquired of more particularly concerning *them*) that they came upon *him* when he little thought of his *wife*, and that the *pangs* were very odd *ones*, such as he never felt in his life; not like any *griping* in the *guts*, but lying in the *muscles* of the Abdomen, which yet he should never have thought to have had relation to his *wife*, had they not suddenly, and beyond expectation ceased, as soon as his *wife* began to be in *labor*. Which makes much for the credit of a relation of the *German Virtuosi*, concerning one *Faber* of *Buxovil* in *Alsatia*, who constantly acted the part of his *pregnant wife*, being taken with *vomittings*, and suffering those inordinate *longings* that usually attend *women* in that condition, his *wife* all the while suffering no such *inconveniences*.
>
> 4. That such *symptoms* should be thus translated from the *woman* to the *man*, the *woman* remaining well and undisturbed, Dr. *Primirose*[f] thought so irrational (upon account that *natural Agents* first work on the *nearest* objects, and then on the *remotest*, and that therefore a *woman* must needs be first affected with her own *noxious* humors) that *he* lookt upon it as no better than a ridiculous error, as indeed I think I should my self, but that I am otherwise perswaded by *sober men*, who well know how to distinguish the manner of the *pangs*, and the

circumstances of them: Nor should I have ventured to have made this relation, but that the *persons* are living, and ready to justifie what I have written to any *person* fit to be discours'd with about such *matters*: but how they should come to pass, is so hard to determin, that I dare not yet attempt it, it being difficult not to err concerning such *mysteries* of *Nature*.

e Miscellania Curiosa Med. Phys. German. An. 2. *observ.* 215.
f Jac. Primirosii *M.D. de vulgi erroribus, in Med. lib.* 2. *cap.* 13.

The 'noxious humors' and 'effluviums' of Robert Plot might well be equated with the œstrin of modern medicine. One can only conclude that the pains were real and that they had some physiological and probably also psychological basis. Perhaps the taboos among modern primitive peoples arose as a result of the realities some of the husbands of pregnant women had experienced. The medical observations above cited would thus seem to provide a possible physiological nexus around which the custom of the couvade could have developed. If intelligent seventeenth-century Englishmen were mystified by the symptoms, it is not surprising that untutored native tribesmen would be even more so.

A New Indian Anthropological Publication. *A note by Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S.*

130 The Government of India's Department of Anthropology has begun a new *Bulletin* edited by Dr. B. S. Guha, the Director. The first number (Vol. I, part 1, for January, 1952) has been published at Calcutta this year.

The first article refers to the Andamanese and an appendix shows that the *A* blood group occurs in 57—nearly 70 per cent.—of the samples, while the *O* is found in only 10—15 per cent. *B* is high in one group but low in the Onges. Blood-group data are also given for various Indian Veddoids. Performance tests for groups of rural and urban men and women among Bhils are discussed with tables of results. Verrier Elwin writes of the Saora priestess, largely a study of the Kuranboi relationship of a woman to the Ildasun ghostly husband from the underworld. Marriage customs among the Santals are treated by Uma Chowdhury, and the last article deals with the Dharma cult. We hope the new bulletin will develop successfully.

A Water Jar, Built without a Wheel, in the Kurdish Village of Dara. *By Ahmet Dönmez and W. C. Brice. With two text figures*

131 In the Kurdish village of Dara, about 16 miles south-east of Mardin, in South Turkey, each household has store jars (figs. 1 and 2), varying in height from 30 to 60 centimetres, which are made and fired in the village. No wheel is used in their construction; they are built up in layers, and hand-modelled. Straw temper alone is used, no grit being mixed with the clay, and firing takes place in a closed oven, where (apparently) there is generally a high proportion of failures.

The pots are left matt and unglazed. Some carry handles, others none, but all have a rich and gay ornament of ribs, hollows, pimples, incisions and 'rope' decoration.

The making and firing of these *pithoi* is exclusively women's work, although now only a few women in the village practise the craft, and they sell to the rest.

This old technique only survives among the Kurds. Apparently nearby Arabic and Turkish villages buy their pots, large and small, from the factories, where they are mass-produced with the aid of the potter's wheel; this manufacture being, of course, men's work.



FIG 1. WATER JAR, BUILT UP BY WOMEN, AT DARA VILLAGE, SEPTEMBER, 1947

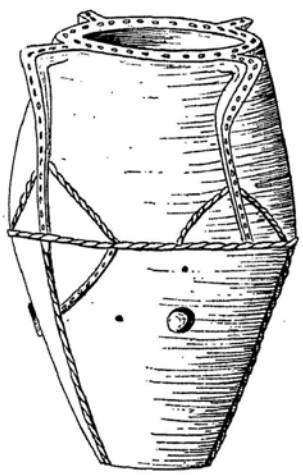


FIG. 2. WATER JAR OF DRAB BUFF-RED CLAY, STRAW-TEMPERED
Drawn at Dara village, September, 1947

Professor R. M. Dawkins found in 1909, in the village of Axó in Cappadocia, a local manufactory of hand-built open-fired pottery (including tall water jars), operated exclusively by women (*Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 22).

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Das System der Raumeinteilung in den Behausungen der nordeurasiatischen Völker. *By G. Ränk. Stockholm (Inst. f. Folklivsforskning), 1949–51. Vol. I: pp. 136. Price 12 Kr. Vol. II: pp. 239. Price 20 Kr.*

132 The primitive one-roomed house has almost everywhere been divided into an entrance space (*Vorhaus*) with, at times, cooking and other equipment, a living room opening laterally out of the *Vorhaus* and, often, another chamber opposite. The living room is divided into male and female halves with the stove in the entrance half of the latter and the sacred corner at the far inner end of the former, though the women sometimes have ikons of their own. Entrance half and inner half are differentiated and only notable guests pene-

trate beyond the beam which marks the distinction. Wedding ritual makes the bride and her maids sit on the women's side and the groom and his men on the men's; and in her own home the bride takes her food in the women's half behind a curtain, at least on important occasions, until the birth of her first child. The sacred corner has a special aperture made for exit of the soul at death, which takes place if possible in this holy place. An ear of a cereal may be placed in the sacred corner at harvest or on Christmas Eve. At the family meal table, usually in or near the sacred corner, the master of the house sits at the head with the other males on a bench against the wall and the females on a free bench opposite; the lady of the house may sit at the end of the rectangular table opposite to her husband. The stove is the most important piece of furniture and its opening for fuel is typically near the door. An autumn festival has some analogies with our west European All Souls Day. The earth house of some north Asiatics may be a variant of the conical tent. The house of wood is naturally rectangular. Its external door is said to face either south or east, as part of a sun cult; it backs against some shelter, where possible, to avoid snowdrifts or high winds. This study, which spares no detail, is an interesting contribution to European ethnography and again and again, as one reads, analogies from among ourselves come into the mind.

H. J. FLEURE

AMERICA

Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti. *By Maya Deren. London (Thames & Hudson), 1953. Pp. x, 350. Price £1 5s.*

133 This is one of the best books ever published in its particular field. It is the first occasion I know of in which a person of mainly white extraction has really experienced, and has been able to understand and to record, the inner meaning of a non-white system of religious beliefs and practices. I include practices, because Maya Deren has been not only an observer but also a participator, not merely in ritual, but, which is much more vital, in the personal experience resulting from that ritual, and of the inner forces that give rise to it and are supported by it. This is the Haitian religion of Voudoun, regarding which many erroneous concepts exist, but which is here described not from the outside as something to be feared, but from the inside as a dynamic force tending towards the integration of the personality.

It is a religion centring in and leading up to 'possession' by 'powers' which much is made of in the mythology, but which the study of mythology alone would not explain unless they had been personally experienced. She speaks of this as her 'ordeal,' which we may well believe it was, as all deep religious experience is, and hints that her capacity for it may have been due to her own element of Negro blood. In fact here is what may prove to be an advance guard of the much needed work of expressing what is called 'primitive' mentality and psychic experience in terms which we can understand, and which we have need of understanding if we are to comprehend not only other cultures but also the deeper levels of our own psychic structure.

The work has many sides, to interest the anthropologist, the student of religious mysticism, and also the psychotherapist in his efforts to grapple with those layers of the psyche which, among us, are too often relegated either to the dustbin of misunderstood dreams, or else, when they take possession of an unfortunate who is unconscious of their meaning, to mental hospitals.

'Divine Horsemen' is the name given to these powers which are thus said to 'mount' a man or woman, as though he were a horse. They can be extremely various. No Haitian wants to be thus possessed, and so possession is carefully controlled, in the sense that it is elevated into the central act in a religious drama in which all the major passions and characteristics of mankind are 'deified' by being included in a pantheon of 'gods'. These 'gods' are among the so-called 'archetypes' of the ancient world and of modern psychology, which Maya Deren fully recognizes; and in many respects they resemble the gods of Greece, which is due less to anything that could be loosely called 'culture contact' than to their universality as 'types' of human reaction to internal and external facts.

They represent not persons but psychic forces which remain unconscious so long as they are not objectified. Possession by them can be disastrous if their powers are not canalized. Mythology, however, canalizes them, and they 'appear' to onlookers when, under ritually controlled circumstances, they 'possess' a man or woman and thus show themselves to others, though not to the possessed, who has no memory of what has happened when he comes to, but is himself purged by the inner experience that he has undergone, uncriticized by conscious attitudes, which leaves him nevertheless in a state of great lassitude. The result is a 'selfless' experience which informs the multitude and purges the sufferer.

All these and many cognate matters are fully described with real understanding, in measured terms of observation as well as with regard to their subjective effect. And the mythology includes not only the 'gods' but also a great number of concepts of for the most part unsuspected value to modern man as well as to the Haitian, such as those of the psychic 'mirror' and, as a special form of it, the psychic 'cross roads' which are all mirrors of one another and through the intersection of which, as through a 'gateway,' the powers come and go.

Maya Deren extends this concept of opposites in her own acknowledgement of indebtedness to two very different supporters, Gregory Bateson and Joseph Campbell who, for her, 'represent, in a sense, harmonious polarities' and, as such, largely inspired her work and helped to form her mind. She also, while sometimes criticizing them, expresses her indebtedness to Herskovits, Courlander, Maximilian, Simpson, Odette Rigaud (who contributes an appendix) and others who have worked in the same field and had already ploughed some of the ground from which she reaped. These had inspired her with the desire to extend her previous work as a cinemaphotographer by making 'motion pictures' of Haitian dance. In this, as she herself says, she 'failed,' since the dances, as she found, could not be studied in isolation, but the failure brought quite another kind of 'victory,' of which this book is a result.

It must not be supposed, however, that. in her interest in the Haitian religion of Voudoun as it now is, she has ignored the complex factors of culture contact that have brought it about and given it its strength. There are the elements of Spanish conquest and occupation which lasted from 1510, when the first slave shipment to Haiti took place, till 1677 when the island came under French rule. For centuries the slave trade continued bringing African slaves from nine African empires and some 40 known African tribes, not to speak of the Caribbeans and natives from other parts of the Americas who were impounded too, or of the original Haitians. All these were constantly 'marooning' into the interior, where the new complex culture characterized by Voudoun, with an overlay of Catholicism, gradually evolved, until it gave the impetus to the final revolt in 1804 that made Haiti the second free colony in the Western Hemisphere, following the United States.

Of these various elements the greatest stress has so far been laid on the African, but the author makes out a good case for the two main strains of mythology and ritual, the more 'accepting' called Rada and the more 'dynamic' called Petro, having had their origins respectively in Africa and America (including primarily of course the West Indies), with the latter as the most actively potent so far as action was concerned. But there are elements that may have come from even further east than Africa.

This book, as will have been seen, could be reviewed from many angles. The chief criticism that can be levelled against it is at the same time a compliment. In a work so full of basic and important symbolism, the index is not full enough. Criticisms of psychiatric theory and practice in relation to 'possession,' while to a large extent justified, are not without sympathizers among those of more enlightened opinion over here. And, while fully recognizing and indeed expounding with exceptional clarity and insight the concept of 'archetypes,' the author, in her concentration on the particular religion which she is describing, does not fully appreciate their universality.

These are, however, minor details. They do not invalidate the major contribution which she has made, which is, so far as I know, unique in literature dealing with the more 'primitive' type of

religion, namely a quite cogent description of what, to the participant, is its dynamic soul-making force, a force which shows itself not only in contemplation, but in action too.

JOHN LAYARD

The Four Ages of Tsurai: A Documentary History of the Indian Village on Trinidad Bay. *By Robert F. Heizer and John E. Mills. Berkeley and Los Angeles (U. of California Press) (U.K. Agents: C.U.P.), 1952. Pp. x, 207. Price £1 8s.*

134 The southernmost Yurok Indians of north-western California lived on the shores of Trinidad Bay. This group of Yurok who lived in the village of Tsurai is the subject matter of this book. Since the village was abandoned in 1916, it should be mentioned that the material presented consists of the results of archæological excavations and written accounts of early contacts with the village.

The authors divide the history of Tsurai between approximately 1600 and 1916 into four periods: prehistory, discovery and exploration, the fur trade, and the American invasion. The prehistoric data represent a summary in ten pages of the work of an archæological exploration sponsored by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California in 1949 and, as such, will probably be particularly welcomed by specialized students of California archæology. The remaining pages of the book are given over to a compilation of documents written by explorers, fur traders, gold-diggers, etc., who in the course of their various endeavours took occasion to comment on their experiences while in the vicinity of the inhabitants of Tsurai. Indeed, the variation in quality and relevance of the various accounts is extreme; Don Juan Perez is almost exclusively concerned with his ship's problems while in Trinidad Bay, which he reports in a day-by-day journal. The account of Baron Karl Von Loeffelholz, on the other hand, is a reasonably systematic report by an untrained observer.

It is difficult to see how the authors can justify the publication of material such as this between hard covers. They say that the documents constitute a record of the culture and recent history of the group, and stand out primarily as eyewitness records of the decline and disappearance of a pre-Caucasian civilization. The documents themselves, however, on the basis of almost any contemporary standards, do not support this view of their usefulness. If any attempt had been made to interpret the documentary material or to use it as a basis for describing the social history of Tsurai, a worthwhile methodological contribution to the exploitation of such material could have been made.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

American Nonsinging Games. *By Paul G. Brewster. Norman (U. of Oklahoma Press), 1953. Pp. xxii, 218. Price $3.75*

135 The games described are classified under such titles as guessing games and stick games. The States where each is played are mentioned, and there is after each description a note on the games or its variants as played in other parts of the world. Many English works appear in the bibliography, but references to English games in the text are incomplete; 'hunt the slipper' is mentioned as a German but not as an English game, and skipping is not mentioned under that name. Many games are seasonal, but apart from one reference this aspect of them is ignored.

We are told that such games as 'Prison Base' are readily recognizable as survivals of ancient tribal warfare; they may be survivals of ritual contests, but in tribal warfare there are no rules.

The book is well written and produced, and is a useful contribution to the literature of the subject.

RAGLAN

American Race Theorists: A Critique of Their Thoughts and Methods. *By Byram Campbell. Boston (Chapman & Grimes), 1952. Pp. 159. Price $3.50*

136 This book is an emotional outburst by an author who dubs all dissentients from his thesis as 'equalitarians,' no doubt including in that class the writers of the American Declaration of Independence. Professor Kroeber may smile over the attack upon him; he would no doubt emphasize our common humanity with Asians and Africans and would probably be ready to adapt a famous phrase about woman and man by urging that 'African is not undeveloped European but diverse.' One can imagine the author of the book visiting Britain with, let us say, Pytheas and despising the natives. Europeans are now clearly superior especially in the art of exhausting earth capital, Africans seem superior for life and work between the tropics. African weakness in political experience is being so rapidly removed that a wise man may hesitate to forecast the future.

H. J. FLEURE

ASIA

Caravan: The Story of The Middle East. *By Carleton S. Coon. London (Cape) (U.S.A.: Holt), 1952. Pp. viii, 376, 7 maps, 16 pp. illus. Price £1 8s.*

137 The author describes this book as a 'Caravan' because it is a moving picture, in full colour, of a mode of life; because in the Middle East transport and traffic in its fine goods are conspicuous; because its organization is typical; and because it is in caravans that pious folk approach holy places, of which the Middle East is one to many people. His object is to provide newcomers, and American businessmen especially, with a guide to this mode of life, in all its varieties, so different fundamentally from their own, so easily and fatally misunderstood.

It is about a century since Le Play's *Ouvriers Européens* made the first modern attempt to interpret the interactions of 'Place, Work, Folk,' in selected examples; about 50 years since Demolin's brilliant essay *Comment la Route crée le Type Social* applied Le Play's method on a planetary scale; de Préville's *Sociétés Africaines* followed soon after, for a sequence of contrasted regions from Algeria to Cape Colony. But there has been nothing in English on quite the same plan; and Dr. Coon's bibliography shows how rich is the modern store of materials and authorities.

His fundamental notion is that in the Middle East society has a 'mosaic' texture, consisting not of races, or castes, or classes, but of independent communities, only forced into association, like the individuals of which they themselves consist, by the physical compulsion of regional forces of climate and topography. His competence in this matter is attested by his masterly revision of Ripley's *Races of Europe*, and his own more recent handbook. His handling of the varied material is original, and his definition of his subject at first sight startling.

Some of his type instances of 'Middle East' societies are drawn from Morocco, Western Sahara and Tunis; others from the borders of Afghanistan; and his seafarers, though based on Koweit, traffic with Zanzibar and Indonesia. One of his great monarchies is that of Turkish Istanbul. But his regional analysis, and his conception of 'mosaic' society support his selections. With his treatment of 'more peoples, the Turks and Mongols' in chapter 9 to complete his ethnographical survey and prepare for the discussion of 'differences inherited and acquired', he passes on to the survey of social types, correlated with climate and topography and the village, the camp in the desert, the pastoral highlands, and the larger communities, town, city, and kingdom of shah or sultan. The larger populations, and greater political powers, loom up as based on position, at water supplies, road junctions, or strategical centres; though the last are not quite explicitly demonstrated. Something more might have been done to coordinate the last three types—the ship, the caravan, and what is here called the 'land of insolence' outside the frontiers of the regional states.

On racial characters, Dr. Coon gives a very wide extension to the Mediterranean group of breeds, including Iranian, and on the other hand regards the broad-headed, flat-backed types of head as due to artificial deformation by cradle boards, not necessarily deliberate. It will be interesting to see whether these types disappear, as they should in that case, from the next generation of pillow-trained children.

One would like to have fuller discussion of the Jewish communities, and of the Copts and Ethiopian Christians; and something about the northern terminals of the trans-Saharan caravan routes, such as the remarkable suburban village of Hausa-speaking Negroes at Tripoli.

The final chapter, 'A Lesson in Austerity,' has some notable comments on the regional aspects of Islam, and on the age-long desiccation of the whole area. Deforestation is generally admitted, but there is still some dispute as to its causes. Can the Prophet's objection to swine be really related to economic drawbacks of pig-keeping?

A word of praise should be given to the unusual photographs, and to the picturesque maps. JOHN L. MYRES

Ancient South-East Asian Warfare. *By H. G. Quaritch Wales. London (Quaritch), 1952. Pp. 206. Price £1 15s.*

138 In this book Mr. Quaritch Wales applies to the warfare of South-East Asia the same theory and method which he used in his *The Making of Greater India* (London, 1951) to solve the larger problem of the cultural and artistic development of the same region. He has not, of course, been able to work out his theory in such detail as in the earlier book, or as consistently, for the material at his disposal is comparatively small. Nevertheless, it would be inadvisable, indeed impossible, to read the present book without being familiar with *The Making of Greater India*, which is, though one may disagree with its conclusions in detail or as a whole, the first and most brilliant attempt to make sense of the reactions of the peoples of Greater India to the civilizations which inspired them.

To illustrate the practice of war as understood by the early Môn-Khmer- and Malayo-Polynesian-speaking inhabitants of Greater India, the author selects the 'non-Indianized' East and West Torajas of Central Celebes, largely because we know so much of these two tribes from the superb ethnographical studies of Adriani and Kruyt. He concludes that primitive warfare was a trial by ordeal and was undertaken not only for the social and economic reasons with which we are familiar but also to obtain heads for ritual use. The influence of the Dong-S'on culture seems to have been negligible, except possibly for the introduction of a new weapon, the kris. Mr. Quaritch Wales lays considerable stress on the Chinese influence, though he seems to think their main contribution to have been an emphasis on the necessity of winning.

In the period of Indian influence, when no longer small tribes, but great organized states were in conflict, the development of strategy, tactics and weapons becomes an important historical problem. Though Indian textbooks tell us much of theoretical tactics, they say little of their practical application, nor, unfortunately, can one see them illustrated to any useful degree in the sculptures of Java or Cambodia. It is this very paucity of material evidence that makes Mr. Quaritch Wales's later chapters an account of fights rather than a military history. It is, indeed, not yet possible to do for the Khmers or Javanese what Tarn, for example, has done for the Hellenistic kingdoms, but this is a brave attempt. DOUGLAS BARRETT

Manipuri Dances. *By Leela Row Dayal. O.U.P., 1951. Pp. viii, 53. Price 11s. 6d.*

139 Manipur needs no introduction to readers of MAN, since Assam has been the happy hunting ground of anthropologists for many years, and Manipur, on the Burma frontier, must always have been a favourite holiday haunt of the British officials stationed there. Manipuri dances are still seasonal celebrations, one is glad to think; for as everywhere in the world where men have not lost touch with Nature, song and dance are an essential part of religious life, and the clapping of hands and clash of cymbals serve as 'spells to deliver them from evil,' as Leela Row says; or possibly to show the Heavens that man has fulfilled his part, according to the view certainly held in China, for instance, that 'what men sing and dance, Heaven follows'; in other words, if the proper rites are observed, Heaven will do its part.

The many varieties of folk dance are enumerated in a brief introduction, and the glamorous swirl and brilliance of the women's costumes are of course absent. But we are reminded that the almost universal theme of all the dances, group or solo, is the god Krishna; all are enchanting musical offerings to Krishna, who, in the supposedly Muslim dance of North India, the exceedingly difficult *Kathak*, as in the solo dance of the South, *Bharata Natya*, secular offspring of the *Dasi Attam*, the dance of the temple hetaeræ, is the universal and often highly emotional theme. All these folk dances of Manipur are based on a simplified form of the technique derived from the principles of the ancient Sanskrit manuals of technique, elaborately commented on by pandits through the centuries, and reappearing in all countries of the Far East to which the cultural influence of India extended. Perhaps we may say that Manipuri dancing deserves to be called classical (which Mrs. Stan Harding is inclined to deny) in the same sense as Highland dancing . . . but this is not a subject to discuss in so short a review. Leela Row Dayal is an admirable demonstrator of the 42 basic poses of Manipuri technique, and equally of the 64 basic sequences of *Bharata Natya*. She brought to its study the accurate eye and sensitive timing of a former tennis champion of India—qualities essential to the study of any art of movement whatsoever. And her poses and lucid description are reinforced by the drawings of Rasiklal Parikh, so that I saw at once before me the characteristic 'trembling leaf' movement of the hand, which I had often admired in Sukhendu Dutt, a young Indian exponent of Manipuri style, who had recently returned from a successful tour in Italy. All who attended the later seasons of Uday Shankar must have been thrilled by the magnificently expressive dialogue between a Manipuri drummer and his *mridang*, derived from a group dance, or song recital, in which the whole village take part, *Adiyas Nritya*. What an instrument of expression the drum may be in the hands of a master! And it is surely to Uday's credit as well that during the decade that this fine artist has been with him on the stage he has lost none of his grand simplicity and strength. They will also have enjoyed the gay and brilliantly dressed folk dances led by Uday's wife, a native of Manipur.

When Leela Row's *Bharata Natya* monograph appears in an English edition, one will have much more to say and many questions to ask. Meanwhile we must be grateful to her for setting down, so clearly and with such simplicity, what she learned herself, before it had faded from her mind. Her monographs are as indispensable as the manual of classical technique compiled by the late Madame Vaganova, who was the teacher of Vera Volkova and of the incomparable Ulanova. BERYL DE ZOETE

Malgache et Maanjan: Une Comparaison Linguistique. *By Otto Chr. Dahl. Oslo (Egede-Instituttet), 1951. Pp. 408*

140 The author's aim is to compare the Malagasy language of Madagascar with the Maanjan language of Borneo in order to determine the nature and degree of their affinity by examining, in accordance with Humboldt's dictum, '"la totalité de leur structure" en entrant dans "toutes les parties de celle-ci."' His material is, on the one hand, that provided by more than 20 years' study and use of Malagasy, and on the other, Sundermann's 34-page grammar of Maanjan and the few texts published in that language, mostly translations.

There are sections on historical phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary, and a further section deals with the history of the migrations. The author's conclusion is that no known language shows greater conformity with Malagasy than Maanjan. He finds, too, that although the grammar of Ngadju, a neighbour of Maanjan, differs considerably from that of Malagasy, 'il y a néanmoins certains faits qui indiquent une influence réciproque,' and concludes that the evolution of Malagasy must have followed part of its course in Borneo in the neighbourhood of that language. The facts quoted are few, and the reciprocity does not appear to be demonstrated.

In the section on historical phonetics, Dempwolff's scheme for Common Indonesian is taken as a basis for comparison, the units corresponding to those of the scheme being sought for each of the languages.

The section on grammar is highly speculative, and contains some strange expressions, such as 'modifications morphologiques de la même notion.' Reporting that Maanjan has no trace of tense forms in the active verb, it is said: 'Mais comme le parallélisme entre les préfixes du maanjan et du malgache est très grand, il est impossible que le maanjan ne les ait eues avant la séparation des deux langues.'

There is no phonetic treatment on modern lines, a serious departure from the principle of examining a language 'dans la totalité de sa structure.' In general, since Maanjan is a living language, it is hard to see how the work can be justified while the material available is admittedly so incomplete. N. C. SCOTT

Mongol Jewellery. *By Martha Boyer. Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Række, V. Copenhagen, 1952. Pp. 223*

141 This, the fifth in the series of ethnographical publications of the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, easily maintains the very high standard of its predecessors. It is beautifully produced, printed and illustrated, and translated into clear, simple English. Its subject is a descriptive catalogue of the rich collection of Mongol jewellery, mostly from the tribes of Inner Mongolia, brought back to Denmark by the First and Second Danish Central Asian Expeditions, led by Henning Haslund-Christensen in 1936–7 and 1938–9. After surveying the geography and nomenclature of the tribes dealt with, the author analyses the ornaments in detail, paying most attention to the extraordinary types of headdress, which now, as in the days of Rashid al-din, seem to fascinate the Mongols. There follows a chapter on the silversmiths—silver being the material *par excellence* of Mongol jewellery—and full and most useful information on the source and use of other materials, coral, amber, lapis and so on. The book concludes with a discussion of the influences at work on the style of the ornament. This is necessarily brief—it is a big subject and would require a book to itself—and the least satisfactory part of an excellent work. There is a good map and a full bibliography. The author and the National Museum should be congratulated on such an admirable act of piety to a great Danish explorer and scholar.

DOUGLAS BARRETT

EUROPE

Sleeping Preachers: A Study in Ecstatic Religiosity. *By Aarni Voipio. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Helsinki, 1951. Pp. 86*

142 The author of this work, devoted to 'Sleeping Preachers' in Finland during the past two centuries, is both a Lutheran striving to assess what value there may be in the messages which they transmit in their ecstatic trance states, and also a psychologist interested in their psychopathology. He knew some of the later ones personally towards the end of their careers when their powers were waning, and started publishing some of the results of his investigations in 1919. The present 86-page booklet may be regarded as a kind of abridged summary of his life study of them, partly through personal observation, and partly through making himself familiar with the fairly extensive literature about them and their published trance 'sermons.'

It is divided into two parts. The first consists of short biographical notes on six of the better known more recent of these 'sleeping preachers,' only one of whom, born in 1898, is still alive, and includes descriptions of some of the outstanding convulsive psychosomatic symptoms and recorded visions that led to their being 'called' and that presage each trance state, the 'sermons' being almost invariably delivered while lying down. This Part I also includes a brief survey of the various Protestant Revivalist movements with which, in their heyday, they were culturally connected.

The second part he calls 'A Systematic Treatise on Preaching in Sleep'; it consists in the first place of classing their general character formation under the heading of hysteria and then of discussing what in their case, in his opinion, this character formation is. He rightly rejects the thesis that this is purely pathological, and makes out a good case for it including a true element of spirituality by means of his concept of 'mental cleavage' in which the two opposite sides of the character, as it were, 'open up' between them a channel for the outflowing of something that may be God-like but at the same time may be demoniacal too.

His psychological concepts, however, hardly reach beyond those of the early psychiatrists like Janet, Bleuler, Kraepelin or Forel. His bibliography includes William James's 'Varieties of Religious Experience,' and on the other hand Adler whose ideas of 'the masculine protest' and the search for personal power he uses freely in describing some of the less pleasant characteristics of those whom he studies. But there is no mention of Freud or Jung, nor any sign of the deeper understanding of the complex structure of the unconscious which they have evolved. There is, for example, only a single half-paragraph alluding to the sex factor, expressed in the meddling with the marriage affairs of their votaries and sometimes in the sadistic torturing of delinquents among them, though there is one interesting sidelight in the fact that the preachings of at least one woman coincided with the beginning of her menses, and another describing how a male trance preacher belonging to a group called the 'Crying Voices' was regularly warned of his oncoming trances by an affection of the breast. Nor is there a single mention of the unconscious or of archetypes.

One thing, however, he does notice, and that is that, whereas almost all the 'sleeping' (or preferably 'trance') 'preachers' are women (the few men being described as 'plagiarists in a field already prepared by eminent women'), the model on which the preachings of these women is based is almost invariably a male one, that of the 'protestant minister.' Sometimes, but not always, the voice also is male. And, though the 'preachers' are mostly married, the content of their preachings is more often puritanical than blissfully mystical. Far beyond this he does not go. There is no mention of a similar change of character among Shamans, to whom his Finnish trance preachers under their Christian guise must surely be both psychically and culturally allied, nor even of similar phenomena among European mediums. Nor does he consider their own repressions or make any comparison with the well-known 'arctic hysteria' so often presaging the conversion of an apparently ordinary man into a shaman in not far distant Asia. His is, in fact, a restricted study of a particular group, without much expressed knowledge of anthropology or of modern psychology, though it contains a number of references to relevant biblical texts, and Pauline comments on similar phenomena in early Christianity.

It is, however, within its limits, a sympathetic study both of the self-giving and of the touchy self-will and huge self-assertion which give rise to the phenomena which he describes. JOHN LAYARD

Change and History: A Study of the Dated Distributions of Technological Innovations in England. *By Margaret T. Hodgen. Viking Fund Publ. in Anthrop. No. 18. New York (Wenner-Gren Foundation), 1952. Pp. 324, 24 maps. Price $4.50*

143 The author has compiled a gazetteer of technological innovations in England giving the date, the parish of installation (*i.e.* of first record) and the source of information, predominantly the Victoria County Histories. The main list fills nearly 100 pages and mentions 1,006 parishes; maps are given for each century from the eleventh to the nineteenth. This gazetteer is preceded by 200 pages of discussion summarizing views on history and historians in which one might find scope for criticism; but one at any rate appreciates the tributes to William Cunningham. Some of the summaries of history are rather commonplace, and, in dealing with the earlier phases, the author makes the common mistake of not differentiating Atlantic Britain from the Highland Zone. The maps show a remarkable paucity of introduced innovations in Lincolnshire for nearly all centuries, and one wonders whether this may not be partly a result of quiet incomings in an old settled area leading to little recorded reference. The numbers of parishes receiving innovations in Devon and Derbyshire in the eleventh and in the Yorkshire West Riding and Durham in the twelfth century stand out on the maps. The possible factors of this distribution are discussed. The author thinks that the eighteenth century's larger-scale adaptation of water power, followed by adoption of coal-and-steam, is essentially an acceleration of a process that had already had a long history in the matter of water-driven wheels, an acceleration connected with better transport.

H. J. FLEURE

Farmhouses and Cottages in Wales. *Nat. Mus. of Wales. Cardiff (Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagan's), 1952. Pp. iv, 24 plates. Price 2s. 6d.*

144 This attractive little picture book presents 25 photographs; a brief explanatory text, expanded by captions below the pictures; and a glossary of special terms. Its purpose is to extend

public interest in the traditional minor architecture of the Welsh countryside and to direct attention towards more serious literature upon the subject now available. The pictures do indeed whet the appetite, and make one curious to know more about their subjects. They are all exterior views, about half of them of cottages representing different parts of the country, and the remainder illustrating the 'Tydden' (small-holding or croft) and other kinds of farmhouse, whether in stone or half-timber. Insofar as the dates are recorded, the examples range from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth century. One or two of the types are perhaps distinctively Welsh—the Pembrokeshire house, for instance—and thatched chimneys, of which three instances are here to be seen, must now be very rare indeed in England. Comparatively with parts of north-western upland England—the upper Eden Valley offers evidence in point—cottages such as are shown in the first seven illustrations, with the entrance near midway on the long wall, would rarely if ever be earlier than the eighteenth century, though there they commonly would be of two storeys rather than one, as here. In fact, in north-west England, cottages (if there is to be a social implication in the term) did not as a rule reach reasonably permanent form, whether in brick, stone or timber, until well into the eighteenth century. The 'long house,' illustrated by three or more photos, with its 'upper' or living end and farmstead attachments, is not by any means restricted to Wales and is not strictly a type, for it is subject to regional variations of the domestic portion if not of the lower end too. Thus, according to an investigation by R. W. Brunskill, awaiting publication, the dominant 'Statesman' house type of the Eden Valley, which reached a peak of construction between 1680 and 1700, is represented by a very large number with long-house extensions but by an almost equal number with a 'down house' or service-room attachment instead. In a few cases the same domestic nucleus is found in complete isolation. These observations serve to show that the booklet is very well calculated to serve its intended, stimulating end.

R. A. CORDINGLEY

Romagna Tradizionale, Usi e Costumi, Credenze e Pregiudizi. *By Paolo Toschi. Bologna (Cappelli), 1952. Pp. xxxviii, 315, 1 plate. Price 1500 lire*

145 This book contains the reprints of five treatises from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the customs and beliefs of the farmers in the Romagna. In the introduction, the editor, Professor P. Toschi, tells us about the various authors and the different approaches to their subject. He also refers—though far too briefly—to the peculiar problems of this section of Italy where influences from the east coast of the Adriatic and survivals of Celtic customs have been recorded. He mentions particularly '*il rivoltaglio*,' a custom which is also known in many parts of France: after the wedding the bride returns to her old home, whence her husband or brother-in-law fetches her after one week. It would be interesting to know whether this custom also prevails in the north-west of Yugoslavia, where Celtic customs are by no means yet extinct. A thorough investigation of the traditions in eastern Italy and north-western Yugoslavia would greatly benefit the study of Celtic folklore.

E. ETTLINGER

Studies in Physical Anthropology, No. 2: Age Changes and Selective Survival in Irish Males. *By E. A. Hooton and C. W. Dupertuis. New York (Amer. Assn. Phys. Anthrop. and Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthrop. Research), 1951. Pp. vi, 130*

146 This is essentially a collection of tables—102 of them in 129 pages—with comments and some tentative conclusions. It has been published in advance of a fuller account mainly in order to set out the correlation between certain physical characters and longevity. The investigation is part of the Harvard Anthropological Survey of Ireland and the data used are measurements of 10,000 Irish men. The results are analysed in age groups of five years (from 15 to 94 years).

In addition to classification by age groups, grouping by localities and sub-grouping on ethnic, geographical and religious grounds have been taken into account. Detailed tabulation of these is, however, omitted as their chief use was to detect any overloading of age groups by local types. Apparently any such loading has little effect on the conclusions.

The page heading, American Irish Males, would suggest that the measurements were made in America on transplanted Irishmen but the text indicates that they were actually made in Ireland. Indeed, there is a reference to the difficulty of obtaining nude weights under field conditions in Ireland and 7 lb. has to be deducted from the recorded weights to allow for clothing after removal of hat, coat, vest and shoes. Similarly, chest diameters had to be measured over sweaters or jerseys. No doubt these same field conditions are responsible for the rather regrettable absence of any pelvic measurements or limb proportions. Having lived in Ireland, I am well aware of the difficulties likely to be encountered, and Dr. Dupertuis, who was responsible for all the anthropometry and the morphological observations, must have done a tremendous amount of work in, at times, trying conditions.

In the discussion by Professor Hooton it is suggested that 13 of the morphological changes in the age groups (including those which occur in some half a dozen skull measurements) may be due to a selective survival rate. While actual change in skull shape should perhaps not be ruled out as completely as has been done, a case does seem to have been made for the view that survival to old age is more likely in certain types. Changes in skin pigment and eye colour in the age groups are, however, the most convincing pointers to longevity. A pale or pink skin or else blue or grey-blue eyes seem to be very desirable if one wishes to live to over 80 years of age.

Although, as the authors themselves say, the suggested interpretation of the results often 'amounts to a mere guess,' the essential is that the material is now 'in print and available for the consideration of the profession.'

R. G. INKSTER

OCEANIA

Les Collections Polynésiennes et Micronésiennes des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. *By Elisabeth della Santa. Antwerp (de Sikkel), 1952. Pp. 77, 14 plates. Price 48 Belgian francs*

147 This is a well produced and well illustrated guide. There is a short general introduction, and each section of the catalogue is preceded by a brief account of the culture and natural environment in the group or island. The largest collections seem to be those from Easter Island (largely collected by Lavachery and Métraux in 1934–5) and New Zealand. The former include many modern pieces for comparison with the ancient culture.

Most anthropologists would disagree with some statements made in the introductory sections. Few would regard the Fijians, either by race or culture, as Polynesians, though Polynesian influence and infiltration cannot be doubted. Fewer still would agree that the Maori are so mixed with Melanesian blood or have so distinctive a culture as not to merit inclusion in the section called '*La Polynésie proprement dit*'. The Easter Island tablets bearing the 'script' are not in the form of paddles, though one is actually the blade of a European oar.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

The Northern States of Fiji. *By A. M. Hocart. R. A. I. Occ. Pap. No. 11. London, 1952. Pp. xvi, 304. Price 15s.*

148 This book, together with the same author's *Lau Islands*,[1] to which it is a complementary volume, is a record in some considerable detail of his enquiries into customs found 40 years ago in the Fiji archipelago. Fortunately for students of Fijian custom this record provides material facts concerning the area of Fiji least written about hitherto. A. M. Hocart gained his early knowledge of these islands at first hand between 1909 and 1912 when he was headmaster at Lakemba school in Lau. It was Dr. A. C. Haddon who recommended his appointment there after Hocart had been studying custom in the Solomons with W. H. R. Rivers.

The Northern States of Fiji is divided into two parts. The greater part, written in a staccato style, contains a wide range of information which largely reproduces in English the Fijian notes that the author took down in the vernacular while on tour. These cover the principal social units occupying from the times of tradition the whole of Vanua Levu Island and some adjacent islands and although they are published only today it should be remembered that when Hocart collected his information his informants could be expected to have given him an account of customs dating from a much earlier period, many of which are not now known and are no longer practised. While most of the record deals with the social organization, economics and dialects of northern Fiji, there are numerous references to technological processes. The whole of this part of the book is a valuable addition to existing ethnological literature since it fills a gap in our knowledge concerning these social units, a point of particular importance because some of them are the only units in Fiji where matrilineal descent occurs. One or two examples of interest taken from these notes on custom may be cited: the existence of a form of dual organization in all the principal northern States is published here, I think, for the first time;[2] and the several references to the practice of doing a thing *four* times or for *four* nights confirm the widespread nature of this custom already known in other parts of Fiji.

The author has not, however, restricted his study to writing down notes on custom, for about one-fifth of the book is devoted to a thesis which he describes as 'a review of the evidence so far recorded here and in my *Lau Islands*' (p. 3). The conclusions that he draws from this evidence constitute a personal opinion formed after 'searching for the fundamental principles of Fijian society' and while one may not necessarily agree with that opinion in its entirety the material in the chapter containing the thesis deserves the same attention by the student of Fijian custom as the chapters setting out the facts on which the theory has been founded.

The book is printed in good clear type and there are two maps in the end papers. A more extensive index to its 300 pages would have been useful but this is a small point to criticize in a volume which will be a welcome addition to any Fijian library. G. K. ROTH

Notes

[1] *The Lau Islands, Fiji*, Bulletin 62, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1929.

[2] Another record of this feature of Fijian social organization, also published in 1952, was written by G. B. Milner, who found it in south-west Viti Levu Island in the course of his linguistic studies in Fiji in 1948 and 1949. See *A Study of Two Fijian Texts, Bull. Sch. Or. Afr. Stud.* (University of London), Vol. XIV, Part 2.

CORRESPONDENCE

'Akan Traditions of Origin.' *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 10

149 SIR,—Mr. Tait attempted to summarize my arguments about the ultimate origin of the founders of states among the Akan from the Sahara and Sudan in his review of my book. Quite apart from inaccuracies my arguments are wrongly represented in so far as he would make it appear that these have been based exclusively on assumptions and linguistic identifications. This is not so. To give an example, it is not *my* assumption that Djani, now referred to as Old Yandi, was the old pre-Dagomba capital but, as stated on p. 59 and p. 128, note 1, I was given this information by the Dagomba elders of the Ya Na (after the sacrifice of a sheep).

It is also no assumption of mine that the names Bono, Anana, Eguana and Agona have been derived from either Guan or one of its variants—Gban or Gbon, Gwan (and *-no* or *-na*, descendants). All these people think themselves children of the same female ancestor in the remote past and have, moreover, the parrot as their *akyeneboa* (animal indicating a common origin). If I analyzed their names so carefully this was to support my informants' claim that their 'name is the same,' however different it may sound to Europeans, and not conversely because I deduced from the names that they were by origin one and the same people.

Place names in the Sahara such as Djado (called also Agwa and Gua by the Tuareg, p. 128, and not 'Agura,' a misquotation by Mr. Tait) recall Djadom, the ancestral home of the Koromante, 'brothers' of the Agwa, founders of the Bono kingdom, who also claim to have come from 'the great white desert.' The Agwa according to the traditions of the Gonja were matrilineal Guan. Agwa is Agwan without the nasalized *n*, Guan appears also without the nasalized *n* in the Akan language as, for instance, in Eguafo (Guan people). In my eyes these place names provide bits of evidence for the claims of Akan groups that some of their ancestors actually came from these regions. I found it important to draw attention to this since it may be useful to historians of this part of Africa.

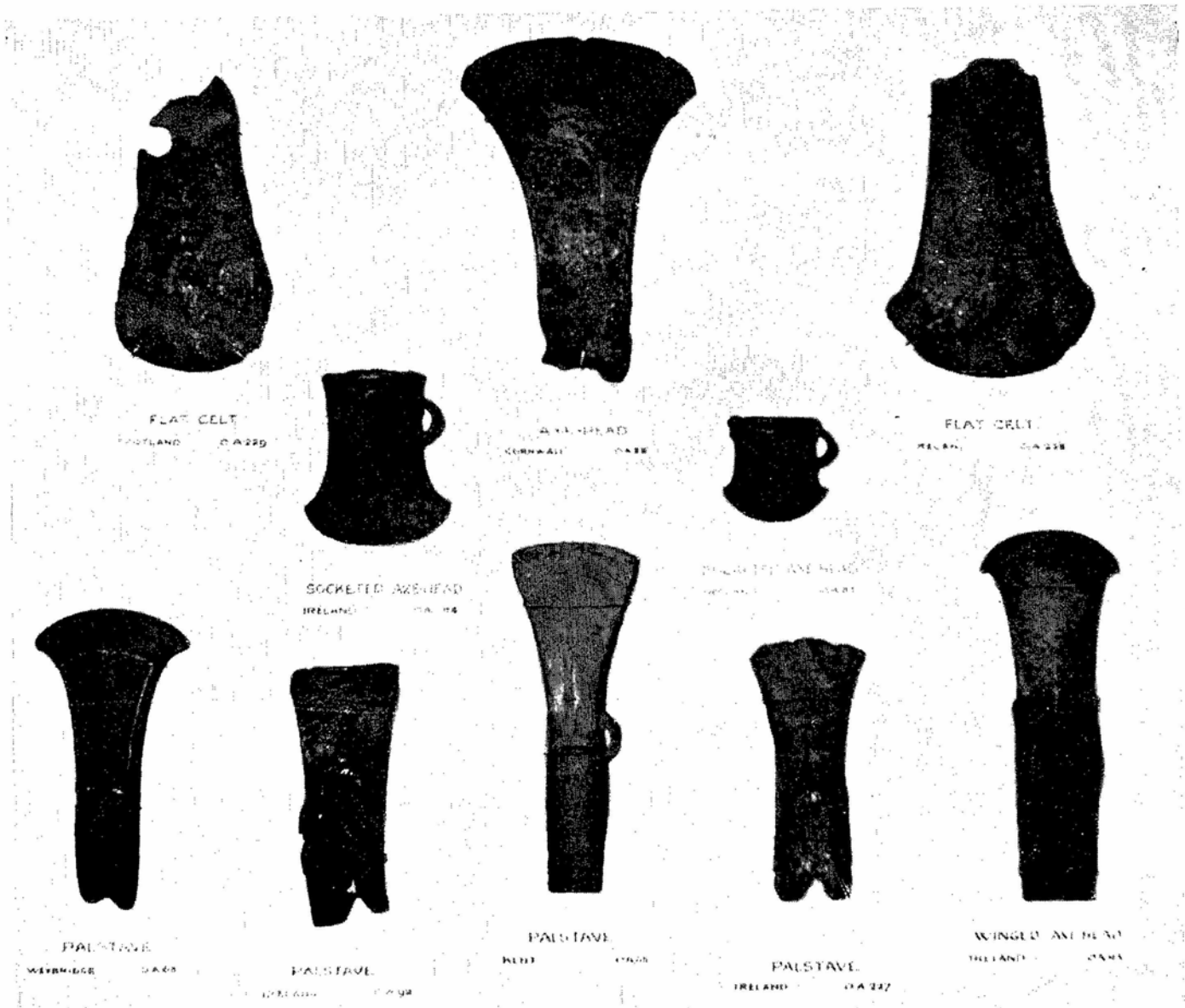
The passage in which I showed that the Asona clan people (descendants of So) were known to the Dagomba in the past as Sosi (So people) when their ancestors came in contact with them, has not been understood by Mr. Tait (p. 53). The Sosi (Asona clan, *akyeneboa* red snake) are not descended from the Agwa (Anana clan, parrot, see above), but formed one people with them when they left the Timbuktu region and erected a number of states in what is now Mossi, Gurma, Mamprussi, Dagomba and Gonja. If the Dagomba elders in my conversation with them called the Agwa by the name of Sosi the explanation surely is that when their ancestors conquered Djani (see above) they defeated a Sosi chief, *i.e.* a chief of the Asona clan, and not that the Asona are descended from the Agwa.

With regard to the traditions of Bona (not Bono, a misquotation by Mr. Tait; there were both a Bono and a Bona kingdom), of which those of the first dynasty have been apparently lost—though not the account of the origin of this dynasty from the Timbuktu region—Mr. Tait remarks that 'a tradition cannot be lost where there is no evidence that it ever existed.' In the Foreword, p. 21, I explained how a tradition was lost, namely, when court officials and others, whose duty it was to remember certain aspects of the past, were taken away into captivity together with their families.

I cannot go further into detail here, but wish to state that I never collected 'a great deal of material in the form of texts' and that I do not believe it 'a primary task to establish a text' for analysis in Europe, except for linguistic study; for this purpose, however, they should be recorded on a machine, as the language is archaic in many cases. The short sentences full of allusions which are sung by the minstrels and others, or which are beaten out on the talking drums and so forth, cannot be regarded as texts in the European sense of the word. They are no more than aids to memory. For instance, the whole story of the foundation of the Bono kingdom is epitomized in the expression *Obono Be-anko-ma Fida*, meaning 'Bono alone give [*sc.* civilization][on a] Friday' (p. 34). To analyse such a 'text' in Europe is useless. The work has to be done on the spot in a gathering of the chief, queen mother, state elders and all those accredited to know the traditions. It often took me four or five hours non-stop interrogation—that is the only way to describe it—to clear up information just given only in allusive or imprecise terms (*e.g.*, speaking of Takyiman when its predecessor Bono-Mansu is meant, Takyiman not having been founded at the time in question, or calling people 'brothers' when what is meant is that they came from the same state in the north, but not that they were fellow clansmen; or speaking of Mande people, when the reference is actually to Nafana people who had come from the Mande kingdom, and so forth).

I have obviously not been able to present my material and arguments so fully and so clearly that no misinterpretation could have occurred. But I hope to fill the gap in a further volume.

London EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ



All in the Borough Museum, Newbury, except (o) by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. (*a–o*) OA 229, 58, 228, 84, 83, 63, 92, 65, 227, 93, 229, 58, 56, 57 (*French*), W.G. 1526

BRITISH, IRISH AND FRENCH CELTS AND PALSTAVES

STUDIES OF BRITISH AND IRISH CELTS: FIRST SERIES*

REPORTS OF THE ANCIENT MINING AND METALLURGY COMMITTEE OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

GENERAL REPORT

by H. H. Coghlan, A.M.I.Mech.E., F.S.A., Chairman of the Committee

150 The following series of analyses is presented in accordance with the recently agreed programme of research (see MAN, 1952, 124). In Table I, the results for seven flat axes are given. Specimens OA 229 and OA 58 (Plate H*a*, *b*) are by courtesy of Dr. Maurice Cook, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.M. OA 56 (*m*) is by courtesy of Professor F. C. Thompson, D.Met., M.Sc., F.I.M., Department of Metallurgy, University of Manchester. OA 228 (*c*) has been analysed for the Committee through the kindness of Mr. W. F. Bennett. For specimen W. G. 1526, a celt from Dromore, Co. Down (*o*), we acknowledge the valued collaboration of the British Museum, Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Research Laboratory, and of our committee members, Dr. A. A. Moss and Mr. J.W. Brailsford, the spectrographic analysis being carried out by Mr. Bennett. Specimens P.R. 1439 and 1431.2321 are recent analyses published by the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (*Occ. Pap. on Technology*, No. 4, 1951, Plates VIII, 2, and X, 1, and pp. 111 and 118).

Table II deals with various British and Irish artifacts, the analyses of which showed them to come under a group of alloys. It will be noticed that these specimens, which are from the Borough Museum, Newbury, Berkshire, do not come within our initial research upon flat axes and halberds. However, as it is the policy of the museum eventually to obtain analyses of all its metal specimens, and as there can be no question of the need and value of obtaining new analyses of British and Irish alloys, Mr. W. F. Bennett very kindly consented to examine these specimens spectrographically.

As no evidence is available to permit accurate dating of the implements, only an approximate idea of their age based on typology may be obtained. It will be seen from the illustrations that in general they follow conventional types, and their place in prehistory is quite well known to archæologists. Of the flat celts, specimens OA 58 from Cornwall and OA 228 from Ireland, with OA 56 from Ireland, Co. Carlow, may be said to belong to the well-known type of celt with relatively narrow butt and widely splayed or expanding blade, joined to the body with a sweeping curve. In Ireland, Dr. Raftery points out (*Prehistoric Ireland*, 1951, p. 138) that there are two main types of flat celt: one with a wide square butt, and with little if any splay to the blade, the other with a narrower butt, and graceful, widely splayed blade. Dr. Raftery finds the

TABLE I. ANALYSES OF BRITISH AND IRISH CELTS

Locality / *Museum and No.*	*Scotland* *Argyle* *Newbury* *OA 229*	*England* *Cornwall* *Newbury* *OA 58*	*Ireland* *Co. Carlow* *Newbury* *OA 56*	*Ireland* *Newbury* *OA 228*	*Ireland* *Co. Down* *Brit. Mus.* *W.G. 1526*	*Ireland* *Cork* *Pitt Rivers* *P.R. 1439*	*Ireland* *Cork* *Pitt Rivers* *P.R. 1431. 2321*
Copper	94·0*	79·1*	*m.c.*				
Silver	0·3*	0·3*	0·2	<0·01	0·2	~0·05	0·005
Gold	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	<0·01	<0·03		
Zinc	0·01	2·2*	0·01	<0·09	<0·15	*n.d.*	0·001
Cadmium	*n.d.*	*Tr.*	*tr.* (<0·01)		<0·02		
Mercury	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*				
Aluminium			*n.d.*	0·025	<0·02	*n.d.*	*s.q.*
Tin		9·6*	*c.* 5–10	<0·03	0·04	*n.d.*	*n.d.*
Lead	0·005	8·2*	0·02	<0·04	0·05	0·01	0·0004
Arsenic	4·8*	0·3	0·2	0·8	0·05	≳1·00	*n.d.*
Antimony	0·48*	0·3	0·3	0·18	<0·04	≳1·00	0·05
Bismuth	0·003	0·12*	0·002	<0·09	<0·15	0·0006	0·005
Molybdenum	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	<0·01	<0·02		
Manganese	*tr.* (<0·01)	*n.d.*	*tr.* (<0·01)	<0·01		*n.d.*	0·001
Iron	0·3	0·1	0·03		<0·03	0·001	0·01
Cobalt	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*tr.*	<0·01	<0·15	*n.d.*	*n.d.*
Nickel	0·04	0·07	0·04	<0·03	<0·04	0·001	0·0003
Selenium	0·03	0·01	0·01				
Tellurium	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*			*n.d.*	*n.d.*
Silicon				0·06	0·1	*n.d.*	0·07
Calcium				<0·12	<0·15		
Strontium				<0·01	<0·02		
Barium				<0·01	<0·02		
Titanium	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	<0·01	<0·04		
Vanadium	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	<0·01	<0·04		
Magnesium				<0·01	0·01		*tr.*
Tungsten				<0·06	<0·15		
Beryllium	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	<0·01	<0·04		
Chromium	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	*n.d.*	<0·03	<0·15		

*Other elements sought but not detected in OA 229 and OA 58: Ga, In, Ge, Zr, Nb, Pt. In OA 56: Ga, In, Ge, Zr, Nb, Pt and P. All figures in the tables are percentages. *=Chemical determination. ~=Probably about. >=more than. <=less than. ≳=Probably about . . . or more. n.d.=not detected. tr.=trace. m.c.=major constituent. s.q.=small quantity. c.=of the order of*

**With Plate H, four text figures and four tables*

densest distribution of the square-butted celts in the southern counties, where also is the main source of native copper ore. It is interesting to find that the two splayed celts, OA 58 and OA 56, are of bronze, while specimen OA 228 is of copper. Hence it would seem that in Ireland the splayed celt may be rendered in either material. In the bronze implements, the crescentic blade and splayed body are certainly features from the original casting, and this appears to be so also in the case of the copper celt OA 228. The celt from Argyle, OA 229, is of unusual form and, as may be seen from Plate H*a*, does not come under any normal classification. Although entered as a celt in the museum records, it may well be some other type of implement in view of the rivet holes in the butt. However, as it can hardly be called a halberd, and as it is a celt-like implement, we include it as such.

Specimen OA 92 (Plate H*g*) is an Irish palstave of the looped variety, but the loop has been broken off. The whole implement has been very badly damaged through being used as a hammer (quite possibly by its finder in recent times); not only has the cutting edge been beaten flat, but the side flanges are hammered over and the central web has been broken at the top. Specimen OA 227 (*i*) is again an Irish palstave in which the function of the stop ridge is performed by two large pockets, each with an external decorative rib; no binding loop is provided. Both these palstaves have been cast in divided moulds, as is indicated by marked casting lines which remain. In specimen OA 227, the register, and to a certain extent the cutting, of the half-moulds, was not accurate. Specimen OA 93 is a winged palstave from Ireland; this is an excellent piece of casting work in which the stop ridges are very shallow, in fact they are hardly more than symbolic; below the shallow stop a faint shield pattern survives. The blade is crescent-shaped. Number OA 63 (*f*), from Weybridge, Surrey, is a typologically early palstave. The side flanges run on past the stop ridges and below these are median decorative ridges. OA 65 (*h*), from the River Rother, Kent, is a single-looped palstave of conventional type; 'reminiscent' decoration appears below the stop ridge. Specimen OA 84 (*d*) is a looped socketed celt from Ireland. The idea of the socketed celt was introduced to Ireland by imported axes (Raftery, *loc. cit.*, p. 160). This specimen has a crescentic blade and a single loop. Typologically it should be early, for it has a round socket. An interesting feature is the provision of two small internal ribs in the socket, at a right angle to the plane of the blade. OA 83 (*e*), from Co. Carlow, is a similar type of axe in miniature, being only 44 millimetres in length. Here, the socket is oval and has the unusual feature of six small ribs (three on each side), within the socket. As in specimen OA 84, these ribs are at right angles to the plane of the crescentic blade. Such internal ribs are difficult to account for, as they are too small to be of any functional value.

Until a very considerable body of analyses has been collected, it is of course impossible usefully to discuss the

TABLE II. ANALYSES OF OBJECTS IN THE NEWBURY MUSEUM

Object	*Socketed Axe*	*Socketed Axe*	*Palstave*	*Palstave*	*Palstave*	*Palstave*	*Winged Palstave*
Locality	*Ireland Co. Carlow*	*Ireland*	*Ireland*	*England Surrey*	*England Kent*	*Ireland*	*Ireland*
Museum No.	*OA 83*	*OA 84*	*OA 92*	*OA 63*	*OA 65*	*OA 227*	*OA 93*
Silver	<0·06	<0·02	<0·06	<0·04	<0·04	<0·02	<0·15
Gold		<0·05		<0·03	<0·03	<0·15	
Zinc	<0·15	<0·25	<0·15	<0·15	<0·15	<0·25	<0·15
Cadmium	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02
Mercury							
Aluminium	<0·015		0·04	<0·02	0·04		<0·015
Tin	6	10	12	6	9	15	13
Lead	2	2	0·6	0·4	0·8	2	<0·04
Arsenic	<0·06	0·07	0·2	<0·03	0·2	0·1	0·04
Antimony	<0·06	<0·1	0·06	<0·04	<0·04	<0·1	0·06
Bismuth	<0·1	<0·25	<0·1	<0·15	<0·15	<0·25	<0·1
Molybdenum	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02
Manganese	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	—	—	<0·02	<0·02
Iron		0·03		<0·03	0·02	0·15	
Cobalt	<0·07	<0·25	<0·07	<0·15	<0·15	<0·25	<0·07
Nickel	0·1	0·05	0·4	0·4	0·4	0·4	<0·05
Selenium							
Tellurium							
Silicon	0·04	<0·03	0·1	0·4	0·1	0·05	0·04
Calcium	<0·15	<0·25	<0·15	<0·15	<0·15	<0·25	<0·15
Strontium	<0·03	<0·02	<0·03	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	<0·03
Barium	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	0·02	<0·02	0·04	<0·02
Titanium	<0·03	<0·1	<0·03	<0·04	<0·04	<0·1	<0·03
Vanadium	<0·03	<0·1	<0·03	<0·04	<0·04	<0·1	<0·03
Magnesium	<0·02	<0·02	<0·02	0·01	0·07	<0·02	<0·02
Tungsten	<0·1	<0·25	<0·1	<0·15	<0·15	<0·25	<0·1
Beryllium	<0·04	<0·1	<0·04	<0·04	<0·04	<0·1	<0·04
Chromium	<0·07	<0·25	<0·07	<0·15	<0·15	<0·25	<0·07

For conventions see Table I.

results in the light of the general problem of the origin and distribution of the metals. However, we may make one or two observations concerning the present specimens. In Table I, five of the specimens are of copper. It is of interest to compare these with the chemical analyses of 13 Irish copper celts published by Coffey in 1901 (*J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 267). Unfortunately, the analyst did not separate tin and antimony in all Coffey's specimens. Except in the case of one specimen, W. 16, which contained 1·09 per cent. of tin, tin was very low, 0·03, 0·05, 0·06, and 0·12 per cent. being the figures quoted when the figure for tin was separated. Coffey records appreciable arsenic in all but two specimens, the highest value being 1·86 per cent. Zinc was absent except in a celt from Galway, where 0·44 per cent. was noted. Again, nickel was absent except for one specimen which contained 0·12 per cent., and one celt from Waterford with 0·21 per cent. It is significant that we find 0·1 per cent. of nickel in our specimen OA 83 from Co. Carlow, and 0·4 per cent. in the Irish palstaves OA 92 and OA 227. Nickel is an important element, for it is an unusual one in British and Irish ores. It is even possible that this element, when present in quantity exceeding about one per cent., may indicate a foreign origin for the metal. In due course this point will require consideration, and it is also obvious that the matter of arsenical ores in Ireland will have to be investigated.

Table III gives the chemical results for tin, lead and copper, from an Irish sword hilt, kindly examined for the Newbury Museum by Dr. A. A. Moss, of the Research Laboratory, British Museum. The figures are chemical analyses from a number of drillings, 1–12, which were taken up the sword. It will be noted that, while the figures of tin content are reasonably constant, there is evidence for segregation of the lead. These results are highly important and indicate that in the process of casting certain long and thin objects, such as swords and halberds, segregation may occur. It is possible that this is due to the method of casting employed in antiquity; further research will be undertaken to clarify this matter.

TABLE III. ANALYSES OF DRILLINGS FROM IRISH SWORD HILT, NEWBURY MUSEUM

Sample No.	1	3	5	7	8	9	10	12
Sample weight (gms.)	0·44	0·56	0·56	0·50	0·58	0·54	0·66	0·44
Tin	9·0	9·5	9·4	9·3	9·4	9·4	9·5	9·3
Lead	13·7	13·5	13·2	13·2	13·0	13·0	12·7	11·8
Copper	76·2	76·1	76·4	76·3	76·6	76·5	77·0	78·0
	98·9	99·1	99·0	98·8	99·0	98·9	99·2	99·1

Figures in the Table are percentages.

In the Appendix will be found Dr. Maurice Cook's observations upon his examination of celts OA 58 and OA 229, and also a valuable report by Professor F. C. Thompson upon two celts from Newbury Museum, OA 56 being the 'splayed' celt from Co. Carlow and OA 57 from France (Le Puy, Haute Loire). Professor Thompson's report on OA 56 brings out a matter of decided technological interest: first, it will be noticed that the metal had been heated for some considerable period of time after the casting operation; secondly, 'twinning' shown in the micro-structure proves that at some stage of its history the celt has been subjected to mechanical working. Hence it is clear that this celt was not merely cast to shape and finished by grinding. In theory, the celt could have been cast in an open mould (in which case nothing approximating to a sharp cutting edge could have been cast) and then finished by forging, or by the extremely laborious process of grinding. Again, it could have been cast in a closed mould; here, the cutting edge could have been well formed in the casting —merely requiring a minimum of grinding to produce a keen edge. Had this method of casting been followed there would have been no need for any heat treatment after casting, for the celt would have been completed by grinding the cutting edge and probably also by work-hardening it to some degree by cold hammering in order to increase the hardness above that of the 'as cast' metal. From these considerations, it appears to me that the old and rather primitive open-mould system of casting, appropriate to the production of our first copper celts, has been applied to this bronze celt of later period. Various points of technical interest arise from Professor Thompson's report upon the French celt, OA 57; it is hoped to discuss these later.

Concerning future work, I am glad to record an excellent response to this research by many museums. There is no fear of a shortage of specimens to examine; indeed, a further considerable number is in hand, but the practical limitation is, of course, the work involved in analyses. In conclusion, I wish to express sincere thanks on behalf of the Committee to the various scientists and museum authorities who have rendered this report possible.

APPENDIX

(A) *Report on Celts OA 229 and OA 58 (Plate H k, l) by Maurice Cook, D.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.M.*

Spectrographic tests were made in four positions, first without any attempt at removing surface patina, deposits or contamination. These first results from all four locations showed appreciable but variable amounts of calcium, aluminium, magnesium and silicon, but as these elements would not normally occur in copper produced by processes involving reduction from the ore, it can perhaps be assumed that they are adventitious surface contaminations or mineral matter mixed in or entangled with the metal. This examination also showed the presence of phosphorus at the surface in sample OA 229 to the extent of about 0·3 per cent., and this again may well be due to the presence of mineral matter at or near the surface.

After this preliminary examination the same four positions were cleaned so that what appeared to be bare metal was exposed and spectrographic tests were again made. The results obtained in these four separate tests were all very similar; in other words there was no evidence of appreciable segregation and they are given in detail in the first two columns of Table I, where it is also indicated that several other elements were sought but not found.

In the spectrographic tests it was noted that the samples were much more readily attacked and volatilized by the electric discharge than are normal samples of modern wrought copper and bronze. This suggests that the material—OA 229 much more so than OA 58—is not as solid or close-grained as ordinary cast or wrought materials, and radiographic examination confirmed this. Whether, however, this represents an original condition or whether it is a deterioration in time through inter-granular penetration from outside, such as might take place, for example, by corrosion, it is difficult to decide.

It was possible to do a limited amount of chemical analysis from the drillings taken from one position on each celt and the results of these are also given in Table I.

(B) *Report on Celts OA 56 and OA 57 by F. C. Thompson, D.Met., M.Sc., F.I.M., Professor of Metallurgy, The University, Manchester*

Photographs of these specimens are shown in Plate H *m, n.*

(1) *Composition.* The samples were analysed spectrographically on small spots cleaned from corrosion products so as to reveal the bare metal, with the results given in Table IV.

It will be seen that OA 56 is clearly a true bronze, whereas OA 57 is equally clearly copper. So far as minor constituents go, the presence of silver in appreciable quantities, particularly in the copper celt OA 57, is noteworthy, and in the amounts present somewhat unexpected.

(2) *Micro-structure.* (*a*) OA 56. After etching with a solution of ferric chloride acidified with hydrochloric acid a typical micro-structure of a bronze containing perhaps 7 per cent. of tin was obtained, a typical area being shown in fig. 1. An interesting feature of this structure was the complete absence of the dendritic pattern characteristic of such alloys in the as-cast condition. It is clear that, after casting, the metal must have been heated for some considerable period of time to allow diffusion to occur. It will also be noticed that the crystals show appreciable twinning, proof of the fact that at some stage of its history it has been subjected to some degree of mechanical working. Though I cannot be dogmatic on this point, it appears to me to be more probable, in view of the composition of the material, that this working was done hot, probably at a temperature higher than about 550° C., at which the very brittle $\alpha\delta$ eutectoid, marked A in fig. 1, transforms to the much more ductile β phase. It is not possible from the structure to say whether this reheating and working was effected in a single operation, or whether

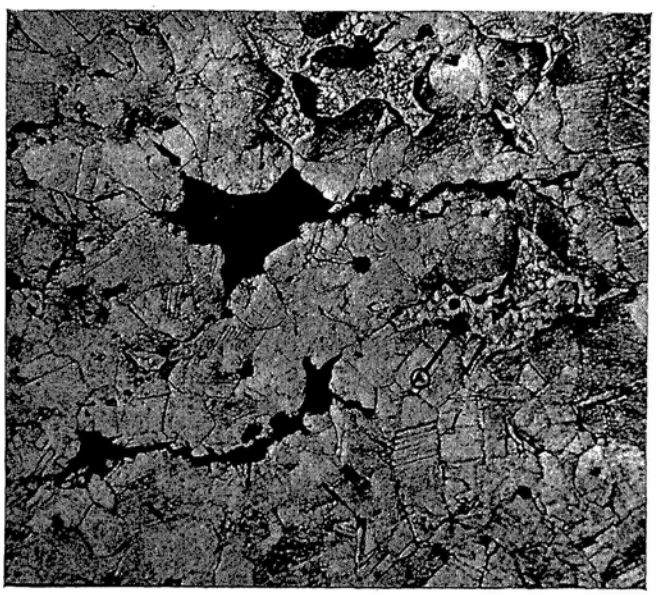


FIG. 1. CELT OA56 (×150)
The black areas are casting cavities. A *is the* $\alpha\delta$ *eutectoid.*



FIG. 2. CELT OA56 (×150)



FIG. 3. FRENCH CELT OA57 (×280)



FIG. 4. FRENCH CELT OA57 (×280)

it was done in a series of treatments, but I should regard the latter as more probable, the sample being heated up and hammered—thereby being cooled—reheated and rehammered and so on. The extreme edge of this celt shows slight signs of deformation, both in strain markings and in the deformation of the twins, fig. 2. The amount of this deformation, however, is small, which is perhaps not surprising since in the cold state it would probably be too brittle to withstand severe deformation without cracking. Although there are here and there signs of casting defects (fig. 1), these are neither common nor very marked, and it is, I think, justifiable to say that the casting technique employed, whatever it may have been, was skilful.

TABLE IV. ANALYTICAL RESULTS OF TWO CELTS FROM THE NEWBURY MUSEUM

	OA 56	OA 57
Copper	*major constituent*	*major constituent*
Zinc	0·01	*n.d.*
Tin	*of the order of* 5–10	0·01
Lead	0·02	0·005
Iron	0·03	*trace* (<0·005)
Nickel	0·04	0·04
Manganese	*trace* (<0·01)	*n.d.*
Cadmium	*trace* (<0·01)	*n.d.*
Silver	0·2	*about* 2–3
Antimony	0·3	0·3
Bismuth	0·002	0·002
Arsenic	0·2	*trace* (<0·005)
Selenium	0·01	*n.d.*
Cobalt	*trace*	*n.d.*

Elements sought but not detected: Au, Be, Hg, Ga, In, Ge, Te, Ti, V, Cr, Zr, Nb, Mo, Pt, Al, P. The results for OA 56 have also been included in Table I.

(*b*) OA 57. In the unetched condition this sample showed considerable imperfections, presumably slag, since in many of them a duplex structure was to be observed. These were drawn out in a direction parallel to the two main surfaces. After etching, and apart from such inclusions, the structure consisted entirely of a single phase, as is of course to be expected from the composition. Away from the edge there are clear signs of undeformed twins (fig. 3), showing that the material must at some stage of its history have been worked and then reheated to a temperature above the recrystallization point, say 200° C. or something like that, or alternatively have been hot-worked above this temperature.

The cutting edge of this celt shows very marked signs of deformation, and has clearly been severely hammered in order, presumably, to increase the hardness. This structure is shown in fig. 4, which may be compared with that of the same material away from the cutting edge, fig. 3.

The reason for the working in the main body of the celt can be only a matter of surmise. The fact that the imperfections are filled in with slag, and are not, therefore, merely blowholes due to the evolution of gas on solidification, is again somewhat unexpected, and, although I make the suggestion with the greatest hesitation, I have wondered whether this celt was, in fact, cast, the evidence for which would, of course, be completely obliterated by the subsequent heating and working, or was made from a spongy mass of copper by hammerings. Regarding the quite substantial silver content, I am not, at the moment at any rate, in a position to offer any explanation at all.

STONEHENGE AND MIDSUMMER: A NEW INTERPRETATION*

by

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151 The purpose of this article is to suggest how various apparently unrelated features of Stonehenge[1] can be integrated in a way which anthropologists might find acceptable. That some of these features have hitherto escaped observation, let alone correlation with others, was a further reason for writing it. The argument rests largely on the identification of 'male' and 'female' stones, for which several independent grounds are offered.

As is well known, certain Naga tribes of Assam erect stones and associated wooden monuments as a part of rites which are connected with the gaining and maintenance of personal prestige, with the assurance and distribution of prosperity and wealth, and with the cult of the dead; an intricate and continuous nexus of ideas. Moreover, among these living representatives of a culture with such markedly megalithic features, certain communities distinguish upstanding monoliths as 'male,' others of a Y shape, or dolmens, or supine stones, as 'female.' The ethnologists who are best acquainted with these tribes have found every reason to uphold the interpretation offered by living exponents of the cult.[2]

There is no intention here either of linking the people who built Stonehenge with the Nagas, or of interpreting Stonehenge specifically in terms of Naga culture. But the Naga parallel does suggest one thought that any observer at Stonehenge, had he observed narrowly enough, might have entertained independently regarding its significance, given, of course, that it was a product of a relatively 'primitive' culture.[3]

The idea that we might look for 'male' and 'female' stones at Stonehenge is the only idea that is taken from the Nagas at this point. And indeed what do we find if we look for such stones? The upright monoliths of the horseshoe (Nos. 61–72) and of the circle (Nos. 31–49) tapering to a flat top may qualify at once as phalli. The question arises whether the great trilithons of the horseshoe (Nos. 51–60), of which only Nos. 51–2 and 53–4 remain upright, are female? At the lowest estimate these trilithons are apertures framed in stone and thus sufficiently female to the primitive mind. But there is more to them. The inner surfaces of the uprights appear to taper away as they approach the lintels, leaving a wedge-shaped gap (see fig. 2; also Newall, Plate I). The suggestion here is that this stylized aperture was to represent the female genitals enclosed between cyclopean thighs. So much for the observable shapes of the stones.

A second reason for identifying the trilithons as 'females'

* *With two text figures*

is that trilithons are frequently used in north-west European megalithic structures to frame the entrances to places of burial (see, *e.g.*, Newall's plate opposite p. 87). It is well known that primitive man conceives burial as a return to the womb, which is symbolized in the burial vault. The trilithons at the entrances of burial chambers therefore offer but another aspect of the symbolic usage that is suggested here for trilithons accompanied by phalli. On the one hand we have the entrance to the womb that gives birth and burial, on the other the womb that conceives.

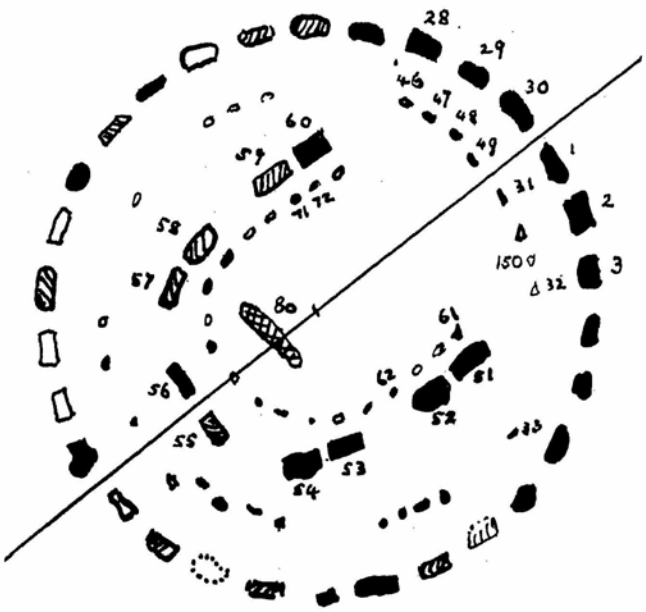


FIG. 1. RECONSTRUCTED GROUND PLAN OF THE STONES ('STONEHENGE II')
After Newall

The suggestion that monoliths Nos. 61–72 and trilithons Nos. 51–60 are male and female receives additional support from their spatial relation to each other. The two kinds are arranged in parallel horseshoes. This assures us that they are intimately connected. That their connexion is one of a dichotomy is proved by their having been made of contrasting stone, since the monoliths are of blue Prescelley stone from Pembrokeshire, the trilithons of native Wiltshire sandstone. In view of the shapes of the monoliths and trilithons it is permissible to argue that this dichotomy is the dichotomy of sex.

Everything that has been said in favour of interpreting the blue stones of the horseshoe (Nos. 61–72) as male will also favour the idea that those of the incomplete circle (Nos. 31–49) are also male. But it would be rash to interpret the continuous outer circle (Nos. 1–30) as female, since they lack the stylization at their upper inner ends which is so marked in the two trilithons that remain upright (Nos. 51–54). This point will be taken up below.

Now this concentric arrangement of males and females is not without parallel as a pattern. It is known from peasant dances whose aim is avowedly to promote the fertility of the crops. Thus for the second time, consideration of the shape and pattern of the stones brings us directly to ideas of fertility. One striking example must suffice. But before I quote it, it must be said that, when I was pursuing another theme, I discovered that I was not the first to experience Stonehenge in terms of the dance. For in an age when the choral round was still widely danced in these islands, Geoffrey of Monmouth recorded the fanciful tradition that Utherpandragon was buried beneath a structure of stones—which in an earlier chapter he has called *chorea gigantum*—not far from Salisbury, that had been built with marvellous skill and was called in the English tongue



FIG. 2. THE STANDING TRILITHONS OF THE HORSESHOE AT STONEHENGE (NOS. 51–54)
Photograph: Crown copyright, by permission of the Controller, H.M. Stationery Office

'stanheng(e)' (*Historia Regum Britanniæ*, VIII, *x*; VIII, *xiii*; XI, *iv*). In his *Brut* (ed. Ivor Arnold in the *Soc. des anciens textes français*, Vol. I (1938), lines 8175–8), Wace states that the Britons called certain stones *carole as gaianz* ('The Round Dance of the Giants'), 'Stanhenge' in English and '*pieres pendues*' in French (evidently a literal rendering of the English).

In the rite of spring sowing in Bela Krajina in Slovenia, called *Zeleni Jurij*, the *Jurij-devojka*—formerly a girl, now usually a man—stands all decked in greenery at the centre of a circle; around this figure move *jurijaši* (men); a *kolo* or chain of women dances round in the opposite direction. The dance is at first solemn and slow, but gradually it gathers speed until the dancers disperse in ecstatic leaps. In a wild rush the *jurijaši* drive the *Jurij* to the nearest running water to be christened.[4]

It is here that one is reminded that the axis of Stonehenge is aligned to sunrise at the summer solstice. The rite from Slovenia is a sowing rite of spring; but it is well known that fertility rites with their dances continued to their peak at midsummer.

It is no more my purpose to interpret Stonehenge in terms of Slovenian folk dance than it was to explain it in terms of Naga culture, but rather to suggest that common

ideas have inspired both patterns of concentric rings of alternate sexes.

As to single rings: circular spring dances round a tree in leaf (or round a girl decked in green) have been convincingly interpreted as an attempt to place a magic cordon round summer in its visible form, the leaf, and to hold it lest it yield again to winter before its time.[5]

As to concentric circles of alternate sex: the addition of a ring or rings to a single ring dance of the sort just characterized can only reinforce and intensify its magic. On ceremonial occasions in primitive societies there is a very marked tendency, often amounting to a tabu, to keep the sexes apart; so that if men and women participate in a ring dance together, the form is as likely as not to be concentric and alternate, as often in Melanesia (where the women go outside). From here it is only a step to enhance the opposition of the sexes in terms of movement (as the builders of Stonehenge appear to have done in terms of quality and colour of stone), by making them revolve in opposite directions. Thus the relative speed of the rings is doubled, giving a further boost to the magic. The exhilaration of concentric rings in contrary motion is appreciated not only by children, but by dervishes and Californian ghost dancers. The winding or grinding of one sex against the other in a context of fertility rites could no doubt have a heightened symbolic meaning.

Having arrived at concentric rings of alternate sex in contrary motions, we recall that sun and moon are normally conceived of as being of opposite sex and appear to move in contrary motion; for the moon is always losing on the sun. This factor is explicitly recognized in a binary ring dance of New Ireland.

These remarks must not be taken as applying in their entirety to the concentric arrangement at Stonehenge. But if there is a connexion between this arrangement and that of the dancers at Bela Krajina, some of these considerations will surely apply.

Concentric patterns are already observable at Avebury, where the southern setting enclosed a monolith, the central setting a horseshoe-shaped 'cove' that lay open to the east, as the Stonehenge horseshoe was to lie open to the midsummer dawn. Once again it is possible to see a male in the monolith, a female in the 'cove.' Concentric patterns were among the earliest magic symbols to be engraved in the rocks of northern Europe. They occur equally in funerary and fertility contexts (Shetelig-Falk-Gordon (1937), pp. 165ff.; and see below). Like simple rings and wheels, they are thought to stand for the sun. The concentric arrangements at Avebury, Stonehenge and Bela Krajina will no doubt owe something to such symbolism, too.

So far it has been suggested that the stones Nos. 31–72 consist of male and female stones arranged in two horseshoes and a circle of alternate sex. If this were so, and if the alternate pattern were inspired by ideas similar to those of the Slovenian spring sowing dance, the following would seem a legitimate attempt to account for the alignment of the site to the midsummer sunrise and for the connexion between the midsummer sunrise and the burials discovered on the site.

Both the alleged sex of the stones and their alternate concentric arrangement led directly to ideas of fertility. It is in the direction of fertility that the argument proceeds.

The two horseshoes lay open to the midsummer sunrise, as on several days before and after it. This is the time when from the seasonal point of view the sun is at its most potent; at this time at dawn its rays struck down the avenue into the womb-like horseshoe of presumably male and female stones. To those who are familiar with the concrete style of primitive thinking, two questions will occur. Were these dawn rays meant to influence the stones in their symbolic capacity? Or were the stones intended to influence the sun? Or are both possibilities to be entertained?—for they are not mutually exclusive at this level of thought.

If the sun were meant to influence the stones we might see in the penetration of the dawn ray of the midsummer sun an act of cosmic fertilization. (Here it is to be regretted that archæologists have so far failed to establish whether the 'Altar Stone,' No. 80, was originally flat or upright, single or a member of a former pair, on or off the axis.) If the stones were intended to influence the sun, they will perhaps have trapped it in their horseshoes and ring (much as dancers trapped the summer in the trees they surrounded), and magically restrained it from a possible swift and disastrous decline from its full vigour. (Here one might respectfully suggest to archæologists that they look for a device whereby the dawn ray could have been symbolically corralled off on entry at the north-west, *e.g.* by dropping posts into holes that may even yet be traceable.) In both cases the motive that directly suggested itself has to do with fertility. In any event we may rest assured that the orientation of these gigantic stones towards the midsummer sunrise was not in vain.

The role of the sun is apparent at Stonehenge. If the moon is involved in any way it may be in the number of upright stones in the outer circle of sarsens (Nos. 1–30)—30, the nearest whole number to a lunation.

There is no suggestion here that the builders of Stonehenge were sun worshippers in the proper sense of the term; though if the structure in these islands referred to by Hecatæus Milesius (*fl. c.* 520 B.C.) was indeed Stonehenge, it was sufficiently solar in function or aspect to be identified as 'a Temple of Apollo.' It is equally remote from the purpose of this article to maintain that the users of the site depended on its alignment for the detection of the summer solstice. This they could have done better by counting days, with suitable empirical corrections where a rudimentary calendar would have taken them out of step with the heavenly bodies and the seasons. Even markers of much finer calibration than is afforded by the stones would have left the weather of these islands out of account. In Peru the Inca himself held firesticks in reserve, in case the sun should be obscured at his midsummer dawn and his concave mirror be useless for kindling. The important thing at Stonehenge seems to have been that the sun should appear at its ceremonial place along the axis of the site on rising on the chosen day—weather permitting. If weather did not permit

and the sun's participation was essential, there were still several other days on which it lingered at the point of its most northerly rising.

One may ask at what sort of a rudimentary calendar I am guessing that would place the summer solstice in its required ceremonial position and justify the assembly of people from far and wide?—for a régime that loses track of the heavenly bodies and asks men to observe what does not come to pass risks loss of power.

I believe that the structure of Stonehenge itself may suggest an answer. The 30 outer sarsens and their correspondence to the nearest whole number of days in a lunation have already been noted. Twelve times round the 30 and once along the five trilithons (these latter symmetrically, so that one ended in front of the giant trilithon at the centre) at the rate of a pebble a day, would make a pretty sum and mnemonic: 12×30+5=365, the nearest whole number of days in a year.

In assessing the value of this suggestion extreme caution is needed. For obvious reasons no aspect of archæology is more open to logical treatment *pro* and *contra* than the question of the calendar, when sufficient data are available. One has to ask how a community anywhere in the world faces up to the awkward fact that neither the solar year nor a lunation makes a whole number of days and that they do not stand in a rational proportion to each other, the former being (at present) 365·2422, the latter 29·53059+ days in length.

There are various peoples with a system of counting that ventures into the 100's who have hit on the number 360 with understandable pleasure, be their system decimal as in Ancient Egypt, vigesimal as among the Maya or sexagesimal as in Sumer and Babylonia; leaving five additional days (the Greek *ἐπαγόμενα*). The Babylonians in practice did not make such use of 360+5 as one might have thought,[6] but instead paid respect to the moon in terms of 6 months of 29 and 6 of 30=354 days, *plus* 11–12 days which made a leap month necessary every few years. The Maya factorized the year as 18×20+5.[7] The Inca, who were very much inferior to the Maya in astronomy and mathematics (and probably also to their own predecessors in Peru), after intercalations to bring lunar months into line, also ended up with 360 days, plus 5 which they called *allcanqui* ('you are missing').[8] But the Ancient Egyptians provide an arrangement identical with that suggested for Stonehenge: 12×30+5.

Owing to its neglect of ·2422 of a day per year the Egyptian system slid into error for 730 years and corrected itself after a further 730. But quite apart from this shifting year, which could be tolerated on the banks of the ever-punctual Nile, any direct application of this analogy to Stonehenge would be fraught with risk, for these reasons. M. P. Nilsson, who has written so admirably on primitive time-reckoning, is astonished that the Egyptians should have neglected the moon so wholeheartedly—their months must originally have been made up of 29 and 30 days as in Babylonia and elsewhere. The breach with concrete lunar phenomena which is indicated by the formula 12×30 he regards as revolutionary, a decisive step from concrete primitive time-indicating to abstract numerical time-reckoning.[9] This transition, he thinks, was probably induced by practical considerations of day-to-day business administration (*cf.* our interest *à l'usance* at 360 days *p.a.*).

Thus if there is anything in the idea that the structure of Stonehenge suggests a calendar of 12×30+5 days, these further questions must be asked: (*i*) Did its builders in some way receive the system from Egypt? Or (*ii*) is it likely that they evolved such a system independently? As to (*i*) there is no chronological difficulty: the Egyptian calendar is accepted as dating from 4241 or 4236 B.C., Stonehenge II (the stone structure) from *c.* 1500 B.C. There is no intrinsic reason why such eminently desirable practical knowledge should not have travelled as far as Britain in 2,500 years; one is reminded of the influence of the Babylonian sexagesimal system on the numerals of the remote Germani and their neighbours. With regard to (*ii*) we have some evidence of the technical skill and powers of organization of the builders of Stonehenge in the edifice itself. Can they have achieved in this respect *c.* 1600 B.C. what the Egyptians achieved *c.* 4241 B.C.?

In his discussion of the 30 upright sarsens of the outer ring Flinders Petrie was not reminded of the normalized Egyptian month of 30 days. But this is not surprising, since he followed Geoffrey of Monmouth in thinking the structure to be post-Roman (though not the work of Merlin). He does on the other hand point to a decimal element in some other stone circles in the British Isles.[10]

All this may strike the seasoned archæologist as a highly dramatic fantasy. But primitive ritual (with which Stonehenge is obviously associated) is dramatic in the purest sense of the word. Newall, whose interpretation is mainly funerary, doubts whether anything can be deduced from orientation towards sunrise at the summer solstice.[11] Yet Midsummer Dawn sends a ray of hope that the stones will be interpreted, unless one remains exclusively down among the graves. Had we but the stones and skulls to go by and no Nagas to interpret them to us, rather prim Westerners that we are, or to reveal by their everyday acts the close and logical bonds that unite the dead with the prosperity of the living, we might conclude that the Naga stones, too, were mainly funerary. Which archæologist would deny this? The same false dilemma—funerary or priapic—for long bedevilled the interpretation of the Scandinavian engravings, many of whose signs occurred both on graves and in the fields.

Heine-Geldern pointed out in 1928 [12] that to such as the Naga there is no opposition between the cult of the dead and the cult of fertility but that on the contrary they often belong to the same nexus of ideas. He quoted the Nagas and the ancient Greeks and one may add to them the Finno-Ugrians, whose Estonian descendants, the Setu, feasted within living memory on the graves of their deceased relations.[13] The actual as distinct from the putative funerary aspects of Stonehenge go well with the ideas of fertility that we must associate with male and female stones. Newall shows that some of the barrows are intimately connected with the stone structure. He also shows that the Aubrey holes, with their traces of cremation, are of earlier date. In

the light of Heine-Geldern's study they are part of what one might expect of a megalithic circular structure. As to the prior date of the Aubrey holes, we know for example from Naga practice, but also from elsewhere, how tribal lawyers can find a loophole to reap some advantage which their religious code might seem most strictly to forbid, so that the stone-builders at Stonehenge may well have incorporated the existing burials with all their benefits through some magical manœuvre, if they could not legitimately regard them as burials of ancestors.[14] As Newall points out,[15] the builders in stone deliberately abandoned the old orientation given by the Aubrey holes for that of the summer solstice at dawn, involving an alteration of several degrees. They therefore knew what they wanted, and it is for us to find it out. We shall succeed only if we discover a way of connecting midsummer with the dead. This way is through the idea of fertility rites, which we have twice arrived at from a consideration of the shape of the stones and of the pattern of their arrangement.

Comparison of the pattern of the stones led to the citation of a Slovenian dance. Working methodically westwards from Assam with a different set of data, Heine-Geldern concluded that circles of stones for sitting on, often with funerary stones among them, constituted a place not only for counsel and judgement but also for ritual dancing. These two functions are well authenticated for the Nagas and the Munda, and are discernible for the early Greek *ἀγορά*, from which the Greek theatre has been derived, just as its object, the drama, descended from ritual dancing. Heine-Geldern supports his view by brilliant quotation from Homer: both Nestor and the Munda oiled the ancestors' stones on which they sat in solemn council.[16]

Although, in view of the absence of sitting-stones, Stonehenge does not fall into this pattern, it is possible that the concentric arrangement of the male and female stones may have mirrored in monumental form the ritual dances that must have been performed there.

Here the outermost chain of lintelled stones comes to mind (Nos. 1–30). The idea that they were females like the trilithons (Nos. 51–60) was rejected, since the Y motif is absent. Primitive ritual dances, it is well known, take place typically in a sacred, hedged-off area. Again this can be illustrated from Greek, since *χορός* ('dance in chorus') and *χόρτος* ('enclosed space,' *cf.* Lat. *hortus*) are etymologically connected. Thus it will perhaps be wiser to see in this ring the fence enclosing the ritual area, and a further connexion with the dance (but see below).

This enquiry will end with some questions.

Supposing that the monoliths and trilithons of Stonehenge really are male and female stones, what properties does Prescelley stone possess that it can appear as 'male' in this system, what properties Wiltshire sarsen that it can pass for 'female?' Is it an opposition of harder and softer? or of blue and sandy? or merely of two things that are clearly not the same?

That an attempt to answer these questions may lead somewhere is suggested by the following. Axeheads in Prescelley stone are known.[17] One would expect axeheads to be masculine in any case; but Dr. Gimbutas's article in the April issue of MAN (1953, 73) shows that axeheads played a very prominent part as male symbols in fertility rites of the Bronze Age. Not only are they engraved with elks, bulls, horses and solar devices, but they also appear in Bronze Age Scandinavian rock engravings held aloft by figures in an ithyphallic condition. Indeed, in one of Dr. Gimbutas's illustrations such a figure holds up an axe in one hand and a concentric pattern in the other. If the axe is no longer a battle axe but a cult axe, the concentric pattern is more likely to be a priapic symbol than a shield. (The condition depicted is not well suited to fighting.)[18] To crown all, some of the sarsens at Stonehenge are engraved with axes and daggers—the female is naturally engraved with the male. I admit it to be a difficulty that the sarsens of the outer ring are also engraved in this manner, for I have doubted their femininity.[19] Against the fundamental masculinity af Prescelley stone, however, is this: Newall argues [20] that No. 150, a fallen monolith of the circle (Nos. 31–49), has two mortice holes, showing that it was probably the lintel of a trilithon of Prescelley stone, making it unnecessary for archæologists to assume that Prescelley stones had been brought all the way from Wales especially for the existing structure, though perhaps for some pre-existing structure elsewhere in Wessex. If this were so, would it not—trilithons being female—militate against the idea that Prescelley stone was fundamentally masculine? Nevertheless, in the last resort the existing structure must be judged in its own terms, which present a recognizable dichotomy; not in terms of an inferred pre-existing structure.[21]

Notes

[1] For the numbering of the stones and for the detailed ground plan see fig. 1, after R. S. Newall, 'Stonehenge,' *Antiquity*, Vol. III (1929), opposite p. 80. This fine article begins on p. 75. Newall attempts an interpretation at the end of his description which inevitably dwells on the sepulchral aspects of the surviving stones and bones, since he takes the structure to be a development of the chambered cairn, but without roof. This development, he suggests, may have accompanied a development of ancestor-worship. All this may well be true, but it is the purpose of the present article to suggest that it is only a part of a wider complex.

[2] See J. H. Hutton, 'The Assam Megaliths,' *Antiquity*, Vol. III, pp. 324ff., and his paper in *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LII (1922), pp. 242ff., on 'The Meaning and Erection of Monoliths by the Naga Tribe's; J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas* (1926), p. 260; C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in an Appendix on 'The Megalithic Culture of Assam' to F. M. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms of Sumatra* (1939), pp. 215ff. I am indebted to Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf for referring me to this work and to R. von Heine-Geldern's article 'Die Megalithen Südostasiens und ihre Bedeutung für die Klärung der Megalithenfrage in Europa und Polynesien' in *Anthropos*, Vol. XXIII (1928), pp. 276ff. Heine-Geldern does not attempt to interpret Stonehenge in other than very general terms.

[3] The word 'primitive' is devoid of meaning, but I use it in a sense that all will understand.

[4] F. Marolt, 'Slovene Folk Dance and Folk Music' in *J. Internat. Folk Music Council*, Vol. IV (1952).

[5] A. van Gennep, *Manuel de Folklore Français Contemporain*, Vol. I, iv, 2 (1949), p. 1534.

[6] The idea that the sexagesimal system of Sumer was derived from 360 days has been strongly contested by O. Neugebauer, 'Zur Entstehung des Sexagesimalsystems,' *Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Mathem.-Physik. Klasse*, New Series, Vol. XIII, 1 (1927),

pp. 1ff. Neugebauer would derive the system from the practical needs of combining ½'s and ⅓'s with the natural decimal series 1–10; that is, he finds his answer not in astronomy but in metrology. Yet one recalls that consideration of the number of 360 days caused the Maya to spoil their vigesimal system, for their orders run: 20×18×20×20 etc.

7 S. G. Morley, *The Ancient Maya* (1946), p. 269.

8 P. A. Means, *Ancient Civilisations of the Andes* (1931), p. 387.

9 *Primitive Time-Reckoning* (1920), pp. 277ff.

10 W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Stonehenge: Plans, Descriptions and Theories* (1880), p. 5.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 304. I translate: 'If one may draw a conclusion from the Assamese analogies, large stone circles like those of Stonehenge and Avebury are not to be regarded as mere sepulchral monuments [*Grabmäler*] even if they actually contain a grave. The much discussed question whether Stonehenge is a burial place or ritual site appears from this angle to be futile. The great stone circles were both equally; they were festival and dancing grounds which had been consecrated . . . through the burial of a prince or priest.'

13 See O. Loorits, *Grundzüge des estnischen Volksglaubens*, Vol. I (1949), p. 87, and *Estnische Volksdichtung und Mythologie* (1932), p. 61 (in both cases with photographs).

14 There is an amusing case in Fürer-Haimendorf's *The Naked Nagas* (1939), when heads not actually taken by the warriors on an expedition but acquired by the anthropologist as specimens, on being shared round in small pieces were judged after all to be valid for festal purposes.

15 *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

16 *Op. cit.*, pp. 307f. The Homeric passages are *Iliad*, xviii, 497–508, and *Odyssey*, iii, 406–11.

17 Piggott, 'Stonehenge Reviewed' in *Aspects of Archæology in Britain and Beyond: Essays Presented to O. G. S. Crawford*, ed. W. F. Grimes (1951), p. 287.

18 I am grateful to the Hon. Editor of MAN for referring me to Dr. Gimbutas's article.

19 See the report by Atkinson and Piggott in *The Times*, 15 July, 1953, a reference for which I am indebted to Professor V. G. Childe.

20 *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

21 The first draft of this article was written in November, 1952.

SHORTER NOTES

Anthropology and the Study of 'Folk' Cultures. *By Ian Whitaker, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh*

152 The present-day scope of anthropology as studied in Great Britain has recently been the subject of considerable discussion,[1] yet criticism of British methods has been received more or less without comment.[2] This leads one to enquire whether some of the critics are correct in some at least of their assumptions or not, and whether there is not considerable room for a broadening of outlook. I shall here consider briefly two aspects where some change of emphasis seems desirable: the relationship between 'social' anthropology and the other related branches of the greater discipline of anthropology, and also the choice of communities at present studied by anthropologists.

It can scarcely be denied that there is a growing indifference among anthropologists, particularly in the Universities, to such studies as technology, primitive religion and archæology, and it is clear that this is at least in part due to the extent to which these subjects were utilized by diffusionists and theorists of the Perry–Elliot Smith school in their general misuse of the methods of ethnology. But if archæology has fallen out of favour, lip service is still paid to the study of material culture,[3] whilst folklore is still being utilized to prove a specific point by at least one prominent social anthropologist.[4] Professor Evans-Pritchard has pointed out the importance of a proper understanding of what he calls the œcology of a people in order to comprehend and analyse their social institutions.[5] Yet if these facets of culture are to be utilized, they must at the same time be made the subject of detailed study in their own right. No mathematician will use a formula the meaning and method of calculation of which he does not at least partially understand. Nevertheless one has the impression that these branches of anthropology are today placed in a distant pigeonhole, to be taken down upon rare occasions, and then only for convenient quotation.

Quite apart from the point of view, frequently aired on the Continent,[6] that cultures are not merely composed of social systems, we must admit that investigations of such items as technology and comparative religion can indeed provide us with material significant to the social anthropologist (as defined by the 'structural school'). Thus Professor Gustav Ränk has demonstrated that the division of the dwelling house is a fact of social as well as technological importance.[7] Are we not neglecting whole fields which might assist in the formulation of general social laws (if indeed one maintains this to be the purpose of social anthropology)?

One result of the development of functionalism within socio-anthropological theory has been the disuse of the comparative method of enquiry, a disuse recently deplored by Professor Radcliffe-Brown,[8] but one which now seems about to be rectified.[9] One criticism of this method by the functionalists was that all too frequently items were taken out of their context,[10] and generalizations thus made about features which were not really similar or comparable. Yet in his recent prize essay Dr. Leach examines specialized structural features from three widely differing societies at such a high level of abstraction, and without reference to the cultural or ecological circumstances, that one is tempted to question whether the features discussed are really similar and comparable, or whether we are indulging in an exercise in sociological algebra.[11] We should now be in a position, thanks to the functionalists' emphasis on intensive fieldwork, to be able to make some generalizations of sociological validity, and one might have hoped that it would have been possible to follow a line of enquiry connecting ecology and society, as suggested by Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg.[12] But the simple fact is that the average socio-anthropological monograph published today contains only scanty (if any) information on ecological and similar matters, with the result that such an investigation is as impossible today as it was in 1930.

My second point of criticism (which I here consider within the framework of the subject as defined by the structuralists) is the limiting of socio-anthropological fieldwork to the examination of 'primitive' societies.[13] Even if we disregard the epithet, it is becoming increasingly doubtful whether any society can be said to be structurally simpler[14] than others; certainly at the present day we have no comparative data on which to make this assumption. An elaborate system of clans and moieties, with intermarriage rules and sundry other prohibitions, is scarcely less complex than, for instance, an integrated and self-supporting rural community. Yet the study of rural communities (*i.e.* roughly what the Americans call 'rural sociology'), even at the level of concentrating upon social structures, is disregarded in Great Britain even more than is the general field of sociology.[15] Nevertheless rural societies often display resemblances in social phenomena to pre-literate societies elsewhere, thus emphasizing the truth that Man is One. The need for detailed studies of, for instance, Balkan communities with their corporate patriarchies,

and such elaborations as a system of marriage by capture,[16] is scarcely less pressing than that for studies of African communities.[17] Not all literate communities will leave sufficient documentary evidence to permit a historical study such as that of Mongol feudal systems by Vladimirtsov.[18]

The 'folk' community—I shall not here discuss terminology—as seen in Western Europe could well provide us with common ground between anthropology and sociology in the more restricted sense. Yet perhaps because its study requires a greater emphasis on history than many care to admit, as well as detailed ecological study, it is entirely ignored here. On the Continent we have an intensity of activity in 'folk' studies which has resulted in a much more complete picture of a limited field. Hitherto, however, little attention has been paid to just those facets interesting social anthropologists, partly owing perhaps to a lack of refinement in technique.[19] This is therefore a field where there is less pressing need for the technological investigations which seem so irksome to the structuralist, but in which suitable assistance can be given by the other branches of anthropology to the investigator of social organization. When the cultural picture has thus been completed, we may be in a position to develop a nomothetic or comparative method of enquiry with a better knowledge of factors tending to produce variants.[20]

With the increasing tempo of development in the so-called 'primitive' societies it is very doubtful if social anthropologists will much longer be able to pursue research under the conditions demanded by the structuralists, in the midst of an illiterate or semi-literate community 'living without what we have come to regard as the minimum requirements of comfort and civilization.'[21] When this ostrich-like policy ends it is to be hoped that our own rural culture, both social and material, will not have disappeared unrecorded and unstudied.

Notes

[1] G. P. Murdock, 'British Social Anthropology,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, Vol. LIII (1951), pp. 465–73.

[2] One must except Professor Firth's apologia, 'Contemporary British Social Anthropology,' *ibid.*, pp. 474–89.

[3] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 85–90.

[4] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 'The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology,' *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXI (1951), pp. 17ff.

[5] Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, London, 1951, p. 102.

[6] *E.g.* R. Numelin, 'Sociologie et Anthropologie Sociale,' *Ethnos*, Stockholm, 1951, Nos. 3–4, pp. 185–93.

[7] G. Räink, *Das System der Raumeinteilung in den Behausungen der nordeurasiatischen Völker*, Stockholm, 1949–51.

[8] Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[9] *Cf.* M. Fortes, 'The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, Vol. LV (1953), pp. 17–39.

[10] Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, p. 39.

[11] E. R. Leach, 'The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage,' *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXI (1951), pp. 23–55.

[12] L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, London, 1930.

[13] Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, pp. 7–9, but compare p. 104.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[15] S. Andrzejewski, 'Social Anthropology: Past and Present,' MAN, 1951, 120.

[16] *Cf.* Irwin T. Sanders, *Balkan Village*, Lexington, 1949, pp. 73–91.

[17] I do not deny the cogency of the excuses put forward by Fortes, *op. cit.*, p. 18, and Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 476, but an analysis of recently published anthropological literature from Great Britain shows an overwhelming preponderance to the disadvantage of studies of rural cultures.

[18] B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime Social des Mongols*, Paris, 1948.

[19] In demonstration of this lacuna from a field known to me, it may be stated that of several hundred monographs devoted to aspects of Lappish culture, including two encyclopædic works of reference, which have been published, neither of the latter, and only one of the former (Erik Solem, *Lappiske Rettstudier*, Oslo, 1933) treats Lappish social organization in any detail.

[20] Radcliffe-Brown, 'Social Anthropology: Past and Present,' MAN, 1952, 14.

[21] Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, p. 9.

Horniman Museum Lectures, October–December

153 The following free illustrated lectures of anthropological interest have been arranged for Saturday afternoons at 3.30 p.m. during the last quarter of 1953 at the Horniman Museum, London, S.E. 23: 10 October, Mr. Hugh Tracey on 'The Sound of some African Instruments' (with film); 24 October, Lt.-Col. F. M. Bailey, C.I.E., on 'Life in Tibet' (with Tibetan songs by the Hon. Mrs. Bailey); 31 October, Professor I. Schapera on 'Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert'; 14 November, Dr. S. D. Cudjoe and others on 'Traditional Drumming and Dancing among the Ewe'; 21 November, Mr. Bernard Rackham, C.B., on 'Pottery—A Varied Art'; 28 November, Mr. W. F. Grimes on 'Burial Customs in Prehistoric Britain'; 12 December, Dr. J. C. Trevor on 'The Racial History of Britain.'

REVIEWS

EUROPE

Geographical History in Greek Lands. *By John L. Myres. O.U.P., 1953. Pp. x, 381, 12 plates, map, 9 text figs. Price £1 15s.*

154 This is not a continuous treatise, but a collection of 12 essays or lectures, of dates ranging from 1910 to 1941. By an ironical coincidence, the book came into my hands immediately after some sapient person had expressed the opinion, as reported in the press, that geography was a suitable subject for elementary schools and for nothing higher. Here we have examples of the admirable use which may be made of it by a trained and acute mind. It goes without saying that the author, being a good geographer, also knows more than the rudiments of geology and is a competent anthropologist, while his attainments as a classicist and historian are everywhere acknowledged.

It is not possible in a review of moderate length to do more than give a list of the topics discussed and mention one or two points touched upon. The 12 essays, or chapters, deal respectively with 'Greek Lands and the Greek People' and 'The Value of Ancient History,' two lectures delivered before Oxford audiences and having a good deal to say concerning the school of Literæ Humaniores; 'Ancient Geography in Modern Education,' addressed originally to the British Association at Glasgow; 'Geography in relation to History and Literature,' another address to a like audience, this time at Johannesburg; 'The Geographical Study of Greek and Roman Culture,' a lecture delivered to the Scottish Geographical Society; 'The Geographical Aspect of Greek Colonization,' before the Classical Association; 'The Geographical Distribution of the Greek City-States,' addressed to the Geographical Association; 'The Causes of Rise and Fall in the Population of the Ancient World,' to the Eugenics Society; 'The position of the Greek Kingdom in the Eastern Mediterranean,' again to the Geographical Association; 'The Marmara Region,' another communication to the British Association, and two papers read to the Royal Geographical Society, 'The Islands of the Ægean' and 'The Dodecanese.' All these have received a certain amount of revision to bring them up to date. All show a characteristic feeling for essential facts, with many shrewd blows dealt at politicians and other interfering amateurs who ignore them to their own shame and the injury of Greeks and their neighbours.

All alike are vivid, picturing, not dully cataloguing, the geographical and other features of the region discussed, for the author has, as is well known, a first-hand knowledge of it and is no mere porer over maps.

Some particular points strike even a casual reader, for the author is very definite in his expressions of opinion. On p. 29, he puts forward in a few words an ingenious theory of connexion between mother-right and forest culture, which might be worth following up. On p. 235, a footnote disposes of those who think the name Euxine a piece of euphemism as 'chicken-hearted landlubbers,' and briefly gives good reasons for saying so. On the next page I am rather surprised to find him reverting to the old rationalization of the Golden Fleece as a primitive example of the grease process for getting gold. It is too magical and mysterious an object for that; the most that seems at all likely is that some use of fleeces for that purpose helped to locate the Land (Aia) at the far end of the Black Sea and not somewhere else near the edges of the known world.

A bibliography of the author's writings occupies pp. 351–81; the dates extend from 1891 to 1952. By a slip, his contributions to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* are mentioned twice, once under 1949 and again among the addenda on p. 381. Another small slip is corrected on p. vii; the title of a book mentioned in passing had been wrongly given. The proof-reading seems to have been very good, for I have noted no other oversights. H. J. ROSE

The Greeks and the Irrational. *By E. R. Dodds. Pp. ix, 327. Berkeley and Los Angeles (U. of Calif. P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1951. Pp. ix, 327. Price £1 17s. 6d.*

155 It is customary to consider Greek thought as a phase of civilization in which the logical and intuitive elements were vitally blended; to declare that its triumph lay in their interaction. To Professor Dodds, the emergence, at certain periods of its history, of the pre-Hellenic inheritance of religious emotion, represents a backsliding of minds no longer sufficiently courageous to continue their progress towards knowledge. His Sather Lectures, delivered at Berkeley in 1949, before an audience of anthropologists and other scholars, are arranged in this book to form 'an investigation of the successive interpretations which the Greek mind placed upon one type of human experience,' in the 'uncertain light' of current anthropological and psychological research.

In a lucid first chapter, the author analyses the role of the Homeric Gods as at once objective and subjective, in the maintenance of the heroic ideal. Their psychic intervention controls the epic action. Professor Dodds does not regard the struggle within the hero—what Nilsson calls his mental instability—as a battle between his divine inheritance and human situation, though perhaps he implies this in describing the manifestation of his *menos* as the act of a god. Because the goal is not a quiet conscience but public esteem (yet Hector's speeches show these to be sometimes inseparable) he calls this the phase of shame-consciousness.

The literature of the archaic age, which he extends to include Pindar and even Sophocles, betrays, he considers, an increasing awareness of human futility by reason of the envy of the gods. This is the period of the re-emergence of Helladic preoccupation with the inherited curse. He calls it guilt-consciousness. Were its people indeed so dæmon-ridden? Has not a single aspect of this adventurous age, moved by a recognition of power very visible in contemporary sculpture, been given undue prominence? To Herodotus '*hybris* is the prime evil,' yet he is as full of the joy of life as Pindar.

The analysis of the Pythia's mediumship is valuable, because based on the author's own studies in psychical research, but the emergence of the figure of Pythagoras in the image of the Siberian Shaman who entered the Greek religious world, along with other great magicians, after the opening of the Black Sea, seems to impose undue limits upon his teaching and his personality.

In the less controversial chapters which follow, Professor Dodds shows how the fifth century marks the decay of the inherited fabric of belief among thinking men. One of its chief glories, he declares, is the honest distinction drawn between knowable and unknowable. As the intellectuals, at its catastrophic end, withdrew into their own world, the popular mind, left increasingly defenceless, fell back upon primitive consolations.

Plato gave to rationalism a metaphysical extension, transformed by contact with the Pythagoreans of Southern Italy. He transposed the 'mythical fancies' about the soul's fate from the plane of revelation to that of logical argument. He tried to put the specialized 'Shaman' upon a scientific basis as an instrument of social revolution. Perhaps Plato's own myths might have been given a more prominent place here, as an indication, even as late as the *Timæus*, that the solution by argument was not all-comprehensive. Plato appears, in fact, as the perfect example not of the fusion but of the combination of the rational with the imaginatively inspired.

In a stimulating chapter called 'The Fear of Freedom,' Professor Dodds looks down the long vista which opened with the near-triumph of Greek rationalism during the century and a half which followed the foundation of the Lyceum; when science was transmuted from isolated observation to a series of methodical disciplines. After this the long decline of creative thought set in, bringing with it a return of emotional religion, of superstition and magic. The author considers that the anonymity and loneliness of life in the new great cities enforced the need for personal contact with the unseen. This was the climate, he reminds us, in which Christianity grew up, and it was not created by Christians.

He attributes the ultimate failure of Greek rationalism to a flight from the heavy burden of choice laid by the open society upon the individual, after the absorption of the city states into the Hellenistic kingdoms. He implies that it was a failure, not only of rationalism, but of civilization, in a choice which may soon be laid before ourselves. Against this it might well be argued that the upsurging of older faiths, among which Christianity was born, made a very positive contribution to human progress.

No justice can be done, in the space of a few paragraphs, to the scrupulous clarity of these carefully reasoned chapters, and their provocation to thought. G. R. LEVY

Modern Greek Folktales. *Chosen and translated by R. M. Dawkins. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1953. Pp. xxxviii, 491. Price £2 10s.*

156 Professor Dawkins has taken 83 stories, summarized the plot of each, and stated its general distribution and what is known or suggested as its country of origin. He has then listed the modern Greek variants and translated in full the best, or best hitherto unpublished, variant.

In his preface he expresses the opinion that the stories are in the main rather of Asiatic than of European origin, and in his introduction he points out that though the same plots are found all over the world, the details of the stories tend to take forms consistent with the character of those who tell them. He finds in the Greek versions 'that spirit of enquiry and activity which marks the Greek genius.'

It seems unlikely that 'the fairy tales belong to the world of children and childlike people,' for these tales are mostly of courtship, and children are notoriously uninterested in the opposite sex. Professor Dawkins seems not to have heard of the theory that they are or may be of ritual origin.

The book is admirably produced, and Professor Dawkins's translations are, it is hardly necessary to say, very readable and in perfect English. RAGLAN

Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. *By Dominik Wölfel. Christus und die Religionen der Erde, ed. König, pp. 163–537. Vienna (Herder), n.d.*

157 Professor Wölfel is an avowed adherent of the *Kulturhistorische Schule*. So we know in advance that he will somehow uncover beneath superimposed distortions a layer of primitive monotheism as the earliest religion of our Continent too. We need not criticize the theory here nor yet the methods by which Wölfel and others disinter this stratum by comparative studies of contemporary cults. But in this work an appeal is made to the direct testimony of prehistoric archæology. The author believes that the primitive stratum is to be seen relatively pure in the West European *Megalithikum* and uses data derived from its study to trace the same stratum in prehistoric Greece, Egypt and Mesopotamia as well as in West Africa and Abyssinia. His account is accordingly of crucial importance and deserves careful scrutiny. He has diligently searched

at least the German literature on Atlantic and North European megalithic monuments without perhaps entirely digesting the miscellaneous information thus acquired; at least he gives two divergent accounts of the Carrowkeel cemetery, not having realized that Carrow Keel is merely a misspelling! Again he cites as equally authoritative—not I fear indiscriminately—the 1927 and the 1947 editions of my *Dawn of European Civilization*. Though he quotes with approval my article in *Ancient India*, it is far from clear what threads hold the patchy *Megalithikum* together; it somehow includes, beside the usual dolmens, passage graves, corbelled tombs and long stone cists, the 'henge monuments' of Crichie (called a *Diskusgrab* and said to have 175(!) analogues in Aberdeenshire alone) as well as Avebury and Stonehenge, Danish Middle Bronze Age barrows with oak-tree coffins and the still later graves of Kivik and Seddin. Consequently the folding stools and wheeled cauldrons from the Bronze Age barrows provide him with clues for recognizing the 'megalithic' layer in Africa and Mesopotamia! Since 'primitive monotheists' were not idolaters, the female figures carved in the rock-cut tombs of the Marne and on slabs in the long cists of the Paris basin are derived, through the statue menhirs of South France, from unsculptured standing stones which are explained as just '*Seelensitze*.' Nor can the various figurines from Spanish and Portuguese tombs be images of a deity; they too are *Seelensitze* or at worst 'ancestor figures.'

Naturally these interpretations cannot be justified from the completely dumb megalithic remains of Britain or Spain alone, but these can be themselves given speech through the figured monuments of Mycenæan cult and through its survivals in classical Greece. For the *Megalithikum*, according to Wölfel, was transplanted to the shores of the Ægean to reappear in the Shaft-Grave circle and Tholos tombs. 'Mycenæan religion and the foundations of the whole culture are due 'not to Minoans from Crete or to Indo-European Greeks from the north but' 'to a relatively late invasion from the west basin of the Mediterranean.' Now even if the decipherment of tablets confirm the Greek character of the Mycenæan language, a good case could be made out for deriving the tholos tombs from Spain, though only by using Wace's study of the architecture which Wölfel ignores. He ignores too the contrast of the Shaft Graves and the earlier 'Minyan' cists with the tholoi—a contrast which invalidates his use of the former to illustrate rituals and beliefs that might have been brought from Spain with tholos architecture.

One more example will suffice to illustrate the capricious use of archæological data in this work. In discussing 'the slender and doubtful' evidence for cult buildings, other than 'funerary temples,' in prehistoric Mesopotamia the author omits to mention the three shrines in Gawra XIII or the existence at Erech of two series of temples on the sites historically dedicated to Anu and Ininna respectively—surely evidences of polytheism, though much too early for Wölfel's thesis! V. GORDON CHILDE

Cerne Abbas: The Story of a Dorset Village. *By Mary D. Jones. London (Allen & Unwin), 1952. Pp. 143, illus. Price 10s. 6d.*

158 The description of the mediæval life of Cerne provides a model which might well be followed for many other English towns and villages, but apart from a chapter on the Giant of Cerne, which unfortunately lacks precise references, there is little to interest the anthropologist. J. P. MILLS

Prehistoric Ireland. *By Joseph Raftery. London (Batsford), 1951. Pp. 228, 17 plates, 267 figs. Price 16s.*

159 This book has been long awaited; it attempts to fill an important place in archæological literature, for there is plenty of room for general studies of Irish prehistory. There is a profusion of sites and material for study, as even the most superficial glance at Dr. Raftery's maps and photographs will show, but very few general accounts have been produced for either the specialist or the general reader. There is therefore a ready-made public for this book.

The book was set up in type in the early years of the war, but has only just appeared. The author says in his preface that it is intended for the interested layman; from this fact arises the failure to revise the text, the absence of references, and the large number of small illustrations. The author thus disarms the critic, by himself pointing out the most obvious shortcomings of his book. However, for a popular book, even if one does not consider it important to present up-to-date information, one does expect the broad outlines of Irish prehistory to be drawn boldly; but here they tend to be lost in the more detailed information. The detail itself is often so interesting that it is tantalizing not to have a reference one can follow up. A popular book should at least have a few suggestions for further reading.

Dr. Raftery has not been well treated by his publishers, who have set a standard in the publication of antiquarian books which they have failed to reach in this one. The pages are overcrowded with print; many of the line drawings have been too much reduced, and some of the half-tone blocks are messy and lacking in shadow detail. The illustrations do not follow the text at all closely, and very often they are allowed to crowd out the page numbers on several successive pages, so that looking up a reference is unnecessarily laborious. A little more care would have made this a far more attractive volume.

In spite of these faults this book will be found useful by those who require a convenient summary of Irish prehistory.

FRANK WILLETT

Introduction to English Folklore. *By Violet Alford. London (Bell), 1952. Pp. viii, 164. Price 12s. 6d.*

160 What is folklore? 'The knowledge of the common people,' answers Miss Alford, but is it really possible to divide our society into two sets of people, the common and the uncommon, each with its own knowledge? Anyhow Miss Alford fails to do this consistently. Valentine's day is folklore, though observed by 'varying grades of society' (p. 32), but reels, having entered the ballroom, 'become traditional rather than folk' (p. 114).

A folksong is 'generally a song of which the composer or composers are not known' (p. 119), yet purely literary songs and stories, disseminated by means of chapbooks, in course of time became 'folk' (p. 11). The custom of plaiting the maypole was probably introduced into this country by Ruskin (p. 53). It is, it would seem, 'folk' for those who do not know this, but not for those who do. If a definition of 'folklore' is needed, a wider one seems desirable.

Definitions will not, however, trouble those general readers for whom the book is intended. From her wide knowledge Miss Alford has produced a very readable account of the survivals of various kinds which are to be found in this country—calendar customs, folk plays, traditional songs and dances, folktales and charms. In her description of the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance she has failed to note that one set of horns is painted white and the other black; when the two sets tilt at each other it is probably a ritual combat rather than a 'greeting' (p. 68). RAGLAN

The Domesday Geography of Eastern England. *By H. C. Darby. C. U. P., 1952. Pp. 400. Price £2 15s.*

161 Professor Darby has become a leader of cooperative studies carried out by many colleagues in consultation. Some years ago he edited *An Historical Geography of England before* 1800 written by 14 authors and already at that time the idea of mapping the Domesday survey was in his mind. Numerous articles from his pen during the last 20 years have been a prelude to the present work inaugurating a series that is to cover the whole Domesday record and that gives results of work of a whole group of geographers. This book after a short introduction treats of the counties of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, with the account of each area made as self-contained as possible. A concluding chapter gives a comparative review of the whole region, and, throughout, special attention is given to peculiarities of each county's survey, what is recorded and what measurements are used, for these facts vary from one area to another and are not too often uniform within one area. The work of F. W. Maitland, J. H. Round and Sir F. M. Stenton and of many researchers in more local fields is appraised with appropriate generosity; and all who recall the unflinchingly controversial J. H. Round will appreciate the fact that Darby says again and again that such and such an opinion was

accepted *even* by Round. But this new series does not try to follow these scholars' attempts to trace causes of sequences of change; it wishes rather to picture the country in 1086 in so far as this is possible from Domesday and such congeners as the Little Domesday, the Cambridgeshire and Ely inquisitions and the Exeter Book. As the Domesday Book was compiled to give a record for taxation as well as for information, the detail is sometimes hardly amenable to map-making treatment. Acres may have been assessed for tax for a whole hundred and then the total was divided into smaller and smaller assessments which sometimes were far from local reality in 1086, even if they might have had a more real basis some years earlier. Family changes must always affect landholdings. Lincolnshire with its many Scandinavian place names has a high proportion of freemen and sokemen, not always most numerous in the *by* villages. Parts of Norfolk and Suffolk suggest small manors and many villages with very old schemes of landholding; Essex, with its abundant woodland on London Clay, has a minutely disseminated population; also this county tells of the recent introduction of the vine, with vineyards measured in French units named arpents. It is clear that the occupation of loam soils had proceeded a long way by 1086 thanks to wood-cutters, but marsh, fen, silt and sandy heath were sparsely peopled unless some sandy strips were useful for fishing and saltpans and some low alluvium was not too wet to give at least seasonal pasture for sheep. The high degree of correspondence between modern villages and those of 1086 suggests respect for peasant skill in choice of sites for settlement.

Lincolnshire with geological and orographical contrasts lends itself better to the making of a period picture than do the less diversified Norfolk (apart from breck, fen and marsh) and Suffolk. The Cambridgeshire and Ely enquiries supplement Domesday here and there and give opportunity for some detective ingenuity. Woodland is only occasionally given in areal measurements, far more frequently it is woodland for *x* swine. Comparisons between conditions in 1086 and conditions *T.R.E.* (*Tempore Regis Eduardi*) are often given in Domesday and repeatedly give the impression that former freemen or sokemen or their sons had become mere villeins or bordars after the Norman Conquest. And often land is said to have become waste, or we are told that there could be *x* more ploughs. Unfortunately Domesday is unsatisfactory about towns and their burgesses, but St. Edmundsbury, described as a *villa* in Little Domesday, is given unusual attention. Professor Darby's book must be looked upon as a preliminary; the completion of the series some years hence will give much greater opportunities. We look forward to a new estimate of the population and resources of England under William the Norman; it is likely to be a great landmark in British ethnography.

H. J. FLEURE

En utdödd lappkultur i Kemi Lappmark. *By Helmer Tegengren. Studier i Nordfinlands kolonisationshistoria, Acta Academiæ Aboensis Humaniora, Vol. XIX, No. 4. Åbo, 1952. Pp. 287*

162

Professor Tegengren's recent book certainly represents historical anthropology at its best. He has been able to give a thoroughly accomplished and extremely well documented treatment of the economic and demographic aspects of the acculturative process through the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries by means of a varied technique exploiting tremendously rich material from historical sources (*viz.* censuses, tax lists, lists of estates of deceased persons, old accounts written by local officials, travellers, etc.), linguistics, archæology, but also an extensive knowledge of relevant ethnological literature from Northern Eurasia, North America and other parts of the world. Although the book is aimed at discussing the culture contact between the intruding Finnish settlers and the gradually retreating Sames (Lapps) within Kemi parish only, the author has succeeded in presenting most important contributions to these problems in the entire Same territory.

Of greatest significance is perhaps the demonstration—one may even talk of conclusive proof—of the decisive part played by the settlers in the development of the intensive reindeer-breeding (primarily the milking and activities connected therewith) of the forest Sames. The old Same culture was exclusively a hunting-fishing culture with tame reindeer as decoy animals only; personally I would also include the use of reindeer for transportation, which in Finnmark has been documented as early as in the late Viking period or early mediæval times (probably eleventh or twelfth century). The intensive reindeer-breeding in Kemi, then, must be considered a result of the culture contact, and the interdependence of the two groups, the mutual interplay of influences, has been very clearly brought forward. Now it is not in fact surprising that the intensive reindeer-breeding is a result of the culture contact—the same has obviously been the case in north Norway—but nevertheless it is important because Professor Tegengren's line of argument is so completely convincing. Of course, the situation has been rather different in the various parts of northern Fenno-Scandia due to environmental and other factors; thus the reindeer nomadism in Finnmark developed along different lines, and in Nordland again the situation was distinct from that farther north; and Professor Tegengren's results do not, in fact, relate to the problem of whether the reindeer-breeding in northern Fenno-Scandia is autochthonous or due to diffusion from Northern Asia.

The treatment of economic and demographic aspects in this book is so excellent that it is only regrettable that the author has not also considered the social aspects of the acculturation. The disintegration and the following reintegrative process initiated by the intruding settlers and later by the immigration of reindeer nomads from Kautokeino, Karasjok, Enontekis, Utsjok and other places during the nineteenth century obviously is a fascinating problem and the author certainly possesses extensive material for its solution. This, however, may possibly become the subject of a subsequent book.

GUTORM GJESSING

Finnish State Commission (1949-1951): Report on Lapp Affairs. *Edited by Karl Nickul. Fennia, Vol. LXXVI, No. 3. Helsinki, 1952. Pp. 60, map*

163

This is an abridged translation of the report of the Finnish State Commission on Lapp Affairs which was published in full last November. Nickul, the Commission's secretary, regards Lapland as 'Finland's colonial problem,' and the report reflects this view.

The report is in two parts. Part I contains a review of the history of the Lapps, an analysis of the Finnish Lapps in 1949, and a note on conditions in northern Lapland. Part II comprises the Commission's recommendations. The major and most radical proposal is that Finland north of about the 68th parallel should become a Lapp Area (it has already been designated a continuous reindeer-breeding area), in which no extension of Finnish settlement would be permitted, and which would be administered and developed by an Office of Lapp Affairs set up for the purpose. Detailed supplementary recommendations covering a wide range of subjects are also made.

The report has aroused much controversial discussion in Finland, and it will be interesting to see how far its proposals are embodied in future legislation.

A. F. HATFULL

Studier och Översikter tillägnade C. A. Wicander den 13 augusti 1952. *Liv och Folkkultur, Vol. V. Stockholm (Inst. för folklivsforskning), 1952. Pp. 152, illus.*

164

This issue of the occasional papers of the Society for Swedish Folklife Research (Samfundet för Svensk folklivsforskning) is dedicated to one of this discipline's principal benefactors, Direktör C. A. Wicander. This explains the lengthy article by mag. Erik Sjösell on the history of the Wicander family's private villa, now the Institute for Folklife Research, which otherwise is somewhat out of place in a volume devoted to folk studies.

In a brief opening article Professor Sigurd Erixon discusses the development in Sweden of standardized forms of folk architecture inspired by a centralized authority. He points out, however, that uniformity is often brought about by internal pressure rather than through externally imposed legislation.

Knut Weibust has written a well illustrated article on fishing on the Aveiro coast of Portugal. He attempts to show the interaction of geographical, technical and sociological factors on the formation of the boats' crews, but he unfortunately fails to provide the necessary statistical information which would make his article useful for comparative studies.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution is that of kand. Per Gräslund, who discusses two island villages in Östergötland, Harstena and Kråkmarö. Kråkmarö has undergone the statutory distribution of land (*lagaskift*) involving the decentralization of villages, which has been going on for over a hundred years in Sweden, whereas Harstena is unchanged. The result in Kråkmarö has been a serious economic deterioration; concentration on agriculture, promoted by the distribution of former commonlands, has resulted in a decline in fishing which is in this area the most rewarding economic pursuit. Harstena, with similar ecological potentialities, has not suffered this change of economy. There, moreover, the old social system survives, with its emphasis on cooperation at the level of the whole community. Kråkmarö however lacks this mutual help, since distribution of land has given rise to scattered and independent farms. The whole situation emphasizes the dangers of imposing new social systems and of unthoughtfully meddling with the existing social order in rural communities.

The volume in addition contains several reports on the activities of the Society and of the Institute and its personnel, work which deserves to be better known in this country. IAN WHITAKER

Säden torkar: sädesuppsättningar i Sverige 1850-1900. *By Eerik Laid. Etnologiska Källskrifter V. Stockholm (Lantbruksförbundets Tidskriftsaktiebolag), 1952. Pp. xii, 344, illus., maps. Price Sw. kronor 22 (£1 11s. 6d.)*

165 Mag. Eerik Laid, an Estonian scholar now working at the Institute for Folklife Research in Stockholm, provides us with a most competent discussion of the various processes for drying corn utilized in Sweden between 1850 and 1900. He describes very fully the several types of drying frames (Sw. *hässjor*), as well as the different methods of stacking sheaves to dry in the fields. There are a surprising number of different ways of drying corn there in comparison with those employed in Great Britain. One factor leading to this diversity, mag. Laid suggests, is climate: thus in Norrland (northern Sweden) the corn is always kept off the ground, on account of ground moisture. But tradition plays its usual inexplicable part, as for instance in the use of the distinctive 'caps' of corn placed on bundles of sheaves resting vertically together.

A good proportion of the information used in the compilation of this book has been provided by answers to *ad hoc* and other questionnaires. It demonstrates the invaluable contribution that this research technique can provide in supplementing personal field work. There are some useful distribution maps as well as some excellent photographs, but the volume unfortunately lacks both a place index and, much more important, any summary in one of the more widely spoken languages. This latter omission seriously limits the number of people who can read the book with profit; and, meanwhile, the work of Scandinavian folklife researchers continues, by and large, to be a closed book to the British anthropologist.

IAN WHITAKER

Disertación sobre los molinos de viento. *By J. Caro Baroja. Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares, Vol. VIII, Part 2, Madrid, 1952, pp. 212–366*

166 In this work the former Director of the Museo del Pueblo Español in Madrid introduces a study of the windmills of Spain with a comprehensive statement of what is known about the origin and distribution of windmills in general.

The evidence, much of it likely to be new to English readers—if we may assume that the Persian windmills mentioned by tenth-century Arab writers were of the vertical-axis type described by modern travellers in Persia, Afghanistan, and China—suggests that Muslims may have been the carriers of this type of windmill to Europe, where it is recorded for Portugal, and from which it reached the West Indies; Labat speaks of sugar mills of the type, seen in 1696 on Martinique and St. Kitts, as made 'à la manière des Moulins de Bled de Portugal.' In its original home in Persia, moreover, it may have been of pre-Islamic origin.

The Crusaders seem to be associated entirely with the tower mill of Mediterranean type, eminently adapted to that physical environment and to the conditions of fortress life. Were they perhaps in the first place carriers from west to east of a mill in which the principle of the horizontal axis known to Hero of Alexandria had been wedded to the gearing principle known to Vitruvius? Doubtless they made improvements under the stimulus of military necessity, and in the nineteenth century tower mills were still especially common in districts, northern La Mancha for example, once dominated by the Military Orders.

The appearance of windmills, of one type or other, was earlier in Spain than has been supposed—as early as the Caliphate of Cordoba according to Lévi-Provençal, who gives, however, no precise reference. Except possibly for one detail in the modern Manchegan tower mill and for the post mill of Portugal, there seems to be nothing in the Mediterranean world which requires to be explained by reference to northern Europe. On the wider questions of diffusion, the author, who is too modest to return other than open verdicts, makes suggestions for further research which refer, perhaps significantly, to the Mediterranean world (*sens. lat.*).

In the purely technical field, careful descriptions, with fully annotated figures, show the mechanism of two modern Spanish windmills (La Mancha, figs. 37–9, pp. 318ff.; La Puebla de Guzmán, fig. 49, p. 325). ROBERT AITKEN

Atlas der Schweizerischen Volkskunde: Part II. *Edited by Paul Geiger and Richard Weiss. Bâle, 1950–52. Two fascicles: 32 maps and Commentary, pp. vi, 175*

167 With the issue of the Introductory Volume and the First Fascicle it was apparent that the *Swiss Folklore Atlas* is the most important work on folklore of the post-war period (see reviews in *Folklore*, Vols. LXII, p. 344, and LXIII, p. 60). Now that the second part has been published I feel bound to register my regret that a reference to Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* has been omitted. Otherwise I have nothing but praise for the latest instalment. The geographical distribution and the main characteristics of the festivals from St. Nicholas, on 6 December, until the spring (including Easter) have been entered upon the maps and a great amount of information has been given in the Commentary. Yet the danger of overcrowding has been successfully avoided and the arrangement remains lucid.

The various chapters of the Commentary are headed by the original questions which the 'explorers' had to take to the different parts of Switzerland. A short analysis of the answers allows us to participate in the work which preceded the map-making. Then follow general remarks and details concerning the seasonal customs and their historical development. Disagreements between various schools of thought and important changes of scholarly opinion have been impartially recorded.

A third transparent map, which has been added to this part, considerably facilitates the location of the Swiss towns and villages. The vigilance of the editors and the freshness of life emerging from their work could scarcely be surpassed. E. ETTLINGER

The Ring of the Dove. *By Ibn Hazm, trans. A. J. Arberry. London (Luzac), 1953. Pp. 288. Price £1 5s.*

168 The author of this treatise on the art of love was a native of Cordova, and lived an adventurous life (994–1064) in which high office alternated with imprisonment and exile. The state of society which he describes is a strange one, with poetry and courtly dalliance apparently flourishing in the midst of civil wars, conspiracies and arbitrary executions. The female participants in the romantic incidents he describes were mostly slave girls, and one is therefore rather surprised when he says, 'I have trodden the carpets of caliphs and the courts of kings, yet never have I seen reverential awe equal to that which the lover manifests to his beloved.'

The ideas of chivalry which first appear in Western Europe in the twelfth century are usually thought to be largely of Arab origin, but there is no suggestion in this book of any contact between Moslems and Christians; there is in fact no mention of Christians.

Much of the book consists of excerpts from the author's poems, and Professor Arberry apologizes for their mediocrity and for his own verse translations. His verses however read well enough, and appear to reproduce very successfully the laconic sententiousness of the Arabic. RAGLAN

CORRESPONDENCE

Dravidian Kinship Terminology. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 54

169 SIR,—I cannot claim that I understand the article on Dravidian kinship terminology by Mr. Dumont though I have read it carefully several times. I should like to be enlightened as to its meaning, and I suspect that there are others in the same position as myself.

As I understand it the fundamental point is the distinction between relations of kinship and what are called 'alliance relationships' which are described as 'the relationship arising between two male (or two female) persons and their siblings of the same sex when a "sister" (a "brother") of one is married to the other.' 'As an equivalent formula,' Mr. Dumont writes, 'I shall speak also of two men (or women) having an alliance relationship as male (or female) affines.' It appears that the relation between a father and son (or mother and son) is one of kinship and so is the relation between siblings. But the relation of a man to his maternal uncle is described as an alliance or affinal relation, since he is the brother-in-law of the father. The 'mother's brother,' we are told, 'proves to be essentially the father's affine.' It appears similarly that the real relation of a father's sister to Ego is that she is in an 'alliance relationship' with Ego's mother, being her husband's sister. The mother's brother and the father's sister and their children the cross cousins are therefore not kin, but relatives by alliance or affines. 'There will be no difficulty in showing that Ego's "cross cousins" are essentially Ego's affines, just as the "mother's brother" proved to be essentially the father's affine.'

We are not told whether the father's brother and the mother's sister are to be regarded as kinsfolk. Presumably not, since the mother's sister is the wife's sister of the father and therefore an alliance relative. It is customary in English to speak of uncles and aunts as kinsfolk. But when the maternal uncle is referred to as 'mother's brother' this is described by Mr. Dumont as 'the anthropologist's customary and peculiar vocabulary expressing alliance in terms of kinship,' and so concealing the 'simple truth' that the real relationship is that the maternal uncle is the brother-in-law of the father.

When Mr. Dumont asks us to abandon our 'customary and peculiar vocabulary' and speak of the maternal uncle not as a brother of the mother but as a brother-in-law of the father he ought to give us some adequate reason for making the change and explain what will be the advantages. This he has not done. He is asking us to repudiate the idea of cognatic kinship by which persons are cognates if they are descended, through males or through females, from a common ancestor or ancestress. A mother's brother's son is just as much a cognate as a father's brother's son but is classified by Mr. Dumont as an 'affine.' Why?

Mr. Dumont speaks of the Dravidian kinship terminology as belonging to the 'Dacota–Iroquois' type. In my teaching on kinship for more than a quarter of a century I have indicated to students that we ought to recognize what I called the 'Australian–Dravidian' type of terminology existing in Australian tribes, in the Dravidian peoples and in some Melanesian societies. The characteristic feature of the type is that there are no terms for relatives by marriage, or in the few instances in which such terms are found they are not classificatory but specific for the individual relationship. In the Kariera tribe of Western Australia a man is only permitted to marry a woman who is his *nuba*, the daughter of a man who is his *kaga* and a woman who is his *toa*. After the marriage his wife is still his *nuba* and her father and mother are still his *kaga* and *toa*. Just as he practised rigid avoidance of his *toa* (of any *toa*) before he married, he continues to avoid her after his marriage. The terms '*nuba*,' '*kaga*' and '*toa*,' which are applied to large numbers of persons, are not terms for relatives by marriage.

Mr. Dumont says that in speaking of uncles and aunts as brothers or sisters of the father and mother we *unconsciously* superimpose our own way of thinking upon the native way of thinking. The evident implication is that the Dravidian peoples think of the maternal uncle not as a brother of the mother but as the brother-in-law of the father. It is impossible to believe that this is true of the Nayars where one of the maternal uncles is the head of the *taravad*, exercising authority, and the father is, or formerly was, no more than the *sambandham* lover, or one of the lovers, of the mother. I can assure Mr. Dumont that amongst the Australian natives the maternal uncle is thought of as the brother of Ego's mother and not as the brother-in-law of the father. It is certainly true that my own maternal uncle is the brother-in-law of my father, and that some other man whom I call 'mother's brother' may be the husband of my father's sister. But in neither instance is he thought of as being 'essentially' a relative by marriage. In fact the Australian aborigines have no terms to indicate relatives by marriage, 'alliance' relatives or affines. Yet there is clearly a great similarity between Australian and Dravidian systems of kinship terminology.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

Palladius and the Devil. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 73 *and* 86

170 SIR,—Two items in the April issue call for slight corrections. In No. 73 Dr. Gimbutas writes, 'In ancient Greece, according to Pallatius [*sic*] (I, 35, 1), axes stained with blood were held in upraised hands.' The reference to Palladius Rutilius Taurus Æmilianus, to give him his full name, is correct and the sense of his Latin text rightly given; but he is a writer of the late Roman Empire (perhaps about fourth century A.D.), and gives no indication here that he refers to any Greek custom.

In No. 86, Lord Raglan objects to certain views of Professor Hooke that 'nobody has suggested that the Devil was the high god of an earlier cult.' However true of the Devil, this does not hold good for a number of devils. Stock instances are the alteration of the meaning of *daeva* in Iranian after the Zoroastrian reforms; the repeated assertion of Christian writers (*e.g.*, Tertullian, *de idol.*, 15, St. Chrysostom, *enarr. in Ps. cxxxiv*, Vol. V, p. 473c Montfaucon) that heathen gods are masks for devils, or their wonders wrought by diabolical agency; the identification of Odin with Satan (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Vol. IV, p. 851); and the strange history of the homely English word 'bug.'

St. Andrews, Fife H. J. ROSE

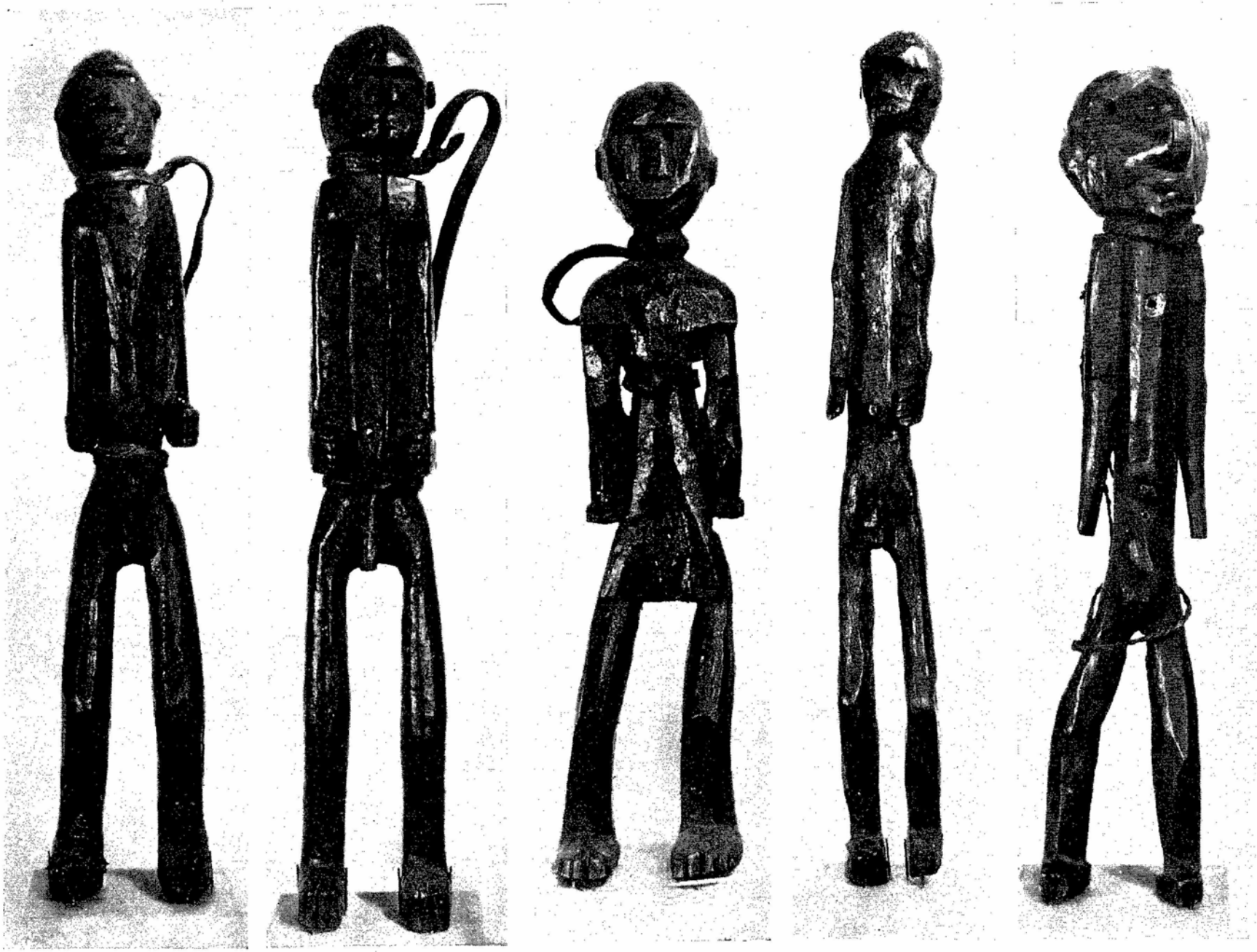
Battle Axe or Cult Axe? *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 73

171 SIR,—Dr. Gimbutas's communication under the above title is interesting, but her arguments are not convincing. It seems most unlikely that stone shafthole axes of the particular varieties with which she is concerned were primarily intended as tools. The manufacture of such a beautifully proportioned and finished implement as her Fig. 1*c* must have involved hours of patient labour, and it hardly seems probable that such pains would be taken in the production of a common tool, particularly since stone shafthole axes were very prone to breakage through the weakening caused by the perforation, and cannot be regarded as having been suitable for constant heavy duty. On the other hand the graceful design and high finish of such axes is quite consistent with their having been primarily designed as weapons; it being well known that in any society in which the carrying of weapons has social sanction as a normal practice, their appearance is generally considered of importance.

The religious and magical associations of the axe are well known, but hardly justify such a conclusion as that prehistoric axes in general are to be regarded as cult objects; in seeking to substitute the term 'cult axe' for 'battle axe' Dr. Gimbutas is merely begging the question.

Finally, Dr. Gimbutas's statement that 'there is no trace of an axe as weapon in historic times,' is, in regard to a large part of Europe, quite incorrect, since among the historic Germanic and Scandinavian peoples the axe was in fact one of the most popular of weapons, and numerous specialized types of battle axe were evolved—seven or eight, for example, in Scandinavia and Iceland. It would appear not without significance that the area in which the battle axe is 'at home' in historic times is, generally speaking, coincident with that occupied by the 'Battle-Axe Cultures' of the Late Neolithic—Early Bronze period.

Bristol R. D. GREENAWAY



(*a*) 30.54.340. *H.* 47 *cm.* (*b*) 30.54.343. *H.* 39 *cm.* (*c*) 30.54.344. *H.* 35 *cm.* (*d*) 30.54.1847. *H.* 47 *cm.* (*e*) 30.54.1848. *H.* 27 *cm.*

CARVED FIGURES FROM THE WHITE NILE IN THE MUSÉE DE L'HOMME

Photographs: Musée de l'Homme, Paris

CARVED FIGURES FROM THE WHITE NILE IN THE MUSÉE DE L'HOMME*

by

DENISE PAULME

Chargée du Département d'Afrique noire au Musée de l'Homme, Paris

172 Bari sculptures are by no means numerous in the ethnographical collections of the world: Whitehead and Thomas[1] recorded only some 30 specimens, distributed among the museums at Berlin, Geneva, Liverpool, London, Oxford, Vienna and Venice. The existence of ten 'Bari and Chir' figures in a Paris museum has not to my knowledge been previously recorded.

These figures, five of which are illustrated in Plate I, were perhaps the first to be collected. They form part of a collection of about 300 objects, including weapons, jewellery, clothing, tobacco pipes, musical instruments and amulets, from the White Nile, which was made by a M. Delaporte, French Consul at Cairo; he offered it as a gift to the Emperor Napoleon III (who gave him in return two vases of Sèvres porcelain), and it was placed in the Musée du Louvre, where it lay for 60 years. About 1910, the Delaporte collection was transferred to the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at St. Germain-en-Laye, together with all the other ethnographical collections kept up to that time in that part of the Louvre which was to become the Musée de la Marine. From St. Germain, a part of these collections, including that of Delaporte, passed in 1930 to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, which was then being completely reorganized, to become in 1937 the Musée de l'Homme.

Research in the records of the National Museums shows that the Delaporte collection was incorporated in the Louvre on 15 March, 1854, but the inventory which must have been made of it at the time has not come to light. However, each specimen still bears a label showing its exact origin and often its mode of use.

The 10 figures clearly form a single stylistic group. They differ from the carvings collected by the explorer Miani in the Natural History Museum at Venice[2] (though that Museum has another figure in the same collection which is more like ours), being of cruder manufacture. The Paris figures seem very similar to the pieces of the same provenance in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Vienna.[3] Either group might well have appeared in Junker's drawing of those which he saw *in situ* in a Bari hut.[4]

All the Paris figures are carved from the same reddish wood. Seven of them, with very elongated torso and limbs, are carved in the same attitude, that of a naked man standing with parted legs, arms adhering to the body, the forearms being bent forward with the hands at the level of the navel, and visible genitals (hermaphrodite in the case of 30.54.340, Plate I, *a*). Under the bulging forehead and strongly marked horizontal supra-orbital ridge the eyes are formed by two holes. The shoulders are rounded projections in the horizontal plane from the cylindrical trunk. Fingers and toes are always indicated by two or three incised lines, horizontal for the fingers, vertical for the toes. Heights vary from 31 centimetres (30.54.336) to 47 centimetres (30.54.340 and 1847). The eighth figure (30.54.344, Plate I, *c*) is a little different: the forehead and the lower part of the face are in this case carved in the same vertical plane; the neck is encircled by a carved ridge; the upper arms are detached from the body; its height is 35 centimetres. The last two figures (30.54.1846 and 1848, only the latter being reproduced here, Plate I, *e*) are considerably different: both are smaller (23 and 27 centimetres); the arms hang the full length of the body and the faces are especially different, being much larger in proportion to the rest of the body and of convex form. These two figures (alone in the collection) are said to be carried by barren women who want a child.

This leads us to the question of the function attributed to their figures by the Bari. Most writers have agreed in regarding them as ancestor figures, carved in imitation of those of the Bongo, and it is true that there is a certain general similarity[5]; the smaller size of the Bari figures might be explained by the fact that the Bongo set up their figures near the graves of the dead, whereas the Bari keep theirs in their houses ('kept in huts and protected from the sun, they were offered libations and their use was ordained by the benevolent medicineman[6]). According to the statements of Delaporte's informants, each of the Paris figures has a definite function, and all of them are meant to be carried about the person (by means of a suspension cord of leather or plaited grass, tied on at the neck and the waist). The following are the data given for each piece:

30.54.335	fétiche contre les Blancs
30.54.336	fétiche contre les Blancs
30.54.337	fétiche rouge en signe de deuil
30.54.340	grand fétiche pour obtenir de la force
30.54.342	fétiche contre les eunuques (pour échapper à la castration)
30.54.343	fétiche rouge en signe de deuil. Se porte au bras, du 2e au 6e degré
30.54.344	fétiche rouge en signe de deuil
30.54.1846	fétiche pour femme stérile
30.54.1847	fétiche porté par les enfants pour grandir
30.54.1848	fétiche porté par les femmes stériles; se place entre les deux seins

This information must admittedly be treated with reserve: as Consul at Cairo, Delaporte never himself visited the region, then almost unknown; the correspondence relating to his collection mentions that he made it by buying from the Arab merchants who used to comb the country, and who gave him certain information when they brought the objects to him. Now these merchants (almost certainly Moslems) would hardly have had any but commercial relations with the riverine people of the Nile—

* *With Plate I. Translated by William Fagg*

even when they were not raiding them for slaves. There is no way of knowing how much foundation there is for their information, or even through how many hands the pieces may have passed on their way to Cairo. But in spite of these doubts, it seems desirable to bring the information as well as the figures themselves to the notice of students.

Notes

[1] G. O. Whitehead and Trevor Thomas, 'Carved Wooden Figures from the Nile,' *Compte Rendu, II Congrès Internat. des Sci. anthrop. et ethnol.*, Copenhagen, 1938, pp. 265f.

[2] See the photograph in C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 'The Bari,' *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LVIII (1928), pp. 409–79.

[3] C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 'Some Little-Known Tribes of the Southern Sudan,' *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LV (1925), Plate I, fig. 2; see also L. Frobenius, *Das unbekannte Afrika* (1923), Plate CLXXI.

[4] W. Junker, *Reisen in Afrika, 1875–86* (Vienna, 1889), Vol. I, p. 309.

[5] See especially C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (London, 1932), Plate LXIX, p. 474, and R. Boccassino, 'Il contributo delle antiche fonte sulla religione dei Latuca, Obbo, Bari, Beri, Denca, Neer e altre popolazioni,' *Ann. Lateran.*, Vol. XV (1951), fig. 46.

[6] Whitehead and Thomas, *loc. cit.*, p. 265.

THE OLD ORDER AMISH PEOPLE OF NORTHERN INDIANA

by

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173 The[1] Old Order House Amish[2] of Northern Indiana, U.S.A., are a small isolated sectarian and pacifist community of Mennonite background, living by seventeenth-century Anabaptist traditions in twentieth-century America. Study of the unique Amish[3] culture helps to illuminate problems of 'cultural islands'[4] and the secularization of peasant societies.

In the early 1690's considerable discontent occurred within the Mennonite Church fomented by Jacob Amman, a zealous, dogmatic and conceited Swiss Mennonite Bishop who insisted on a stricter adherence to Mennonite rituals, traditions and values. By 1693, the feud between Amman and other more liberal Bishops resulted in the formation of a splinter group under Amman's leadership, and named after him. Amman insisted on a literal interpretation of the Bible and a single standard of conduct which would make 'Amishmen' fearful of the Lord, honest, obedient and 'upright men.'

Continual persecution by the Protestant and Catholic churches[5] drove the Amish to America where their settlement dates from 1730. Today (1952) there are settlements in 18 States comprising 200 church districts[6] (*Kaahre*) with a total of 15,880 'declared' members. Strong religious objections to birth control and the economic usefulness of large families for a farming community have contributed to the growth of the sect. The Amish community in Elkhart County, Indiana, is the second largest Amish settlement in America (the largest being in Holmes County, Ohio) and is divided into 16 districts with an approximate total membership of 1,700. The settlement dates from 1840[7] and arose as the result of considerable land pressure[8] in Pennsylvania, a pioneering spirit and an increasingly violent factionalism which today has culminated in numerous Amish divisions[9] along a conservative (Old Order House or Church Amish) and liberal (General Conference Mennonite) continuum. Declining socio-cultural isolation leads to a creeping secularization of their peasant world view with mounting inner tensions and strains which are accentuated by a desire to hold on to the past, coupled with the need to compromise established traditions.

The orthodox Amish home is of simple clapboard construction, painted white or cream and distinguished by a roofed veranda known as the 'overshot.' Rooms are kept extremely neat and furnishings are very simple; the absence of curtains is conspicuous and carpets are forbidden, except home-made rugs. Portraits, except of Jesus, are forbidden. Mirrors are absent. Beds, tables, chairs and chests are of simple design and structure. Painted floral or animal motives of 'Pennsylvania Dutch' origin are occasionally found on chests and kitchen cabinets. Electric lights, radios, telephones, all inside plumbing and most home 'gadgets' are forbidden, as are cars, tractors and most self-propelled agricultural machinery. Vintage petrol engines sunk into cement foundations give belt power for grinding feed, threshing and sawmills. Occasionally, one will see a tractor (not with rubber tyres) or a home with electric lights and other conveniences. In such cases, the Amish families are usually tenants of an absentee non-Amish landlord and explain their more worldly standards and activities by an oft-repeated distinction between personal (Amish) ownership and purchase, and mere temporary use of worldly devices. This convenient dichotomy allows many cultural alternatives and compromises which tend to undermine isolation and speed the transition from a peasant culture to a secularized farm community. It is also a convenient loophole for individual initiative and a variety of secular 'rewards.' For example, Amish people refuse to purchase cars yet willingly accept a ride. Again, if they grow restless in their sectarian 'strait jacket,' they can join a more liberal Amish or Mennonite faction and still be within the 'Church.'

Horse-drawn carriages with firm tops and roll-up sides

(*Deck Veggli*) take the place of cars. Single men use an open, topless, one-seated carriage. There are 'modern' carriages sporting battery headlights and rear lamps, rather than the prescribed oil-burning lights.

Amish objections to machinery and modern conveniences are not clear. They assert that they are called by God to be a 'peculiar people,' non-conformist, and opposed to 'worldly' things. The dictum, 'Be ye not unequally yoked to unbelievers' prevents their close association (even over the telephone) with their 'short-haired' American neighbours.

The history of the distinctly peculiar Amish dress remains unknown. It varies among the settlements according to the degree of secularization. Unclipped beards are the rule for all married men. To grow a moustache, often allowed among soldiers, is forbidden for Amishmen. An Amishman's hair is cut with fringes over the forehead, while the rest of the hair is left long, curling over the ears and neck. Women never cut their hair, but roll it into a bun which they secure on top of their heads. Hooks and eyes are substitutes for buttons on coats, vests and all Sunday clothing such as a special cutaway men's coat (*Mootsa*). Collars, pockets on shirts and coats are forbidden, as are all leather materials except leather for shoes. Married men wear low-crowned, broad-brimmed black hats. Women and girls wear white bonnets, except on Sundays for church, when they wear black ones. Their full-length dresses are of extremely simple cut, with plain fronts and fastened with hooks at the back. Older girls and married women wear a cape (*Halduch*). Some women also wear a small bustle (*Lepli*), an ornamental rounded piece of cloth attached to the middle of the back of the dress; its origin is unknown, but it may represent a symbol of humility (*Daemeitlichkeit*).

Church services are held fortnightly, in homes in the winter, and in barns in the summer, on a system of rotation among families in the district. Clergy greet each other with the holy kiss (1 *Thess.*, 5:26). Services lasting three to four hours are conducted by the Bishop and the Preacher. The service consists of sermons, silent and oral prayer and testimonies (*Zeugniss*), mostly from older men. Men and women, separated by a wide aisle which is occupied by the clergy, sit facing one another on backless benches. Young children are taken into the service, which is considered an important initiation into the Amish life of obedience and discipline. Bible readings (Luther's translation) are in High German. The sermon is delivered in 'Pennsylvania Dutch' (Deutsch), a dialect resembling the Palatinate German. As a people, the Amish are trilingual, speaking High German, English and 'Pennsylvania Dutch,' which is used for all casual conversation among themselves.

The strength of Amish life lies not only in their relative isolation, their dialect, their rejection of innovations and contact with non-Amish people and their social controls and authoritarian Bishops and Preachers, but also in their family life which is intimate and extensive. Amish families with nine children are not unusual. Kinship terms do not differ from ours, but a greater intimacy and very frequent association, known as 'visitation,' bind relatives and friends. Divorce, desertion and separation are rare. Amish communities are practically self-sufficient. Much food and clothing is home-produced. Repairs to farm equipment and the home are done on the farms. Mutual aid, the ideal, rather than competition, helps to stabilize the social order. This co-operation provides a remarkable system of non-governmental social security from the cradle to the grave, impaired only by pronounced land pressure and its social-economic derivatives which tend to undermine co-operative effort.

Formalized education in rural schools is encouraged for all children below 14 years of age. Amish objections to state laws, eliminating the rural school and raising the school-leaving age to 16, have brought them into considerable conflict with state governments. Amish people are suspicious of more than elementary 'book' knowledge, claiming (rightly) that too much education undermines their isolation.

All forms of commercial entertainment and most sports are forbidden. Certain indoor family games are encouraged. Young people over 14 attend Sunday night 'sings' at Amish homes where they sing folk tunes and hymns. For the latter, they use the oldest Protestant hymnal, *Der Ausbund*. These 'sings' are an important medium of expression for the young people, who find them an invaluable outlet for frustrations and tensions resulting from confinement, isolation and strict supervision. Courtship is extremely secret and confined to late night dating. In certain communities, 'bundling' is permitted. Sex is taboo as a topic of conversation. Weddings usually take place between November and January. On such occasions, many Amish families get together as they do on other events such as barn raisings, husking bees, apple *Schnitzin* (peeling) and ice-cream-making parties.

The transition from young adulthood to the married state is a transition from a certain freedom of movement to strict obedience. The Amish way of life is viewed by its younger members with increasing scepticism; for them, it is one of great effort, demanding conformity, unnatural isolation, and little reward in a secular world. Continued geographical isolation, farming as an exclusive occupation, kinship (*Freundschaft*) patterns, and the rejection of home conveniences and farm machinery are all in danger. Many formalized associations and social controls, such as the process of 'shunning,' a form of temporary excommunication applied to those breaking church rules, have lost their effectiveness. A dangerous vacuum has been created which all efforts by church officials and elders will not fill.

Amishmen think of themselves as caught in a vast circular mechanism in which they drift rather aimlessly among the forces of social change: the course of world events has been laid down; the end is near; there is no atonement for sinners[10]; man-made efforts cannot stem the tide of God's purpose. The Amish have only a negative idea of progress, evaluating individuals and the community in terms of their non-acceptance of certain worldly traits. The 'best' Amishman is the one who most successfully resists temptations. The 'best' Amish community is the one which

maintains its isolation most successfully. Yet Amish people are far from tradition-bound: they rank among America's finest farmers and were perhaps among the first to introduce rotation farming, soil-conservation and the use of manure and gypsum. Because Amish people love the soil and look upon farming as a religious occupation, they object to scientific advice, which they term 'book farming,' by governmental agencies.

The question remains how much longer the Amish can cope with the increasing impact of secularization which finds an often too ready ear among the stirring younger Amish people.

Notes

[1] This article is the result of field work which I carried out during 1950–51 while studying in the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, under Professor Redfield, whose supervision and guidance greatly aided and stimulated me.

[2] Henceforth referred to simply as Amish. For a brief history of the Amish, see J. A. Hostetler, 'A Brief History of the Amish,' *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, Vol. IX (April–July, 1948), Nos. 2 and 3. For Mennonite history, see C. H. Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, 3rd revised edition, Newton, Kansas (Mennonite Publications Office), 1950.

[3] The outstanding monographs in this field are: W. M. Kollmorgan, 'The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,' *Rural Life Studies*, No. 4, U. S. Dep. of Agriculture, Bur. of Agricult. Economics, September, 1942; C. G. Bachmann, 'The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County,' *Proc. of the Pennsylvania German Society*, Norristown, Pa., Vol. XLIX, 1941; D. P. Miller, *Amish Acculturation*, unpublished M.A. thesis, U. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1949.

[4] See for example: Conference on Research on Isolated Cultural Groups, U. of Chicago, January, 1939, Social Science Research Council, N.Y., 1939.

[5] R. M. Jones, 'Anabaptists and Minor Sects in the Reformation,' *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XI (July, 1918), pp. 223–46.

[6] Limited accommodation in Amish homes, where all fortnightly Sunday worship services are held, determines the size of the District. When membership increases, leading to over-crowded homes on Sundays, a new district is set up.

[7] J. F. Funk (ed.), 'The First Amish Settlement in Elkhart County, Indiana,' *Family Almanac*, 1875 (no place, no publisher).

[8] Pressure for good farmland is accentuated by three factors: a considerable natural population increase; the fact that only farming will maintain a minimum degree of isolation; and the desire of Amish fathers to settle their sons on farms, giving their own farm to the youngest or favourite son. For other sons the father will buy individual farms or insist that two or more brothers share a farm. If he cannot provide farms for them, he will seek tenant-farm positions for them. If that fails, the sons may be driven into local towns to work as carpenters or stonemasons. Shortage of land, coupled with paternal favouritism, has led to an interesting psycho-economic complex, manifested in much covert hostility among brothers. This is amply brought out in numerous dreams which I obtained. To show overt hostility among the Amish people is frowned upon and subject to disciplinary action by such social controls as 'shunning.'

[9] J. B. Mast, *The Letters of the Amish Division*, Oregon City, Ore. (Schlabach), 1950.

[10] For example, natural disasters such as floods, droughts and lightning setting fire to farms are looked upon as punishments. Amish farmers refuse to carry insurance. There is no insurance against God's just action.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Culture Contact in a Lapp (Same) Community: Karasjok in Eastern Finnmark, Norway. *By Gutorm Gjessing, Director, University Ethnographical Museum, Oslo. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 27 November, 1952*

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This article presents a very rough outline of the situation of the culture contact in the interior of Finnmark based on my own fieldwork during the summer of 1950.

Karasjok covers an area of 2,640 square miles. Most of the landscape consists of bare, open mountain heaths interspersed with numerous lakes, streams, rivers and swamps. The climate is continental with remarkably little rainfall, extremely cold winters when the temperature may fall to −50° C. or even lower, whilst the summers may be very warm. Along the main rivers, the Karasjokka, Anarjokka and Jeŝjokka, are permanently settled Lapps (Same), but most of them are found in Karasjok on the Karasjokka river, where the parish church is located. Karasjok has experienced three decisive turning points, namely the 1720's, the years just before the First World War, and finally the last period of great changes which began in the 1930's.

Before 1720 only reindeer-breeding Lapps (Same) lived in Karasjok. Their reindeer-breeding, however, was not by any means developed to the extent of modern reindeer-breeding, whilst hunting and fishing were of basic economic importance. This is of some significance because the social system and the set of values were those of Arctic hunters and not of reindeer-breeders. But in the 1720's some Finns moved in and settled as agriculturists. They married into Lapp (Same) families and soon became Same themselves, adopted Samish language and much of the Same social structure. Whilst the agriculture (stock-farming) remained Finnish, the organization of the collective fishing was Samish. Occasional Finnish families have also immigrated in more recent times, but even in the second generation—if not in the first—they feel themselves to be Same.

During the years just before the First World War the 'Pomor trade' (Russians from Archangel who came every year trading fish for timber, ironware, flour, etc.) began to drop off, and it stopped completely with the Russian revolution. The effects of this trade had extended far inland and its cessation led to the first breach in the old self-sufficient economy, and a change in the value system. Individual economic rivalry had entered into the community. But it was not until the close of the 1930's that the old Samish economic system received the final blow, when the motor road over Porsanger to Hammerfest and farther south was opened in 1936. Then, when the war broke out, all economic connexions with the outside world were diverted to Norwegian commerce with the monetary system of industrialism. The old Finnish type of stock-farming supported by hunting and fishing has changed to a commercialized, and after the war increasingly mechanized, type. Thus the old system of outfarming which was due to traditions from the old semi-nomadic way of life, is rapidly falling off.

At the same time the population has increased remarkably: 1865–1900, 2·7 per cent.; 1900–1930, 71·1 per cent.; 1930–1950, 54·1 per cent.; but if this is projected over a thirty-year period it

will be no less than 81·7 per cent. More than 90 per cent. of the increase during the last twenty-year period is due to inner growth.

In the social culture of the permanently settled Karasjok Same the Same traditions have persisted mainly in their social aspects. Language and clothing have remained Samish, although they are now on the decline. The Same system of inheritance still survives, and the kinship terminology and the designations for the various categories of relationships, etc., are also Samish. The kinship system apparently has been an important force contributing to maintaining a Same stamp of the social culture. The form of the ecclesiastical and political administration, on the other hand, is essentially Norwegian. But the majority of the district corporations and of all the important municipal committees are Same, as is the mayor, although the permanent district clerk is not.

The economic and social relations with other groups, such as the reindeer-Same, the sea-Same, Finns and Norwegians have varied in character in the different instances and at different periods. Constant intermarriage with the reindeer-Same has resulted in close relationships with them. The close family ties have been strengthened by the economic interdependence between the two groups. Thus the reindeer-Same herd the permanent settlers' reindeer, and when the reindeer-Same gather in town (Karasjok) at the end of the winter to sell their products and purchase the necessary wares from the shopkeepers, they live with the permanent settlers whose reindeer they herd. A certain pattern of behaviour developed in connexion with this whole set of relationships. In the contact situation the reindeer-Same have previously been the dominating part, although numerically they have been a comparatively small minority. The monetary system, however, has eliminated the dominating position of the reindeer-Same and has, on the whole, contributed to loosening the social ties between the two groups because their mutual economic dependence is lessened. Contact with the sea-Same has changed even more in character, and since the motor road was opened also the contact across the Finnish border has been greatly reduced.

The Norwegians in Karasjok represent a small minority, consisting mostly of government officials, employees and a few merchants. On the whole they enjoy a higher economic and social status. The Norwegians, too, usually have farms, but at the same time they have had a salary or a shop to help them out economically. The government officials and the sheriff, who have held the highest status, came from other parts of the country where there was no 'Same problem.' Moreover, some of them have been great personalities with wisdom and tolerance; they never have felt their position threatened and have thus not been compelled to make any 'racial' distinction. On the conscious level there are, therefore, no real possibilities for conflict. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that beneath the surface of conscious, harmonious community life there are tensions between the permanently settled Same and the Norwegians, which do not exist to the same extent between the permanently settled Same and any of the other groups with which they have contact. This latent tension is also manifest in the attitude towards the Norwegian language, although the Same language is now decidedly on the decline.

As a whole, it seems as if everything is working toward wiping out the Same culture. The immediate and apparent result of this is a disintegration of the personality structure, in some respects creating a Same 'nationalism,' and in others a headlong flight away from everything that is Samish and into modern commercialism.

SHORTER NOTES

A Note on Marriage and Kinship among the Island Carib.

By Douglas Taylor, Dominica, British West Indies

175 Early accounts of marriage and kinship among the Island Carib are somewhat confusing and partly contradictory. This probably is due not only to different degrees of interest and understanding displayed by individual chroniclers, but also to internal inconsistencies resulting from the mixed cultural and linguistic ancestry of this people. Nevertheless, avoidable eclecticism seems to have led some modern authors to ascribe to them institutions, such as avuncular marriage and the bilateral (symmetrical) type of cross-cousin marriage, for which the evidence is far from conclusive.[1] It may therefore be of interest to evaluate some of the sources, to cite the more pertinent statements they contain, and to look to parts of the kinship terminology itself for confirmation or the opposite.

Rochefort was probably in the West Indies around 1650—where or for how long is not known, since his very presence there remains unattested. He is responsible for the statement that Island Carib men 'have a privilege to take all their cousins german, and have no more to say than that they take them for their wives; for they are naturally reserved for them, and they may carry them to their houses without any other ceremony, and then they are accounted their lawful wives.' He also says that girls were presented by their parents to successful warriors, who dared not refuse to accept them as wives. All cousins of the same sex called one another brother or sister, according to him.[2]

Of all those who have written on the Island Carib, only Breton had the advantage of prolonged residence among these Indians (five of the 18 years he spent in the West Indies, 1635–1653, were passed among them), and of a speaking knowledge of their language; and only he gives a full list of kinship terms, together with some explanation of their employment. He tells us that father's brothers were assimilated to father, mother's sisters to mother, and parallel cousins to brothers and sisters; 'and these brothers' children contract no alliance together, but do so with the children of their father's sisters, whom they would call, if there were no daughters, *Iapatáganum*.' And elsewhere he says: 'As soon as a girl is born, she is destined for a maternal cousin, . . .; the boy goes to the place where his future wife lives (after the parents have given their consent, however); and if the girl goes to join her chieftain husband (or chieftain's son, as it sometimes happens), she is conducted by her father and mother; . . .'[3] Obviously, this describes the patrilateral type of cross-cousin marriage, with matrilocal residence except in the case of chiefs or —occasionally—of chiefs' sons. Concerning polygyny, Breton comments: 'It is a fact that part of the Savages have several wives; and yet there are many women without a husband, because most men have only one wife, although there are a few who have two, in one or two long houses (*carbets*).'[4] In sharing a husband, such wives 'have their turn month and month about, even when they are pregnant; after a wife's confinement, her husband is a good while without seeing her, for fear of harming the child.' Line of descent is not mentioned; but we are told that 'If her husband leaves her' (his wife) 'she keeps all the children, and doesn't give him any unless she is compelled to do so; when they are big they support her, and provide for her subsistence.'

There were other forms of marriage, however: 'Old men sometimes take girls of fourteen or fifteen; and so the young men give all female slaves they capture to their fathers and grandfathers; and the children these have from them are considered and

treated as legitimate.' Clearly, such unions were not matrilocal. But Breton does not confine his description to socially approved forms of mating; 'there is much disorder in the case of some individuals,' he observes; 'I saw two who used their own daughters as their own wives, but all the others hated them because of it . . . I saw another who had the mother and her daughter; others who had taken away the wives of some other men, because they claimed that these women belonged to them by right. . . . Finally, a few were suspected of sinning against nature; but they well know the evil of it, and used to point them out.' Nowhere is there any mention of men taking—much less of their having the right to take—a sister's daughter to wife.

Newly married couples, according to Breton, avoided both parents-in-law and siblings-in-law.

Frs. Armand de la Paix [5] and du Tertre,[6] who were contemporaries of Breton in Guadeloupe (though not together with him among the Indians in Dominica), tell very much the same story—which they probably got from him rather than from direct observation. Both mention the classification of parallel cousins as siblings, and preferred marriage with father's sisters' daughters. The former stresses polygyny more than does Breton: 'They have,' he says, 'as many wives as they want—particularly the principal men and their children. And they even have them in different islands. Their wives live in separate little huts and sleep by turn with their husband, one for one month, the other another. She who sleeps with him serves him during this time and follows him everywhere, even at sea.' And elsewhere: 'Several marry two sisters; some a mother and her daughter.' Institutional avoidance is mentioned only in the case of husbands, who 'never speak to their wives' father, mother, and brothers unless they are drunk, or children.'

De la Borde [7] came some 40 years later; and although we do not know exactly where he was or for how long, he seems to have known the Island Carib rather well. Apart from saying that he had been employed in trying to convert them, his record, unlike our other sources, is purely ethnographical. It confirms the custom of matrilocal residence, and says that girls were sometimes promised to a maternal cross-cousin even before their birth; the only wedding ceremony consisted in the girl's serving food to her husband. On acquiring a son-in-law, a woman presented him a new hammock; while he, in return, made her a new garden (provision ground). A bride was free to talk to all, but the bridegroom must avoid his wife's parents.

Labat followed de la Borde by only a short time; but although he spent 12 years in the islands (1693–1705), he appears to have had few direct dealings with the Indians, who by that time were to be found only in Dominica, St. Vincent and Grenada. Certainly he visited and spent a few days in each of these islands; but, as his book clearly shows, his interests were rather those of a soldier and landowner than of a priest (which he was) or an ethnographer. Concerning marriage among the Island Carib he says only: 'Their custom is not that a brother should marry his sister, nor a mother her child; but for all other degrees, and as to plurality of wives, they have such a wide and general liberty that very often the same man will take as his wives three or four sisters who are his cousins german or his nieces.' [8]

By 'cousins german,' both Rochefort and Labat may have been referring to cross-cousins only; and perhaps Labat employed 'brother, sister, mother, child' in the Island Carib classificatory sense. Nevertheless, it is hardly credible that Breton should have mistaken bilateral for unilateral cross-cousin marriage, or have overlooked such a striking feature as avuncular privilege; while what he says about parental consent and the conducting of brides to the home of their chieftain husband seems to be in deliberate refutation of Rochefort, whose book he had read before publishing his own. Since every long house had its own minor chief, and as some wives had been captured in war, patrilocal marriages probably were fairly common; but even in such cases men did not have things all their own way, as may be gathered from this utterance recorded by Breton in Carib: 'I want to take a wife; I'm not cared for. Here I am without a mother; and my sister-in-law doesn't even offer me cassava.'

At the time Breton knew them, Island Carib men and women differed considerably in their speech habits. Men still employed a large number of lexemes (major morphemes)—though but few of the grammatical affixes (minor morphemes)—belonging to Galibi (Kalina or True Carib); while women continued to speak the essentially Arawak language of pre-Carib-conquest times, modified only by the adoption of some Galibi loan words, which are mostly of the type that results from intimate borrowing. Both Carib and Arawak kinship terms are given for grandfather (FF, FFB, MF, MFB), grandmother (FM, FMSr, MM, MMSr), father (F, FB), mother (M, MSr), older and younger brothers (B, FBS, MSrS), older and younger sisters (Sr, FBD, MSrD), husband (H), wife (W), son (S, man's BS, woman's SrS), daughter (D, man's BD, woman's SrD), and grandchild (SS, SD, DS, DD; man's BSS, BSD, BDS, BDD; woman's SrSS, SrSD, SrDS, SrDD). Of the foregoing terms, with two exceptions (the current word for grandchild and one word for younger brother are Carib), the Arawak alternatives alone survive today in the language of the Black Carib of Central America—the only linguistic heirs of the Island Carib.[9] On the other hand, Breton gives only Carib terms (most of which have survived) for uncle (MB, FMB), aunt (FSr, FFSr), and the majority of cross-cousin and affinal relationships; two notable exceptions in the latter category being: *nirániũ*, 'spouse of my sibling-of-like-sex,' and *uaránīku*, 'my spouse's sibling-of-like-sex,' which appear to be Arawakan (*ni-*, 'my,' *ua-*, 'our,' *-ran(i)-*, 'child,' *-iu*, 'parent,' *-ku*, 'consanguineal elder'). Most of the kinship terms were—or had been—analysable, while some of the Carib ones were straightforward compounds; so, for example, *núkusili*, 'my father,' *núkusuru*, 'my mother,' contain the same morpheme, *-ku*, as was met with in the term *uaránīku*; *im-*, 'son,' *plus tamu-*, 'grandfather,' equals *imetámuru*, 'father-in-law'; *ibáli*, 'my grandchild,' *plus iumu-*, 'father,' equals *ibálimuku*, 'my son-in-law' (*-ku* of this latter form, which is Cariban, being of course a different morpheme from Arawakan *-ku* as cited above).

The Bifurcate-Merging type of classification itself points to cross-cousin marriage; while absence of Arawakan terms for uncle and aunt suggests that the Galibi conquerors had introduced this institution to the Lesser Antilles. Had it been of the bilateral type, one would expect this fact to be reflected in the use of identical terms for both paternal and maternal cross-cousins—as is the case among the Barama River Carib. But Breton gives only terms for a man's aunt's daughters, aunt's sons 'if there were no daughters,' and for a woman's uncle's sons (the last two being quite different); together with other, distinctive terms for one's betrothed, siblings' betrothed and siblings-in-law. Among the Barama River Carib, institutional avuncular marriage is likewise reflected in the kinship terminology; women calling their uncle, uncle's son, aunt's husband, aunt's son, husband's brother, and sister's husband by one term (*iyao*); and men calling their sister's daughter, uncle's daughter, aunt's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister, and brother's wife by another (*takano*).[10] But among the Island Carib, according to Breton, women had distinctive names for uncle (*iáu*), uncle's son (*níkatu*; see below), aunt's husband (*nókokaiã*), husband's brother (*uaránīku*, or *nanire*), brother's wife (*nirániũ*), and none for aunt's son; while men equated sister's daughter with wife's brother's daughter (*ibáse*), had distinctive terms for aunt's daughters (*niuèle-átunũ*;

see below), wife's sister (*uaránīku*, or *nanítre*), brother's wife (*niránīũ*), and none for uncle's daughter. Island Carib *tákanũ*, which apparently corresponds to modern Kalina *takano* (see above), designated 'son (in relation to the mother only),' and combined with the word for aunt or with one for sister to form compound terms for a man's 'aunt's son' and 'sister's son' respectively.

Such divergence in the meaning of kinship terms having a common origin usually implies that they have become mere labels no longer descriptively alive in one or another speech community that employs them. For example, Breton says: '*Nígatou*: so women call their maternal male [cross] cousins, when their sisters are not going to get married to them; and are called by them, in such cases, *niouélle átonum*. In case they are going to intermarry, men call their paternal female [cross] cousins, *niouélleri*; and are called by them, *níkéliri*.' Two of these forms—which I phonemicize as: *níkatu, niuèle-átunũ, niuéleri, níkoliri*—clearly contain *uéle*, 'woman, female,' as their stem; while *uekéli*, 'man, male' (*uékoliã*, 'men'), less obviously has furnished that of *níkoliri*, and quite possibly that of *níkatu*; *-ri* is a suffix occurring with possessed nouns; and *ni-* is a pronominal prefix of the first person singular, here meaning 'my.' Comparison with other forms (for example, the base *-emutu-*, 'step-son,' from *imu-*, 'son') shows that *-(a)tu* qualifies the relationship denoted by the stem (root) as 'similar to' or 'by extension' while *-nũ* is a pluralizer, as in *kiéitunũ*, 'secondary wives,' from *kiéitu*, 'secondary wife.' These two pairs of terms, therefore, expressed repudiation and recognition respectively of the cross-cousins' preferential claim to intermarriage. However, among the present-day Black Carib, the second member of the first pair is unknown, while the meanings (and forms) of the remaining three terms have been modified as follows: *nígatu*, 'my husband's sister or brother's wife' (woman speaking); *nógoriri* (*cf. uogóri*, 'man') 'my male cross-cousin' (woman speaking); *niuóriri* (*cf. uóri*, 'woman') 'my female cross-cousin' (man speaking). Since cross-cousin marriage is no longer institutional with this people, neither the semantic extension of the last two terms, nor the fact that they are little employed at the present time, is very surprising. The semantic change undergone by the first term is more so, until we remember that the relationship it formerly designated has now become meaningless, and that the older terminology lacked any word for a woman's 'sister-in-law'—presumably a formerly meaningless relationship. Nevertheless, this shift could not have occurred had it been felt, as it still is in the case of *nógoriri*, that the stem of *nígatu* denoted 'man or male.' The retention and application to a 'new' relationship of this old term was no doubt facilitated, moreover, by the attraction of *nítu*, 'my sister,' and by the fact that *-u* (although occurring with nouns only in petrified form) is a pronominal suffix of third person singular feminine gender.

It is small wonder if Breton occasionally got confused in the tangle of a dual terminology (Carib and Arawak) combined with distinctions of relative sex (same or opposite). It appears, however, that a man called his sister's son '*ninãtákanũ*' (from *ninãti*, 'my sister,' *plus tákanũ*, 'son in relation to the mother'), his wife's brother's son '*nítã*'; and that a woman called her brother's son '*nítiti*' (as also her son-in-law) or '*nítĩũ*' (as also her mother-in-law), and her husband's sister's son '*ibátumu*.' Of still other nephews, whom he qualifies as 'more remote,' Breton says: 'The above-mentioned cousins call children of the above-mentioned marriages on the uncles' side *ibamoui nicapoue*, and on the aunts' side, *ibamoui nigatou*.' Since *ibámui* denoted a man's 'sister's husband' and, in all probability (no term being listed for this relationship), 'wife's brother,' the latter phrasal terms were most probably applied to SrSWB and WBSSrH respectively. If so, *níkapue* designated 'my sister's son,' and *níkatu* 'my wife's brother's son,' at least in these constructions. On the other hand, Breton says of *nínibue* and *nítãpue* (or *nítamue*—both forms are given in different places): 'so Uncles and Aunts name children of their nephews; and are named by them as above, as by their Fathers' (*i.e. iáu*, 'uncle,' *nahópuli*, 'my aunt'). All this is far from clear; but it does seem to show that there were two modifying suffixes, *-pue* (or *-bue* or *-nue*) and *-tu*; and that the latter denoted a more remote or secondary type of relationship than the former. Apparently only one of these four terms has survived; I was told by Black Carib informants that *nínĩbu* is what a man calls his 'sister's son.'

Marriage customs such as those that apparently obtained among the Island Carib of the early contact period cannot be understood, even approximately, without listing—by the genealogical method or something very like it—all the kinship terms and their applications; and this can be accomplished only by an investigator who has at least some knowledge of the language. The authors of only two of our sources on the Island Carib, Breton and de la Borde, were qualified to do this; and only the former did it, so far as we know. And this terminology fully confirms the other observations of the man who collected it.

Notes

[1] *E.g.* the Island Carib are listed as one of the tribes among whom avuncular marriage is or was institutional by Gillin (citing Kirchhoff), *The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1936, p. 95; and by Lowie, 'The Social and Political Organization of the Tropical Forest and Marginal Tribes,' in *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. V, Bur. Am. Ethn. Bull. 143, Washington, 1949, p. 317.

[2] César de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des isles Antilles de l'Amérique*, Rotterdam, 1658. This work not being available to me here, the above citations are taken from Roth, *Arts and Crafts of the Guiana Indians*, Bur. Am. Ethn., XVIIIth *Annual Report*, Washington, 1924, sections 873, 874 and 879.

[3] Raymond Breton, *Dictionaire Caraïbe-François meslé de quantité de Remarques . . .* (Auxerre, MDCLXV), réimprimé par Jules Platzmann, édition fac-simile, Leipzig, 1898; and *Dictionaire François-Caraïbe* (Auxerre, MDCLXVI), Leipzig, 1900. The above citations are from pp. 11 and 268 of the former volume. Other citations from this author will be found on pp. 11f. and 277f. of the same volume, or under the Carib or French entry (in either volume) of the word serving as a kinship term. All translations from Breton and from subsequently mentioned authors are my own.

[4] French *carbet* (perhaps from Carib *tábui* 'long house') actually designated the clearing and buildings inhabited by an extended family, in Carib, *áuto*. It usually consisted of a number of huts, where married couples and their children slept, scattered around the *tábui*, which served as general workshop and parlour, and as sleeping quarters for unmarried men. There was frequently a second, smaller *tábui* where unmarried women slept. In the Lesser Antilles, this was the nearest approach to a 'village.'

[5] *Relation de l'Isle de la Guadeloupe . . .*, in Rennard, *Les Caraïbes, La Guadeloupe, 1635–1656*, Histoire Coloniale, Vol. 1, Paris, 1929, pp. 58–61.

[6] Jean-Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les François, . . .*, 4 vols., Paris, 1667–1671.

[7] De la Borde, *Voyage qui contient une relation exacte . . . des Caraïbes, . . .*, in Hennepin, *Voyage ou Nouvelle Découverte*, Amsterdam, 1704, pp. 517–604.

[8] Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Voyages aux Isles de l'Amérique* (abridged edition), Paris, 1931, Vol. I, pp. 167f.

[9] For a general ethnographic survey of this people, see my monograph, *The Black Carib of British Honduras*, Viking Fund Publ. in Anthrop. 17.

[10] See Gillin, *op. cit.* in footnote 1, from which these terms are taken. Island Carib terms are given in phonemic transcription except when they occur in direct quotations, in which case Breton's own spelling has been kept.

A Battle Axe from Ḥabbān, Wāḥidī Sultanate, Aden Protectorate. *By R. B. Serjeant, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. With a text figure*

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Description

The axehead illustrated here is No. 48.1940 in the Cambridge University Museum of Archæology and Ethnology. Into the socket is inserted a thin tough pole of local wood some three feet long; this is retained in position by metal wedges driven into, and splitting the head of, the pole. The surface of the axehead is roughly polished so that, at first sight, it seems almost to be coated with some other metal. On the neck between the blade and socket the smith has signed his name in dots, 'shughl Miḥsin bin 'Awaḍ, the workmanship of Miḥsin son of 'Awaḍ.' There is an ornamental surface patterning of dots and cross-hatching clearly showing in the photograph.

History

This axe was purchased from the retiring Ḳāḍī of Ḥabbān, a native of Mukallā, shortly after leaving Ḥabbān, *en route* for



FIG. 1

'Azzān. It is of Ḥabbānī manufacture, but I was unable to make any special visit to see the local smiths at work and question them further. The Ḳāḍī, however, gave me the interesting information that the axe is the weapon of the city quarters of Ḥabbān, whereas elsewhere in the towns of south-west Arabia the club is the characteristic weapon of the townsfolk who rank below the tribesman. So well established is this fact that a poem says, 'Do not travel along with him whose weapon is his club, though he claim descent from Ḳaḥṭān.'[1] Like other cities the quarters of which, along with their battle cries and ceremonies, I have described elsewhere,[2] Ḥabbān seems to be divided into sections,[3] inhabited in one case largely by Mashā'ikh, and in another by the Jews exclusively—in 1947 at least, for the Jews have now all departed to Palestine or become converts to Islam. The Jews did not, of course, bear arms, and probably took no part at all in local disputes. At the time of my visit to Ḥabbān in late 1947 every man of the arms-bearing classes habitually carried a weapon with him within the town itself, and even the Saiyids wore the djambīyah or dagger.

This is the only occasion upon which I have seen or heard of the axe as a weapon in southern Arabia, though an axe is used for ordinary domestic purposes; the latter is, however, to the best of my recollection, an instrument of simple form, quite different from the battle axe. The very shape of the weapon argues a certain tradition of manufacture, but the axe is never mentioned by the ancient pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets, nor can I remember seeing it mentioned in early prose as a weapon of Arabia.

The (at present) isolated occurrence of this weapon in a country so little altered from antiquity as south Arabia at once poses the question whether it is a local development or an importation from abroad. Where foreign influences are concerned, Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford has disposed of the possibility of an African connexion. I am disinclined to think that there could be any Indian influence, though the Shiblī Mashā'ikh of Ḥabbān may be connected with the family of that name in India. A link with pre-Islamic Persia is possible, as is some connexion with the Aiyūbids or the Ottoman Turks. I have cited elsewhere a tradition that the Wāḥidī Sultans and other dynasties are of Turkish descent.[4] The Ghuzz Turks, for instance, in the year 605 H. (A.D. 1208–9) according to Shanbal's annals of Ḥaḍramawt reached Maifa'ah, and went up to the Wādī Djirdān. On this march they would certainly pass through 'Azzān, which is the capital of the Wāḥidī Sultans today. It is just possible that a group of Turkish mercenaries, with the axe as one of their weapons, might have settled in the area.

The Spear

In the time of W. B. Harris,[5] who travelled from Aden to Ṣan'ā', the spear seems to have been a weapon in general use, and he reproduces many drawings of Arabs armed with it. G. Wyman Bury[6] a little later even had himself photographed in Arab dress carrying a spear. This weapon has now almost entirely disappeared, though I have seen it in the hands of professional poet-beggars. I found two specimens in Wāḥidī territory, now in the Museum. One of these I came upon while rummaging amongst old silver odds and ends awaiting re-smelting, in the *atelier* of a Jewish silversmith; it had been given a serrated edge and was used to saw up larger pieces of silver. This last example is 14 inches long from the tip to the end of the iron haft, and 1¼ inches wide at the broadest part; it seems to have once been connected with its pole by a brass mount. Like the battle axe it has a surface decoration carried out in dots.

The dagger (described by Landberg, with illustrations[7]) is, of course, the principal weapon of south Arabia, and examples collected by Miss Caton-Thompson and myself can be seen in the Museum. One type of handle is peculiar to the Mashā'ikh class.

Other Types of Ironwork

The shopkeepers of Shibām use the Ghuthaimī lock (ḳufl) which has also been described by Landberg with an illustration.[8] An example is in the Museum along with several keys of various patterns. Like the axehead it is inscribed, bearing the words, ''Amal Ghuthaim, the work of Ghuthaim.' In fact 'trade marks' of this sort are not uncommon, and I might mention that Lahej silversmiths usually mark dagger sheaths thus. The lock looks as if it had at one time been coated with copper. It was said to originate from Ṣan'ā', and strangely enough Tarīmīs to whom I showed it seemed unacquainted with metal locks of this pattern. The manufacture of this ingenious locking device is an indication of the high level of the ancient civilization of the Yemen, but I should doubt if it is much manufactured nowadays, and the Museum example at 12 shillings was relatively expensive.

Various other metal implements are manufactured by the Arabs, always, of course, of the menial smith class, in particular

agricultural instruments, such as ploughshares, etc. A collection of agricultural instruments is a desideratum, and would help to complete the south Arabian section of the Museum.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell, who had the photograph made at the Museum and kindly allowed me to reproduce it here.

Notes

1 C. v. Landberg, *Dialectes . . . Ḥaḍramoût*, Leiden, 1901, p. 57. The word 'travel' implies that the travellers accord each other protection against attack. A man of the menial classes armed with a club would obviously be of little assistance against a tribesman.

2 *Cf.* 'The Cemeteries of Tarīm,' *Muséon*, Vol. LXII, (Louvain, 1949), and 'The Quarters of Tarīm and their Tanṣūrahs, *Muséon*, Vol. LXIII (1950), p. 277.

3 Landberg, *Arabica V*, Leiden, 1898, gives an account of these quarters from informants but he did not visit the town. It seems to have been divided into four quarters at that time, one of them the Jewish Quarter. He maintains, however, that there were no smiths. An account of the work of the smiths of Ḥaḍramawt may be found in his *Dialectes* (see note 1 above).

4 'Two Tribal Law Cases,' *J. R. Asiat. Soc.*, April, 1951, p. 40.

5 *A Journey through the Yemen*, London, 1893.

6 *Land of Uz*, London, 1911.

7 *Dialectes . . .*, pp. 362f.

8 *Dialectes .*, p. 85.

Association of Social Anthropologists. *Communicated by Professor M. Gluckman, Honorary Secretary*

177 A meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists was held at the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford, on Saturday, 3 October, and Sunday, 4 October, 1953; 28 members and 4 guests were present; 6 new members were elected. After a business meeting two papers were read: J. A. Barnes on 'A Post-Colonial Society: Some Theoretical Problems Arising from Field Research in Norway'; M. Gluckman on 'The Paradox of the "Uncertainty" of Legal Concepts and the "Certainty" of Law: Some Problems Arising from the Judicial Process among the Lozi'.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Race Crossing in Man: The Analysis of Metrical Characters. *By J. C. Trevor. C.U.P., 1953. Pp. iv, 45, portrait, tables, bibliog. Price 12s. 6d.*

178 It is customary to divide living man into populations —often referred to as 'races'—which have been isolated for varying periods, and which now differ in various physical features. At one time, the practice was to classify on the basis of bodily and cranial measurements. In recent years, the tendency has been to use physiological features—*e.g.* the blood groups—whose genetic basis is both simple and known precisely. Recent work has, however, shown that although bodily and cranial measurements may be affected directly by the environment, their complex genetic basis conforms to Mendelian principles. The two approaches to the classification of living men are therefore complementary.

Dr. Trevor's monograph bears on the first of these and gives accounts of some overall bodily dimensions of nine populations, which have resulted from crosses between Europeans on the one hand, and nine non-European groups on the other. He believes that the problem of racial intermixture is of special importance to the anthropologist because '. . . a knowledge of its consequences must be obtained before he can hope to construct his racial genealogies.'

The results of his own researches have been slow in appearing. Measurements of the hybrid populations were, in general, abstracted from the literature, and were analysed between 1936 and 1938. They were compared by means of the statistical techniques then used in the Galton Laboratory, with the corresponding measurements of what are taken to represent the present-day descendants of the parent groups. Dr. Trevor discusses the shortcomings of the data in an introductory section. For instance, the numbers of individuals of each racial stock which took part in the initial crosses are, in general, unknown, and may not have been equal. Furthermore, the number of generations which have elapsed since the initial crosses is indeterminate, and in some instances backcrosses may have occurred. Other technical points such as the compatibility of measurements taken by different workers are examined critically.

The conclusions are simple and clear-cut. First, the mean value of each character of the hybrid population falls between the corresponding mean values of the parental populations, and tends to approach more closely to the mean value of that parental population which made the greater contribution to the initial cross. Second, '. . . the populations derived from the crossing of distinct racial stocks are not distinguished by a particularly marked degree of variation.' Third, the distribution of characters in a hybrid population of this sort does not show '. . . any clear departure from the symmetrical and unimodal type.'

There can be no doubt that analyses of this type are of importance to the general study of human evolution. It is to be hoped that in some future publication Dr. Trevor will embark upon a discussion of the broad biological problems which his results raise.

E. H. ASHTON

Umriss der Rassenkunde des Menschen in geschichtlicher Zeit. *By Bertil Lundman. Copenhagen (Munksgaard), 1952. Pp. 116, 30 diagrams. Price 12 Danish Kr.*

179 This book, which is intended for students and general readers interested in anthropology, is a synopsis of the races of mankind and also gives an insight into the history and formation of races. The racial classification is mainly based on that of Cuvier and Deniker, and the taxonomy is the same as von Eickstedt's with a few exceptions where the author uses his own. In the interpretation of races only those which can be traced back to precolumbian time are regarded as true races, all later formations of new types of man being specified as mixed races. It may be felt difficult to draw the line between true and mixed races, because, as the author himself states, all races are to some extent mixed.

I have noticed one error of fact; the author refers to alleles as parts of the same gene (pp. 14, 22), instead of genes capable of occupying the same locus in members of a chromosome pair.

It is a pity that the author had to omit all race pictures on account of printing cost, but this is made up for by 30 diagrams illustrating the distribution of the main racial factors and races over the world. Most of these excellent maps are drawn by Dr. Lundman himself and they form the most valuable part of the book, by which the reader at a glance is presented with the main features of races, but on the other hand this system is beset with the dangers of over-simplification, so that the reader will not always perceive the many and often important exceptions from the apparent rule of distribution.

There is a useful bibliography for those who are interested in further studies of physical anthropology. JON STEFFENSEN

Races mélanodermes et leucodermes: Pigmentation et Fonctionnement cortico-surrénalien. *By Jeanne Leschi. Paris (Masson), 1952. Pp. 109*

180 Ever since hormones were first discovered, there has been continual discussion of the ways in which differences in endocrine function might underlie some of the physical differences between the races of mankind. Of these the connexion between melanin pigmentation of the skin and the adrenal gland provides probably the most obvious suggestion of a hormonal basis for an important anthropological character. This suggestion comes from Addison's Disease

for in this malady the abnormal deposition of pigmentation is associated with underactivity of the gland. Though the exact pathway by which this influence is exerted remains to a large extent unsettled, recent experimental evidence has supported the essential role of the adrenal gland in skin pigmentation.

Nevertheless the evidence for any peculiarity in adrenal function in light as compared with dark-skinned races, cannot be said to be very satisfactory as yet. One indication of the existence of some hormonal difference is provided by the recent finding by Dr. Barnicot and Mrs. Higgins that Africans excrete a significantly lower daily amount of 17-ketosteroids but the exact interpretation of this finding is at present uncertain. The difficulty here, as indeed in all aspects of the endocrinology of race, is the lack of reliable and reasonably simple assay methods for physiologically active hormonal substances. This circumstance has not prevented Mme Jeanne Leschi from making an important and stimulating contribution through an indirect approach to the problem of adrenal gland function. Her studies are based on the fact that the adrenal gland is known (again from Addison's Disease and from much experimentation) to be involved in the regulation of the sodium and chlorine balance of the body fluids and, as a consequence, to be implicated in the movements of potassium and water. In conditions of underactivity of the adrenal cortex, the kidney conserves sodium less and potassium more readily than usual so that the sodium and chloride content of the blood plasma falls and the potassium rises. A reversal to the normal ionic pattern can be obtained by injecting the adrenal-like synthetic substance desoxycorticosterone (DOCA). Mme Leschi has estimated the concentration of sodium, potassium and chloride in the blood plasma of Negroes and Europeans and has lent anthropological conviction to her findings by making her comparison between the two racial groups on subjects both in Paris and in Dakar. Her main results are simply stated. The Negroes have a lower plasma sodium and chlorine content and a higher potassium than the Europeans. In both races the change from Paris to Dakar is associated with an increase (due to sweating, she believes) in the three constituents, though without disturbing the essential racial difference. The actual values are worth summarizing (in Table I) in the hope that the estimations will be repeated soon in laboratories in Africa; those equipped with a flame photometer are in a position to use methods simpler and more rapid than those employed by Mme Leschi.

TABLE I. PLASMA CONCENTRATIONS (MGMS. PER 100 ML.) OF SODIUM, CHLORIDE AND POTASSIUM

	Whites					
		Paris			*Dakar*	
	No.	*mean*	*s.e.*	*No.*	*mean*	*s.e.*
Chloride	63	364	±1·2	52	375	±1·4
Sodium	44	347	±1·2	33	351	±1·4
Potassium	52	23·6	±0·7	54	23·8	±0·4
	Negroes					
		Paris			*Dakar*	
	No.	*mean*	*s.e.*	*No.*	*mean*	*s.e.*
Chloride	44	350	±1·3	79	360	±1·0
Sodium	34	333	±1·9	46	336	±1·5
Potassium	24	30·2	±1·1	117	27·4	±0·3

Early confirmation of her findings would be welcome for it seems surprising that with so universally performed an analysis as chloride, a lower level in Negroes should not have been noticed before. Stone (*Trans. Roy. Soc. Med. Hyg.*, Vol. XXX, 1936, p. 165) commented on the lower average whole-blood chloride concentration (282·8 mg. per cent.) in his 50 Northern Rhodesian Bantu sample (a figure close to that found by me for 26 South African Bantu, namely 289·5 mg.), but thought that local Europeans gave similar values though only 10 determinations were done. The South African Bantu give a value for plasma chloride (365·4 mg.) also lower than the Dakar Whites. If Mme Leschi is right, this value would be below that of Europeans in South Africa though it seems within the normal European range in the literature.

Mme Leschi thus claims that the low plasma sodium and chloride values and the high potassium value are indicative of an 'underactivity' of the adrenal gland in Negroes as compared with Europeans. Support for the existence of a greater potassium-retaining activity by the African adrenal is provided by experiments in which the ingestion of potassium was followed by a significantly greater rise in plasma potassium with a slower return to normal in the Africans than in the Europeans.

For this thesis of 'underactivity' of the adrenal in the Negro, Mme Leschi gives an analysis of Raymond Pearl's figures of the weight of the gland of American Negroes and Whites. Both absolutely and relative to body weight, Mme Leschi shows that the Negro adrenal glands are lighter.

Mme Leschi's findings are of interest not only for their indirect bearing on the function of the adrenal gland but in relation to the salt economy of different races in different climates. In the Negro, she notes that the injection of DOCA induces a much greater and more enduring reduction of the plasma potassium level than it does in Europeans. For Mme Leschi the behaviour of the sodium and potassium balance in the Negro suggests an adrenal cortical function of 'lesser efficiency' or 'lesser stability.' An appraisal in such terms seems unwarranted. At most it suggests that the Negro adrenal gland may be 'set' at a different level. Indeed it could be argued that the apparently greater sensitivity to DOCA and the somewhat lower sodium chloride concentration of the body fluids are indicative of a more efficacious adjustment to the threat of salt deficiency or reflect a response to a salt balance at a low equilibrium, but a decision in these matters outruns the available evidence.

Mme Leschi's findings invite not only confirmation but a good deal of further physiological experimentation. Thus one misses in her work information on the plasma and urinary response of Negro and European to diuretic doses of water and sodium chloride (for on Mme Leschi's own showing real differences are to be expected); nor are there any exact data on the relative salt intakes of her Negro and European groups and of their ability to come to equilibrium on low intakes, especially when salt is being lost by sweating.

Despite these criticisms this work deserves commendation as a physiologically and anthropologically well conceived and painstakingly executed investigation. It is an example of the opportunities which are now opening up for an insight into the functional aspects of regional and racial differentiation and illustrates also the technical and organizational difficulties which field work in this branch of physical anthropology has to overcome. J. S. WEINER

The Primitive World and its Transformations. *By Robert Redfield. New York (Cornell U. P.), 1953. Pp. viii, 185. Price $3.50*

181 This is an interesting and important little book. In his six chapters—in one passage he calls them lectures—the author, who is a distinguished Senior Professor in the University of Chicago, deals with leading problems in the earliest history of mankind. He begins by an ingenious reconstruction of the pre-literate communities drawn partly from the ritual practices of such societies still existing, partly from inferences from general considerations. In these societies he detects both a moral order and a technical order, and much of what follows deals with the long conflict between them in which civilizations grew up in the way explained by Gordon Childe, Toynbee and others. He then examines the simple societies which persisted alongside the nascent urban civilizations which he takes for granted in the way described by Childe and develops the notion of the 'peasantry' as the people who acquired some part of urban civilization, and became dependent on it while becoming necessary to the cities as sources of food and other essential commodities. Both in the peasantry communities and in the urban civilization the long struggle between the aboriginal moral order of natural relationships and traditional conduct is sketched, again along the lines of Childe and Toynbee, but it is pointed out that this diagram gives no account of the origin and spread of ideas in primitive societies.

A further point is made in considering what is described and defined as the 'world view' of a culture. This is the more difficult because not only do cultures have different world views, but social strata within a culture, and indeed every individual. From his own experience Redfield claims that this is so even in the simplest modern cultures, and he infers that it was so in the earliest. Man, that is, is not

a monotonous herd of passive objects in this or that natural environment. Each individual has his own experiences, and out of them forms his world view, against which he observes each subsequent experience. Meanwhile the world view of a people may change, and this results mainly from the experiences of exceptional persons who challenge the current world order and change it. Thus for Redfield 'man makes himself' in a quite different sense from that in which Childe used the phrase. The technical order as expounded by Childe covers man's dealings with the material world. But it does not cover the world of ideas which emerge—again even in the most primitive societies—as the result of the brainwaves of individuals. It is by them, in very unexpected ways, that the world view, the moral order, and the technical order itself are systematized and philosophized. Metaphysical questions are asked, and variously answered, actions are challenged, taboos broken and all kinds of revolutions set on foot. None of Redfield's very striking examples —inevitably—go far enough back to preclude the marginal contacts with civilization which the argument presumes to be absent; and Redfield recognizes this, but he claims that in a general way his position is sound and that from the beginning man has been a creator of ideas and reforms, not a passive material for evolutionary fashioning.

We now see the relevance of the last chapter on the 'Transformation of Ethical Judgments.' If the anthropologist is to render an objective account of a culture can he allow himself to pass ethical judgments on it, or even to take account of the ethical judgments which he encounters among the people he studies? On this point anthropologists have differed, and probably will always differ. And the reason for this is plain. To understand the moral order of any culture one must view it from inside, and become responsive to its moral judgments. And to do this one must oneself make moral judgments. Otherwise the morality of the moral order itself goes unperceived. Here is the relevance of the long discussion of 'world view,' for the anthropologist cannot avoid having his world view too. His wisest course is to acknowledge this, and take account of it in his reports of the people he describes. A critic of painting who is colourblind to red may get great enjoyment from natural scenery, and from paintings of it. But if he is to compare Canaletto and Turner in respect of the redness in the Venetian sunset, he must himself 'see red' according to his ability. With truth and goodness it is the same. An observer like Childe, who has missed the aspects of cultures which Redfield appreciates, has either a tainted appreciation of these qualities, or has been deliberately using what the photographers call a 'filter,' to deprive himself of the ability to take them into account in his observations. But note this, that the best-eyed critic can only find the 'red' in landscape or in Turner, if the red is there. To find moral judgments in any primitive people presumes not only that the anthropologist is allowing himself to make moral judgments, but that the primitives' moral judgments are there. This would seem to be the ultimate defence of Redfield's position, both in this valuable last chapter, and throughout his interesting and stimulating book.

JOHN L. MYRES

Primitive Man and his World Picture. *By W. Koppers. London (Sheed & Ward), 1952. Pp. viii, 264. Price 16s.*

182 This is a fine example of continental ethnology, school of Vienna. It is interesting and quite unconvincing, but it is just because it may seem strange that its aims and tenuous argument should be so confidently held that we should pay it some attention.

It was reviewed by Sir John Myres in MAN (1950, 104), in the German edition of 1949. A second review owes itself to the author's claim that the present work is not merely a translation but a revised edition, and to the fact that the first review confined itself to an able presentation of the physical-anthropology part of the book. *Primitive Man and his World Picture*, however, is concerned with the wider matters of all history and beyond, God and the whole experience of mankind, and only incidentally in an appendix with man's physical provenance.

Kopper's main themes are 'the conception of a Paradise and a "fall from innocence"; the ethical factor in exogamy (prohibition of incest); and the concept of a Supreme Being as we find it among primitive peoples.' His task is the factual reinforcement of Christian theology by ethnology. This results in a conjectured picture of the very distant past, which he elastically calls 'history,' kept for the most part within the bounds of the socially possible by being based on recent ethnographic data from the Bambuti Pygmies, the Yamana and the Bhil.

The world picture that Koppers presents is broadly this: In the beginning God created the first couple (it is possible for Sir John Myres to find that Koppers makes no explicit claim to have proved a special creation, but it is quite clear that this is what he has done), and these through initial brother-and-sister marriage increased to a primal local unit of mankind. To this community was given a Golden Age and instructions through divine self-revelation for the avoidance of incest and its disastrous consequences. But man sinned against a commandment, and the primal unit was dispersed to wander over the world, forming the varied cultures of recorded history and today, always remembering their first state and their fall, the ban on incest in the immediate family, and the existence of their divine creator. Today we find these prime truths among peoples who have preserved them, but there are peoples who do not profess them and have therefore obviously degenerated from their former high beliefs. It is only in the erring of late civilizations that we find complete denial of these remembered truths.

Koppers thinks he has demonstrated this by 'new ways of using ethnological data.' England is criticized for refusing to move with the times and adopt this way of looking at society. (Inevitably, though, Evans-Pritchard, for maintaining that anthropologists do much the same sort of descriptive integration as historians do, is claimed as a convert.) But the 'method' is a very hoary one. Certain primitive societies are examined and found to hold certain beliefs; it is then assumed that because these beliefs are held by 'primitive' peoples and are widespread they are therefore primal. Such ancient and universal beliefs can be explained in two ways: either primitive man reflected for himself and made them up, or there was a complex of events in the most distant past of which the beliefs are memories. Since probability and common sense make it seem unlikely that primitive man's reflection evolved the concepts, therefore (Koppers argues) the complex of events must have existed; the Golden Age, divine self-revelation, warning of incest, and so on. But the grandest of Koppers's ideas is that if these arguments lead us to postulate an initial revelation 'this could of course be taken as a proof of God's existence, since He could not act unless he existed.'

There are very many invalidating objections of logic, method, and ethnography that might be made, but a few main ones present themselves. Even if Koppers's way of working is accepted, one cannot be satisfied with the very small number of societies from which he draws data. To do the job properly he would have had to use the Human Relations Area Files. Not that this would have done him much good so long as he relied on the argument from universality of belief. So much is widely believed that is certainly known by experts to be quite false that it is surprising to see this argument offered seriously. (The state of world belief in A.D. 33 would certainly, by this argument, have forced Koppers to deny the beliefs by which he lives.)

Koppers's principal procedure is to conjecture from the observed present to imagined past, which is 'but a step'; but this is precisely what the scruples of social anthropologists do not allow them to take. Given the most accurate and extensive factual research there is still neither scholarship nor method in this step. Nothing but guesswork guided by theology leads to Koppers's derivation of primitive concepts of a supreme being, a Golden Age, incest, a created world, and so on.

It is astounding that ethnology should be thought capable of demonstrating God's existence in the way that Koppers suggests. The logical possibility of revelation demands the assumption that God exists.

One of his main arguments (perhaps the central one) is that it is highly improbable that men of their own imaginings developed the ideas of a God of magnified human attributes, a creation of the world, a first man and woman, and a time long ago when the world was not so harsh. But it is very difficult to see how one is to judge

what is probable. What seems improbable to Koppers may seem very likely to another, and there is no basis of decision if that other says: 'But on the contrary I find it easily imaginable that man should conceive of a superman creator-god . . .' and so on. Observation of present beliefs is little indication of what might have been improbable in the fertility of man's imagination, and none at all to the lost events of prehistory.

Nothing is more important than the mysteries that Koppers concerns himself with, but there is no chance of him penetrating them after the fashion of this book. Theology still has neither rival nor henchman in ethnology. RODNEY NEEDHAM

Social Anthropology at Cambridge since 1900: An Inaugural Lecture. *By M. Fortes. C.U.P., 1953. Pp. 47. Price 2s. 6d.*

183 'An Inaugural Lecture is a fit occasion for taking stock' were Professor Fortes's opening words. It is also a fit occasion for praising famous men and commemorating benefactors, and this has been generously done in this brief analysis of the content of social anthropology and its origin and development in Cambridge. From the secure position of the William Wyse Chair, founded in 1932, its occupant can look back on the hard struggles of the 'small band of undaunted Victorians' who kept anthropology alive half a century ago, and on the indiscriminate bundling together of cranial measurements, descriptions of tools and implements, accounts of ceremonies and beliefs, vocabularies and anything else that might occur to the authors, which characterized undisciplined pre-functional anthropology, encumbered with evolutionary and historical misconceptions.

It was a hard struggle indeed and perhaps not enough emphasis has been placed on the triangular conflict between the three great figures in Cambridge anthropology, Haddon, Frazer and Ridgeway, whose very antipathies were effective in hammering the ethnological bundle into scientific shape. The shaping was mainly the result of the intensive study of limited areas, which, coupled with the saving of vanishing data, became the slogans of the Cambridge school, bringing in rich harvests of material on which to found theories of social anthropology.

The welding of theory into discipline and of social anthropology into science is illustrated by trials and errors in the past and even in the present. The discussion as to whether the subject comes under the definition of a kind of science or a branch of history appears as futile to the Professor as it would have been to his predecessors, and Haddon would undoubtedly have dismissed it as 'brain-spinning.' What really matters is that the workers should aim at discovering the general principles of human social organization and custom, irrespective of whether any particular investigation may be labelled art, science, history—or mere guesswork. It is the search for knowledge of things traditionally reserved for the humanities in the spirit of natural science. This leads to the question (perhaps equally 'brain-spinning'?): How is social anthropology distinguished from the other social sciences? The conclusion reached is that its independence as a field of research lies mainly in 'the common interest of the incipient specialisms within it in the facts of custom or culture.'

The lecture starts with praise of famous men. It ends with praise of social anthropology: 'nothing can be more enlarging to the mind and more conducive to the spirit of tolerance which is surely the essence of civilized values, than anthropological studies.' And Professor Fortes illustrates this spirit of tolerance in his criticisms of the views lately put forward by Professor Evans-Pritchard, when suggesting that he risks throwing out the baby of functionalist theory with the bathwater of evolutionary speculation. He stresses the need for more systematic and co-ordinated work in studies of morals, beliefs and values to replace the dilettante ethnography and psychological guesswork which mar theories of the present day, and maintains that the problems of adjustment in the lives of African peasants or Malay fishermen can help in coming to conclusions about our own political and ethical values. Few readers will dispute the claim that it is impossible to understand the intellectual and moral climate of our own times without a knowledge of 'Man's place in Nature.'

A. H. QUIGGIN

Faces in the Crowd; Individual Studies in Character and Politics. *By David Riesman. New Haven (Yale U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1952. Pp. xii, 751. Price £1 12s. 6d.*

184 Readers of Professor Riesman's earlier major work, *The Lonely Crowd*, realized that a new and powerful force had arisen in American sociology. The present work will heighten this realization. In *The Lonely Crowd*, it will be remembered, the writer defined two types, the inner- and the other-directed, the latter being the type which 'makes its appearance in a society in which the problems not only of mere subsistence but also of large-scale industrial organization and production have been, for the most part, surmounted, freeing for other concerns both the small leisure class and the large leisure masses.'

In *Faces in the Crowd*, Professor Riesman shows us, in a most stimulating and convincing fashion, the evidence upon which this typology is based. A number of most detailed and sensitive studies clearly reveal the interplay within the individual of these two directednesses, and the social and other factors making for the relative dominance of one or the other; and show the significance of these attitudes for the deeper and universal personal problems of the individual—particularly those connected with his relationship to others—and for his society.

What is significant about Professor Riesman's approach is that, whether he is right or wrong in the detail of his conclusions, he has evolved a method of approach which is intimate and human, while at the same time losing nothing in rigour of method. In far too many sociological works, the faces of the men and women making up the society are either blanks or caricatures; while in many psychological investigations, individuals are reduced to factors analysed by labyrinthine computers—and if they maintain semblance of humanity, it is the society within which they function that remains mistily indeterminate. But this book combines humanity with accuracy at both levels and it is greatly to be hoped that, whatever the subsequent adventures of Professor Riesman's ideas, his method of approach will be more widely adopted.

Finally, we must above all be grateful to Professor Riesman for bringing to this work the width and profundity of outlook without which all studies of man must not only fail, but fail dangerously.

ADAM CURLE

The Near East and the Foundations for Civilization. *By Robert J. Braidwood. Eugene, Oregon, 1952. Pp. viii, 45. Price $1*

185 After a brief introduction the author of this series of Condon Lectures gives a useful summary of stages in early development of cultivation in south-west Asia illustrated by assemblages of objects of the Natufian, Sialk, Hassuna, Mersin, Jericho, Fayum-Merimde cultures, followed by more tentative assemblages for Palegawra, Karim Shakir and Jarmo, concluding with short references to the Halaf culture at Arpachiyah and to Al Ubaid and a general summary. Maps included would be far more valuable if the sites were numbered and the caption gave the name for each number. Professor Braidwood belongs to the American School of Oriental Research and is on the staff of the University of Chicago.

H. J. FLEURE

The Sword from the Rock: An Investigation into the Origins of Epic Literature and the Development of the Hero. *By G. R. Levy. London (Faber), 1953. Pp. 236. Price £1 10s.*

186 This is an odd book, written with some display of learning to support an untenable theory. 'The subject' says the author (p. 15) 'is the struggle between human and divine in the person of the god-descended hero . . . It treats, therefore, of the emergence of epic from the ritual in which it was once involved.' This leads to a series of chapters, often dealing with matters of considerable interest, as 'Myth and Ritual in Western Asia,' 'The Interaction of Peoples during the Second Millennium B.C.' and so on. In these a number of poems more or less epic in character, such as the 'Gilgamesh Epic,' are analysed and their connexion with ritual set forth with more or less plausibility. The whole question of the existence of a ritual pat-

tern into which sundry important ceremonies, Mesopotamian and other, somehow fit is still in the stage of hypothesis, strongly supported and hotly contested. To use it as a basis for further speculation is hazardous in the extreme, especially when the poems brought under the theory extend to the Indian epics in one direction, and to Homer and his successors in the other.

I am not competent to criticize the Oriental material in detail. I must, however, point out that as regards European epic the whole theory falls to the ground owing to the fact that the poetry of Homer, his predecessors (so far as we can reconstruct their methods and subjects) and his imitators is wholly secular, dealing with the doings of a noble class who took their gods surprisingly lightheartedly on the whole, and meant primarily for recitation before an audience of men who claimed descent from the great ones of the past who took Thebes and Troy, not for any sort of ritual. Connexion with the poetry of any country other than Greece (in the wider sense of that term) is neither proved nor at all likely. At most, it is plausible to assume connexion between the subject matter of the Hesiodic poems (not their style or arrangement) and the mythology of the Near East (see pp. 100ff., one of the best parts of the book). I must add that in the other sections dealing with Greece I find such a multitude of misunderstandings coupled with errors of fact that I am impelled to doubt the soundness and first-hand quality of Miss Levy's scholarship in those parts which I cannot myself check. H. J. ROSE

Man in Evolution. *By M. R. Sahni. Bombay (Orient Longmans), 1952. Pp. xii, 272. Price 15s.*

187 This is a pleasantly written rapid review of evolution from the nebula to modern civilized man. The book is based upon instruction the author gave to his children and in developing it he greatly profited by instruction from Professor Zeuner, to whom he expresses his thanks. The reader will find in this book several interesting pages about the prehistory of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. One could wish that the references to the prehistory of Southern Asia took more account of Heine-Geldern's work, but this is a great deal to ask from a work of this scope and aim. H. J. FLEURE

The God of the Witches. *By Margaret Murray. Revised edn. London (Faber), 1952. Pp. 212. Price £1 1s.*

188 Dr. Murray has left unaltered the text of the first edition of this book, reviewed in MAN in 1935, 177, but has made two additions. The first is a chapter entitled 'The Position of the Witch in the Social Structure,' and in it Dr. Murray has collected from the Old Testament, the English chroniclers and elsewhere many instances of divination and prognostication, chiefly at royal courts; she invites the reader to regard these as examples of witchcraft. The second is an interesting account of the Puck Fair, at Killorglin, co. Kerry, in which a goat is led in procession and crowned by a girl dressed as a queen. RAGLAN

AFRICA

Cave Artists of South Africa: 48 Unpublished Reproductions of Rock Paintings Collected by the late Dorothea Bleek. *With biographical Introduction by E. Rosenthal and Archæological Introduction by A. J. H. Goodwin. Cape Town (Balkema), 1953. Pp. 32, 47 plates. Price 12s. 6d.*

189 The names of Stow and Bleek are indeed both names to conjure with in connexion with Bushman studies in South Africa. Stow was mainly concerned to copy the rock-shelter paintings which were rapidly being destroyed as white civilization spread over the country; Bleek was concerned with the preparation of a dictionary of the Bushman language before the culture ceased to exist. Stow came to South Africa from England to earn his living in the new country; Bleek was a philologist son of a German professor with English connexions who found his way ultimately to a job as interpreter to the Native Affairs Department at the Cape. The two men met some time in the sixties of the last century. Neither concluded his self-imposed work. Stow copied numerous painted sites and the dictionary progressed, but Stow never saw his work published, and Bleek, dying at 48, left his incomplete. Miss Dorothea Bleek, his daughter, took over both the tasks. Two magnificent volumes of coloured reproductions of the paintings with an appropriate text have appeared, and the dictionary was finished a few days before her death; it will be published in America. I have had the good fortune to visit not a few painted Bushman sites and also to have been closely associated with the bringing-out of the first of the volumes just mentioned. Stow's work is of immense importance to students. Much material has been destroyed since the tracings were made and would have been lost for ever if he had not copied them. Others, especially the more recent in age, frequently show partial destruction through natural weathering. The study of this weathering is much helped by knowing from Stow's work what did exist, though since lost, in the sixties. But about 50 of Stow's 'cartoons' still remained unpublished and these now see the light of day with a preface by Eric Rosenthal, giving short lives of Stow and the Bleeks, and a discussion and description of the paintings by John Goodwin of the University of Cape Town. It is sad that the plates could not have been in colour, but we all know the cost today of (at least) four-colour reproduction, which would have been necessary if the correct tones were to have been given. But we must be grateful for their publication and for the excellent preface and descriptive matter. For those who cannot afford to buy the large volumes, this little original work will be a useful introduction to the study of Bushman Art. M. C. BURKITT

The Pleistocene Geology and Prehistory of Uganda: Part II, Prehistory. *By C. Van Riet Lowe. Geol. Surv. Uganda, Mem. No. VI. Kampala, 1952. Pp. ix, 113, 54 plates*

190 In this memoir, actually completed in 1939, Professor Van Riet Lowe has rendered a valuable service to the Protectorate in providing a much needed foundation for the study of the prehistory of Uganda.

This work, comprising 113 pages (including bibliography) has, of course, as its basis the twenty years' tireless investigation of E. J. Wayland who was formerly Director of Geological Survey, Uganda, and who since 1919 has steadily placed Uganda prehistory on the map.

The author of this memoir has not only made a thorough study of the Geological Department's collection of stone implements but has also carried out extensive field work on all of Wayland's important sites as well as carried out numerous fresh excavations himself.

It is unfortunate that the publication could not have been preceded by Wayland's *Geology* (Part I) without which some confusion must arise in understanding the reasons for dating cultures, *e.g.* the correlation of the climatic background with Olduvai. It is equally unfortunate that O'Brien's *Prehistory of Uganda Protectorate* (concerning the African Prehistoric Research Expedition to Uganda, 1934–1935) was not available to the author by the time of completion of this work. As a result the picture cannot be as complete as it might be.

Evidence for the palæolithic sequence is based chiefly on Nsongezi in the valley of the Kagera River, a site incomparable for the number of implements it has yielded. From the excavation of a trial trench Professor Van Riet Lowe has estimated that every acre of the old land surface below the 100-ft. terrace probably contained over a million artifacts.

The stratigraphical evidence at Nsongezi is not as satisfactory as it is at Olduvai and the industries are not accompanied by faunal remains, which make the latter site of such unique importance.

Professor Van Riet Lowe has given the first clear picture of the evolution of the earliest pebble culture—the Kafuan. He emphasizes that the faceted-platform technique is an intimate part of the Chelles-Acheul culture in Uganda, as is the case in South Africa. This, apparently, is not so to the same extent in Kenya and Tanganyika. There is no question of a Levallois culture in the Protectorate as there is in Kenya. The Sangoan culture, directly developed from the Chelles-Acheul, is noteworthy, inasmuch as the Sangoan is

shown to carry on both biface and faceted-platform techniques, considerably improved and elaborated. It becomes evident that Uganda is more connected with the west than the east in the Upper Palæolithic; it belongs to the Sangoan complex of the central forest zone of Africa. The Sangoan is the only culture of the Gamblian times in Uganda, though there may be some disagreement over the contention (p. 109) that blade and burin industries, like the Kenya Capsian, did not develop in Uganda because of the lack of homogeneous material.

The work is well supported by a map of stone-age sites in Uganda and also a diagrammatic section of the Kagera River valley at Nsongezi. There are numerous illustrations of stone implements and sherds excellently executed by Mesdames Leakey and Rainsford.

E. C. LANNING

Saqqara and the Dynastic Race. *By W. B. Emery. London (H. K. Lewis), 1952. Pp. 12. Price 3s.*

191 This was an inaugural lecture by an incoming professor at University College, London, yet it proves to have been no more than a slight account of some of the salient features of Professor Emery's own excavations at North Saqqarah. Its title leads the reader to expect some fresh light on the origin and influence of the Dynastic Race, but of this we are disappointed, and what we are told is merely what has been said by others.

Some of the vast royal mastabahs are described, and their size makes it likely, as has been suggested before, that those at Abydos are cenotaphs. But still there had been burials in some of them at least. The use of stone portcullises in the tomb of Hemaka is the earliest example of anything of the sort. They were of limestone and date to the reign of Udymu, the fifth king of the First Dynasty, and it is to be noted that it was Udymu's tomb (?) at Abydos that was floored with granite. As Petrie said long ago, this reign marked the apogee of the First Dynasty, and it was evidently under this king that the Egyptians began to interest themselves in stone on a large scale. Already by the middle of the Second Dynasty they had begun not merely to use granite as paving stones but to make statues of it, and by the end of that dynasty to use it for large inscribed monuments.

Another important result of the excavations is that the barrel vaulting made without centering was already known in Udymu's reign. Each tomb was surrounded with gardens and one actually was laid out as an estate in miniature showing the buildings on it. An important discovery is that solar barques should have been connected with mastabahs before pyramids were built, and that therefore the belief in the Solar Journey in the next world should have gone back to the very beginning of the kingdom.

It is good to have heard that Professor Emery has been able to continue his work at Saqqarah again this season. No doubt we shall be hearing before long of further important results.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

Libysche Felsbilder. *By Hans Rhotert. Darmstadt (Wittich, for Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt-am-Main), 1952. Pp. 146, frontispiece, 48 plates, 114 text figures, 2 maps*

192 Here are the surviving results of expeditions of 1933 and 1935, led by Frobenius and Almesy, with the skilled draughtsmanship of Elizabeth Pauli. Much of the collections were destroyed at Frankfurt in 1944. Earlier explorers of these rock drawings and engravings were Beadnell (1937), Clayton (1931), Bagnold (1932), and others included in the bibliography (pp. 128–30). Principal sites are Jebel Aisenat, Jehuda, Gily Kiblir and southward to Wadi Hamar. All are stacks or ranges of rock emerging from desert sand; some are of granite, some of sandstone; a few still have water supply; all retained vegetation for long periods, and some have palæolithic and neolithic implements. The latest monuments record camels, which are not earlier than the later dynastic periods of Egypt; the rest contain either wild game, giraffes, rare elephants, gazelles, ostriches and hunter folk with spears, shields, bows and dogs, or long-horned cattle of various breeds and colouring.

It seems probable that the hunting scenes are earlier than the pastoral, though they are sometimes superimposed, and may overlap in time. Some features connect the hunting scenes with the cave paintings of France and Spain; others connect the cattle folk with those of other parts of Africa as far east as the south of the Red Sea, and the similar folk of South and East Africa. These pastoral folk seem to have entered Africa from South Arabia and spread westward, diverging at several points northward into Sahara and becoming isolated as the climate failed.

Some sites yield rough pottery, of fabrics related to primitive Egyptian, but not derived from these. The clothing of some of the figures resembles that in South African scenes.

The purpose of the hunting pictures is illustrated by the observation by Frobenius of a desert couple who went aside to perform a secret ritual, including drawings on the ground, before attempting to hunt game for him, and some of the scenes show the hunting of desert game with dogs.

There is obviously much still to be recorded among these numerous and very varied monuments. The reproductions are very skilful, but are inadequately numbered and inconveniently arranged in the text.

JOHN L. MYRES

African Sculpture Speaks. *By Ladislas Segy. New York (Wyn), 1952. Pp. 254, 276 illus., bibliog. Price $7.50*

193 The main purpose of this pretentious book appears to be to persuade the wealthy frequenters of American art galleries that African sculpture is 100 per cent. genuine art and very cheap at the price. The author incidentally owns an art gallery in New York which deals in the stuff.

The first half of the book purports to explain the significance of African art in its anthropological setting. It is a second-hand, second-rate pastiche which clumsily misrepresents the opinions of sundry, mostly unspecified, ancient authorities. The effect is like reading an anthropological Jabberwocky; the words of wisdom seem familiar but somehow not quite right. Ghosts of Durkheim and Robertson Smith, for example, seem to lurk somewhere in the jungle of such a quotation as this (p. 51): 'The totem helps to overcome elemental but destructive human emotions such as hate, dissension and jealousy with the aid of a magical social unity sealed by the common bond of the totem animal. Where a taboo against killing the totem animal exists a day is set aside when the slaughter is permitted—a day celebrated as a holiday.'

There is masses of such drivel, spiced here and there with lubricous irrelevance, as when, on p. 52, we are treated to an elaborate description of the details of female circumcision in Somaliland by way of comment on a Mende initiation mask from Sierra Leone!

The author has clearly read widely in his subject and the book contains an impressive bibliography which belies the surprising dust jacket claim that African Art is 'all but unknown to the West.' In the text, however, there are no footnotes and it is usually difficult to distinguish the author's own opinions from those of his authorities. Indeed the pastiche technique results in wholesale contradictions. For example, on the vexed question of the dating of the Ife bronzes we are led to suppose at p. 65 that they were made about the tenth century A.D., at p. 68 that they are Hellenistic, and at p. 139 that they are definitely post-fifteenth century. Such catholicity of opinion is really quite unanswerable!

Condescendingly the second half of the book (Part III) starts by telling us how to appreciate a work of art, and proceeds to elaborate the thesis, currently so popular at the London I.C.A., that 'at a deep emotional level' the African artist has the same attitude to his art as modern European artists of the calibre of Picasso, Miro and Chagall. On this theme Mr. Segy is very loquacious but he has nothing new to say.

All the same the book has its merits. Simply as a picture book it is quite attractive. Admittedly many of the objects illustrated are becoming rather excessively familiar but the 276 illustrations do provide a good random sample of the principal sculptural styles of West and West-Central Africa. Furthermore a long Appendix, designed like a stamp catalogue to tell the novice collector what he has got and which are the rare 'penny blacks,' is not without its value even for the comparative ethnologist. In all, some 140 different tribal styles are distinguished and mapped. It is here particularly to be regretted that the author has not specified in greater detail the sources of his information.

E. R. LEACH

Mau Mau and the Kikuyu. *By L. S. B. Leakey. London (Methuen), 1952. Pp. xi, 115. Price 7s. 6d.*

194 The unhappy notoriety at present surrounding the Kikuyu has led Dr. Leakey to publish an outline of his full-length study of them which, he tells us, would run to 1,400 printed pages. Dr. Leakey, who spoke Kikuyu as a child, has kept always in touch with his age mates and has even been initiated as a first-grade elder, has immense initial advantages for undertaking a study of this kind. The Kikuyu of whom he writes in the first part of this book, however, are not his own contemporaries or people in whose activities he has taken part, but their fathers as they are remembered to have been at the time of the arrival of the first settlers in their country; and the description has something of the romanticism and excessive systematization to which accounts based on oral tradition are prone.

His 1066 is the purchase of their land by the Kikuyu from the Dorobo, which he interprets as having given rise to a 'real land-owning class.' These persons had acquired full control of large demarcated holdings, and proceeded to let parts of them to tenants who had not been rich enough to buy land from the Dorobo for themselves. The Maxwell Report of 1929 on Kikuyu land tenure, one of the authors of which was Dr. Leakey, presents a picture much less unlike what has been found to be generally characteristic of African land systems. But what is really significant is the belief of the Kikuyu that their transaction with the Dorobo gives them a claim to title deeds like those issued by the Lands Office to settlers.

He discusses marriage, initiation, religion and magic, the significance of the oath, and the political system. This last subject might have been allotted a little more space, even in a necessarily summary account. The picture (pp. 36f.) of 'councils of nine,' 'which had been set up to co-ordinate the affairs of each ridge' and formed a 'distinct pattern' from that based on kinship, would become clearer if we were explicitly told what their basis was, but even then would leave some questions in the mind of a student of African political organization.

The account of modern developments, however, is not open to the same criticism. Without endorsing the extremest claims of Kikuyu spokesmen, it shows very clearly what strains are imposed on the tribal structure and what hardships on the individual farmer by the congestion of population on the land now allotted to them. It deals also with less widely recognized problems, such as the conflict between traditional and missionary values in relation to sex and marriage and the difficulties created by the ever-rising marriage payment. The chapter on political movements, which traces the ancestry of the Mau Mau back for thirty years, is most illuminating, and the summing-up of the points at which action is called for is admirable.

LUCY MAIR

Sukuma Law and Custom. *By Hans Cory. O.U.P. (for Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. xxiii, 194. Price 18s.*

195 This is an example of practical anthropology—a manual of legal rules prepared by a government anthropologist as a guide to the Native Courts of the Sukuma Federation in Tanganyika. Mr. Cory discussed the material over a period of six weeks with a body of elders representing the different chiefdoms of the group, reduced his findings to an orderly record and then held a further conference with eight chiefs delegated by the full council of the Federation. One of the aims of the discussion was to reach uniformity on points where there had previously been variations in the custom of different parts of Sukumaland. The rules which were deliberately made in this way are all clearly indicated.

The rules themselves are accompanied by explanatory notes, and introduced by a general account of Sukuma social structure and further comments on each of the separate sections: law of persons (bridewealth, marriage, divorce, children and guardianship), law of property (land tenure, cattle and rules governing the sale of both), and law of succession. The whole provides a useful succinct account of Sukuma social organization.

It appears that village headmen exercise real authority in the allocation of land, including the re-allotment of fields which a holder does not cultivate, and the Native Authority Rules printed in the appendix show how this power is being utilized to secure very close control over the distribution of population and stock. Other interesting features are the ranking for purposes of inheritance of a dead man's sons in relation to the sons of his father's heir, and the fact that a man's marriage payment is provided by his mother's kin sufficiently often for a household founded in this way to have a special name. The only point at which one would take issue with Mr. Cory is in his interpretation of this as an 'element of mother-right' (p. 23).

LUCY MAIR

EUROPE

Øver Vidderna. *By Ernst Manker. Stockholm (L. T.'s förlag), 1952. Pp. 305*

196 *Øver Vidderna* is a valuable addition to the many popular (non-scientific) publications which the Curator of the Lappish Ethnography Department of Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, Ernst Manker, has issued. Whereas his earlier books of the same kind are confined to certain regions of the Swedish Lapplander territory, *Øver Vidderna* is a survey of most of the Swedish and a large and extremely important part of the Norwegian Lappish area, Troms and Finnmark. In this book the author sums up the impressions and experiences of five years, during which the main activity has been the exploration of ancient relics of Lappish culture, such as trapping devices for wild deer, sacrificial sites, burial places and dwelling sites.

The first chapters describe a journey to Finnmark, where he took part in similar investigations to his own in Sweden. On the basis of the archæological finds, the first written source—Ottar's report to Alfred the Great—and the copious records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a glimpse is given of the human struggle with a hard and niggardly nature here in an almost arctic region. With generous hand he gives us some results of the investigations now in course. This applies especially to a unique large trapping plant for wild deer which is the subject of a publication in the Tromsø Museum's *Acta Borealia* (Manker and Vorren, *Villreinfangst ved Gollevarre*, 1953).

In the chapter '*Bortom sju blåningar*' he is on the look-out for trapping pits and '*stallotomter*,' far south in the Swedish Lapplander territory round Vindeldalen. The '*stallotomter*' are, according to report, sites of the dwelling places of 'Stallo,' a Lappish fairy figure. In association with the collaborating archæologists the author shows that the whole myth is founded on the tent sites of ancient Lapps.

The report of a ski found buried in the earth brings both author and reader into a survey of the theories respecting the immigration of the Lapps to Scandinavia. Finally the author puts forward his own theory, in the form of a working hypothesis.

The following chapters, '*Tidløs offerplats*,' '*Gammal Gud och ny*' and '*Snøstorm och liikutuksia*,' cover the history of Lappish religion, from the ancient undatable places of sacrifice to divine service in Karesuando Church in Easter, 1950.

In the last chapter '*Det romantiska Lappland*' we follow in the steps of a number of famous travellers who have written about the Swedish Lapplander territory, from Tacitus through Olaus Magnus and Linné down to our own time. But the chapter ends with a strong plea for touring in North Sweden, a plea for the highland tracts and the values these have to offer the restless machine-age human being of today.

Although what has been mentioned may be said to be the chief elements, they are in fact only side lines in the real content of the book, which is a description of the travels and work in the field of the author and his coadjutors. Here Manker displays his outstanding power of capturing situations and episodes and portraying them in an attractive artistic form, where the characteristic feature is seized with accurate precision.

Øver Vidderna is not a scientific work, but it meets a need on the part of the general public to get a share in the riches which the world of the research worker can offer, without having to wander the long and tedious way through the channels of popular enlightenment. It also meets a need to open the world of the highland and

create understanding and respect for its children. In this respect Ernst Manker has performed a signal service by this as well as by his many other similar books. Like all his books this one is richly illustrated with good sketches and choice pictorial material. There are 296 illustrations on the book's 300 pages. ØRNULV VORREN

Kautokeinoslekter. *By Adolf Steen. Samiske Samlinger I. Oslo,* 1952. *Pp.* 255

197 This work, the first of a new series published by the Norwegian Folk Museum, is a detailed and valuable source book for anthropologists and demographers alike. It contains the genealogies of 31 of the larger Lappish patrilineages of Kautokeino parish, Finnmarks *fylke*, Norway. There is also a supplement relating to 31 families connected by marriage, but some of these are probably of Kvæn (Finnish-speaking peasant) origin. It is unfortunate that this is not made clear. Nevertheless we have the vital material for an empirical investigation of kinship and marriage, or for demographical studies.

In addition Steen provides some data on the meaning and distribution of surnames. (One must treat some of his generalizations with reserve, however, such as the statement that the Hetta family is the most numerous Lappish patrilineage. Information such as published illustrations of named individuals, and the membership of the 1852 Læstadian extremists in Kautokeino is also included, and the celebrated Lappish author, Johan Olsen Turi or Thuuri (1853–1936) is among those listed. The whole is a valuable document not least for the Lapps concerned, who have spread from Norway throughout northern Sweden and even to Alaska. IAN WHITAKER

Canti Popolari del Molise, Vol. I. *By Eugenio Cirese. Rieti, n.d. Pp. xv.*, 248

198 It was only to be expected that the continental folklorists would need a long time for readjustment after having misused their subject for propaganda purposes. Rationalistic books followed, their methodical achievements far outstripping their spiritual background. A warm-hearted human approach had become taboo. At last the turning point has been reached. Professor Cirese's collection of folksongs is not the only book edited with scholarly care and, in addition, reflecting the author's love for his home county and his own people.

He is certainly right in stressing the importance of studying the figures of speech and the dialects of the workaday world just as carefully as more spectacular aspects of folklife. That can, of course, only be done by country-born-and-bred folklorists, whereas equally urgent work must be discharged by others. This first volume contains songs of love and childhood as well as religious songs. The second volume will bring songs for special occasions and those of the Slav and Albanese communities in the Molise. We hope that Professor Cirese will then describe the life of the singers, for he seems exceptionally well qualified for this task. E. ETTLINGER

CORRESPONDENCE

Economic Crops: A Proposal for Study

199 Sir,—In his Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1946 (*J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXVI) Professor H. J. Fleure stressed the need for more committees to investigate specific problems, on the lines of that already set up for metallurgy.

May I suggest the desirability of setting up a committee to investigate the origins, distribution, dispersal and history of crops? This proposal arises out of a general study recently carried out jointly by myself and Professor E. Anderson of the Missouri Botanic Garden, U.S.A., on maize (*Zea mays*) as a crop among the Hill Tribes of Assam and adjacent regions. Our evidence, mythological, historical, economic, genetical, botanical, archæological, has forced us to the conclusion that maize may well be as old a crop in South-East Asia as in the Americas. And I am informed by Professor Anderson that he is accumulating an increasing body of evidence to show that before its replacement by rice—a process that has been going on for some thousands of years—maize was a main crop among Hill Tribes throughout the vast region of South-East Asia, China and parts of Indonesia.

And even a perfunctory investigation of almost any food crop shows only too often how extremely poor is our information on its whole background. Has any thorough, overall survey of the sweet potato (*Ipomæa batatas*) been undertaken? What is its place in Polynesian folklore? How do the genetics of the Asiatic forms compare with those of the American? To take another instance: I was recently concerned with looking into the distribution of a little-known grain crop, Job's Tears (*Coix lachryma-jobi*) which is important as a food in the Assam Hills. I found, among the very fragmentary information, that it is used also in New Guinea. Investigation on the spot shows, however, that Job's Tears is not a food plant in New Guinea, the grains being used only as ornamental beads.

Again: it is striking for a new-comer to New Guinea to see even in the remote interior betel nuts mixed with lime, wrapped in a pepperlike leaf, and chewed precisely as in the most sophisticated society in India. We are told, conveniently, that the custom was spread to New Guinea by Indonesian traders. But some three years ago I chanced to see a man go into the forest in the Bismarck Mountains to cut a bunch of nuts from a wild betel palm.

Anthropologists, particularly in America, are bringing in an era of astonishing world shrinkage in terms of human culture and racial affinities. And what can be of greater aid to this all-important study than detailed co-ordination of existing knowledge on economic plants? A people starting on migration for whatever reason take with them above all else the seeds, tubers and roots of their crops; and many of these survive almost indefinitely in their original form.

A great advantage of such a study is the degree of co-operation involved between anthropology and other sciences: archæology, botany, genetics, climatology, history, agriculture, all are involved to the inestimable advantage of each.

Lae, Territory of Papua, New Guinea C. R. STONOR

'Sagger Base' or 'Rounded Base.' *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 70

200 Sir,—Terms of extremely doubtful validity can easily creep in and eventually establish themselves, not by any particular merit, even of convenience, but simply because acceptance is far less trouble than the stating of reasons for rejection; such a term being 'sagger base.' So far as I am aware this term first appeared in the description of pottery from Arikamedu (*Ancient India*, No. 3, pp. 55, 66 and 68) and Brahmagiri (*Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 209 and 213). To be valid a term must have some meaning; what meaning, then, is 'sagger base' intended to convey? It apparently means a 'rounded base,' for that term is occasionally substituted in the case of apparently identical pot forms. If the words are intended to convey the idea that the pots so described have a base like a kiln sagger, the term is not valid, for the base of a sagger is flat. But the term may be a coined one, and the idea may be one of 'sagging,' the base sagging from the shoulder which is either carinated or flanged; such a term might become valid by acceptance. The term is now, however, being extended by Mr. Ghosh (MAN, 1953, 70), who may, in fact, be its originator, to cover any rounded base. In the course of his letter he uses the words 'sagger base' when describing a normal globular water pot, which shows the danger of passive acceptance. The only valid description of pots with rounded bases is the term 'rounded base' and no other.

Hingham, Norfolk D. H. GORDON

'Stonehenge and Midsummer': A Correction. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 151

201 Sir,—May I draw attention to an error on my part which may have misled some readers of my paper, and for which I express my regret? In line 30 of the second column of p. 103, the reference to 'entry at the north-west' should of course be to 'entry at the north-east'.

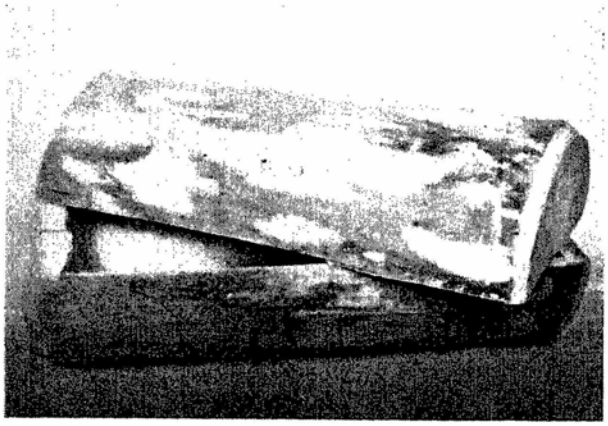
Radlett, Herts. A. T. HATTO



(*a*) *A corpse, shrouded in linen, in its dug-out log coffin*, c. 1939



(*b*) *The same with the lid in place*



(*c*) *Dug-out coffin for a child*, 1940.
(*Ethnographical Museum, Zagreb*)



(*d*) *Tree trunks stored for use as coffins*, 1938

DUG-OUT COFFINS AT KORIĆANI, CENTRAL BOSNIA

THE DUG-OUT COFFIN IN CENTRAL BOSNIA*

by

PROFESSOR MILOVAN GAVAZZI

University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia

202 On the Balkan peninsula, which is well known for the great number of well preserved archaic traditions found there, there are a great many burial customs which at first sight show great archaism. In certain regions of the Balkans such customs include the double burial, the use of sledges for transportation of the coffin even in summer or on dry soil, the erection of special stone signs at the resting places of the funeral conduct to the burial ground, the long rod on the tomb as measure of length of the deceased, and many expressions of ancestral cult on the tombs and especially during the funeral feast. The following custom, as it was preserved until recent times, seems to be a remnant of a very remote past. If we can establish its archaism, it will be valuable support, with other enthnographical phenomena, for some far-reaching conclusions about the old cultural history of the Balkans.

The peasants of the village of Korićani on Mount Vlašić bury their dead not in a coffin, as is the custom today almost everywhere in Europe, but in a dug-out tree. When a villager dies, the invited friends and relatives betake themselves to choose a suitable tree for this purpose. They go to the nearby forest to cut down a pine or choose such a tree from a quantity of selected trees, leaned together and called *slon* (which has the same root as the verb *prisloniti*, to incline, to lean). After cutting it with the grain into two pieces and removing the bark, they dig it out with a special tool so that there remain the thick sides only. The corpse is enveloped in a large piece of linen, put in the log coffin and covered with the upper part, and is then ready to be buried. The villagers of Korićani justify the use of such coffins by the longer conservation of the corpses as well as by the need to preserve the corpses from bears, which often used to appear in the mountains near the villages, and even to destroy the tombs and devour the corpses. Such dug-out coffins are safe from the paws of the bears because of their round and slippery surface, which would not be so if the coffin were of the usual type made of planks, and angular in form.[1]

The use of such tree coffins has also been confirmed in a small region west and north-west of Korićani up to Skender-Vakuf, but this burial tradition could not be confirmed in any other part of Bosnia or anywhere else in the Balkans.

The occurrence of this isolated tradition in south-eastern Europe raises the question of its origin, and specifically of its genetical connexions with similar forms of coffin occurring in other parts of Eurasia. Among recent traditions of this kind, we can hardly bring into consideration the well-known custom of disposing of the dead in dug-out trees among certain Siberian peoples (especially those of the Tungus family and their neighbours, the Yakuts and others). For in Siberia the corpse in its dug-out coffin is typically exposed on a tree (or between the branches of trees) or on a special platform—mostly in the case of shamans and children; in Bosnia on the contrary all the dead are regularly buried in the earth. This difference makes it difficult to connect this Bosnian phenomenon with similar forms of disposal in dug-out trees, but mostly on trees, which have been confirmed in the past and the present among some Caucasian peoples, notably the Abchazians and Gruzinians (the Abchazians were among those who exposed the dead on trees; the Tcherkesses in former times seem to have used such coffins for noblemen only).

From the ethnical as well as the geographical point of view, the present tradition may be best connected with burials in the earth in dug-out coffins which are known to have occurred, though not often, among the old Slovenes in the eastern Alpine region in early mediæval times[2]; also during the migration of peoples in what is now Czechoslovakia,[3] and still more in Russia, where the use of such coffins for burials in the earth was verified archæologically (in the north as well as in the south, *e.g.* in the Provinces of Vologda and Kiev) as well as from historical sources. Historical confirmation may also be found for the existence of such a tradition there through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in some cases until the nineteenth century (among the *raskol'niky*).[4] The present Bosnian tradition, then, may be taken as a last survival among Slavonic peoples of this kind of coffin which seems to have been widespread among them in the past.

The old Slovene practice of burial in dug-out coffins, referred to above, may very well be connected also with the considerable evidence for such coffins in the south German provinces (under names such as *Totenbaum*, *naufus*, *truncus*), in Switzerland, from the ninth century in Hanover, then in England, Holland and Sweden. While such coffins appeared repeatedly from the Roman imperial era in the north German provinces (*e.g.* in Pomerania and eastern Prussia), it seems that for earlier traces of the tradition we must go back to the late Bronze Age, for which, however, it is very well evidenced in the north of Europe, especially in Denmark, England, Scotland, Mecklenburg and Hanover to the south of Scandinavia. There in the north of Europe the traces probably go back to the Stone Age.[5]

Despite possible connexion with the mediæval Slovene custom, this recent Bosnian burial tradition, for the past history of which there is no historical evidence, remains more or less isolated, and its genetical connexions cannot be established without stronger evidence than at present exists.

* *With Plate J*

Notes

[1] This form of coffin with the lower part shaped like a trough is the starting point of the 'popular' etymology of the name of the village in the form Korićani, which is derived from *korito* =trough.

[2] W. Šmid, 'Altslovenische Gräber Krains,' *Carniola* (Ljubljana), 1908, p. 26; J. Korošec, *Uvod v materialno kulturo Slovanov zgodnjega srednjega veka* (Ljubljana, 1952), p. 90.

[3] L. Niederle, *Život starých Slovanů*, Vol. I, Part I (Prague, 1911), p. 354; J. L. Píč, *Starožitnosti země české*, Vol. III, Part I (Prague, 1909), pp. 76, 343, 345.

[4] See for example L. Niederle, *l. c.*; Dm. Anučin, 'Sani, lad'ja i koni kak' prinadležnosti pohoronnogo obrjada,' *Drevnosti*, Vol. XIV (Moscow, 1890), p. 178.

[5] See for example Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 372, *s. v. Baumsarg*; and Schrader-Nehring's *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Vol. II, pp. 280f. *s. v. Sarg.*

THE SOCIAL GROUPINGS OF SOME WEST AFRICAN WORKERS IN BRITAIN*

by

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203 In the East End of London near to the docks there is a small immigrant settlement of Negroes and other coloured persons.[1] There is no residential segregation and the immigrants are scattered among the local population, a high proportion of whom are themselves Jewish immigrants or their descendants. In the half square mile where the concentration of coloured persons is greatest, there were, at the end of 1951, some 145 West African adult males and 174 West Indians. In addition there were in the Borough about 100 Sikhs, 750 Pakistanis, 750 Maltese, 100 others of Mediterranean origin and smaller groups of Somalis, Arabs, etc.

Characteristic of the neighbourhood was the high rate of residential turnover among some sections of the West African—West Indian grouping, and the low level of communication between its members: when I carried out a check in one of the poorest streets I found that over 50 per cent. of the West Africans and West Indians who had been living there 11 months previously had since left. The coloured quarter serves as a centre for far more West Africans and West Indians than those who actually live there: coloured men come there from other parts of London for food, for girls, and for relaxation in an area where their different appearance does not make them objects of particular attention. There is a definite feeling among them—especially among some of the less sophisticated immigrants—that it is the coloured man's district, that they have made it their own, and they behave there with greater freedom than they do elsewhere. The unsettling effect of the continual flow in from, and out to, other parts of the town, hinders the emergence of a distinct social structure amongst the Negro population. Despite the extent to which they are thrown together, there are few of their number with whom individual immigrants have more than a superficial acquaintance.

The total of 145 West Africans was composed as follows: there were 50 from Sierra Leone, of whom 22 were Kru and the remainder mostly Temne and Mende, with a few Limba; 40 from Nigeria, of whom 15 were Ijo, 5 Ibo, 1 Hausa, and the remainder mostly Yoruba; 37 from the Gambia, being mostly Jolof with some Mandinka and a few Fula; 18 from the Gold Coast, chiefly Gã, a few Fanti, and 1 Ewe. The causes underlying their migration vary. Many had been seamen, but more had stowed away to get to Britain.[2]

Persons may feel themselves to be members of a group either because of libidinal ties holding them in association with others, or because of pressure from other people who place them all in the same category and treat them accordingly. Thus the group cohesion or solidarity may be either primary, as with the tribal group, or induced, as with the way coloured people are made to feel members of one group in opposition to the white. The West African migrants in Britain were at first little inclined to trust the word of Africans who were members of tribes other than their own, but in a variety of ways the ties between them and their fellows of the same tribe had been weakened, and were to be weakened yet further by life in the country of immigration. The influences which in Britain militate against group cohesion are fourfold: uncertainty over common values; material circumstances; limitations of scale; processes of assimilation.

The uncertainty over common values, or the lack of them, may best be illustrated by pointing out some of the differences between the group formations of the West Africans and West Indians, who seek to *adapt* themselves to the new environment, and the Sikhs and Pakistanis who *accommodate* themselves to the new circumstances. The Sikh pedlars are not greatly disturbed by the display of colour prejudice and do not seek social acceptance from the British; they have little to do with European women; their principal aim is to accumulate money and return to their homeland and they will go to great lengths to save, living communally in verminous conditions, dossing down on an overcoat, and putting by every penny. The West Africans, on the other hand, had come to accept many British values before ever they entered the country, and they migrated believing that Britain owed certain obligations to them as colonials and as British subjects; most of them were young men with ambitions of individual betterment, often already in rebellion against authority and disinclined to listen to the older men with more experience of

* *The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 10 June, 1952*

life in Britain. There were few persons in the country of immigration to whom the individual African immigrants felt any particular obligation. Many of them say that they would like to go back to their homeland later on, but few of them work to this end; past experience teaches that they will not return unless they can do so as successful figures—for England is the country where men make their fortunes. The values and goals of the West African immigrants therefore do not at present provide the basis for a cohesive and highly integrated group comparable to that of the Sikhs.

Many of the functions served in Africa by tribal and kin groups are dealt with in the United Kingdom by the Employment Exchanges, the National Assistance Board and other agencies of the Welfare State. Members of a stranger group in a West African town are forced to combine for social security, but in Britain the need is less obvious. Because the small group is less useful, so its control over members is weaker and immigrants can only deplore the actions of some of their fellow countrymen and can do little to stop them. The small number of Africans from the same tribe limits the possibilities for developed associations on tribal lines in East London, and there is little co-operation for this purpose between the men there and those living in other parts of London. In Liverpool and Manchester, where there are more West Africans, there are correspondingly more tribal associations.

Assimilation is a two-way process requiring the adaptation of the immigrant group to the customs of the new country and the acceptance of them by the natives. Individual immigrants adjust themselves differently to the demands of the new situation and this aids the development of social stratification within the immigrant grouping. The 'old-timers' who settled in Britain before the war keep to themselves and have little to do with the 'newcomers' who reject their leadership. The new arrivals themselves have after a time tended to divide into two—those who strive for respectability, and the café society of young men who are malcontented, unsettled and influenced by the more extreme racial sentiments. Africans are quick to learn English class distinctions, and the competitive pursuit of things which carry prestige in British society has a divisive effect upon the immigrant grouping.

One factor in the new situation which promotes the growth of in-group sentiments and organization throughout the West African—West Indian grouping, is the shared experience of colour antipathy. This is particularly evident in the restriction of housing facilities and the hostility aroused by the men's association with European women. Colour discrimination is uncertain in its incidence and is not sufficient to create any continuing organization amongst the Negro grouping, but occasional incidents may unite the immigrants in opposition to the whites. Antagonism may develop between West Africans and West Indians or between Africans from different colonies or tribes. Thus the coloured population in East London can be thought of as a society based upon segmentary opposition in some ways similar to that found in more homogeneous non-literate societies. The Yoruba may be hostile towards the Ibo on matters affecting Nigeria but they feel themselves at one in opposition to the Gold Coast people. All the West Africans feel themselves members of the same group in opposition to the West Indians, all Negroes in opposition to the Pakistanis, and all coloured people in opposition to the whites. This segmentation is not perfectly balanced as among the Nuer, where after a period of coalescence the segments return to the *status quo ante*; for in Britain the desire for social acceptance may progressively woo immigrants away from their traditional loyalties, or the continued experience of discrimination may maintain some coalescence; bonds which are established in times of solidarity may be too strong to be easily broken.

Tribal associations in East London follow closely the recent West African urban pattern of the tribal union or 'meeting.' In a town like Lagos there are many such unions composed of men usually from a particular town or district. In 1948, 31 of them were co-operating with the officers of the Welfare Department in helping their members, sometimes financially, at other times settling disputes, paying for the education of youths, and in some cases repatriating men and women regarded as being undesirable characters.[3] West African workers in Britain run 'meetings' on these same lines with which the members are acquainted and of which the obligations are clearly understood, though they are more reluctant to admit persons from other tribes than is apparently the case with some Lagos unions. Where there are only two or three fellow countrymen they may undertake to pay a contribution to one of their number each week, taking it in turns to be the recipient (*esusu*[4]).

The tribal association in East London which is the best organized is that of the Kru. They have the largest numbers of any tribe in the neighbourhood, and despite their extensive contact with European influences, they have, from the earliest times, had a tradition of intense solidarity. The Kru come from Liberia but there is a settlement of some 8,000 in Freetown, where many of them sign on as seamen. In Britain they have an organization legally incorporated as a Friendly Society to which they pay regular dues and upon which they can call when they are sick or unemployed. This, the United Kroo National Society, has branches throughout the United Kingdom which keep in close touch with one another. In East London the most important figure is an 'old-timer' whom all groups throughout the country acknowledge as their leader. He keeps in touch with his countrymen in Freetown and has on occasion acted on their behalf in the United Kingdom. He believes that the continued association of the British and the Kru on ships, and in colonial wars has brought the two peoples close to one another so that the British and the Kru stand together in opposition to 'the natives.' Believing fervently in the need for education he has established the Kroo Student Society, which aims to assist the younger immigrants to study in their spare time and is also registered under the Friendly Societies Acts. Most of the younger men, however, think of themselves as Africans and colonials in opposition to the British, and the Student

Society does not prosper like the National Society. Yet the old man has gathered round him a small group in which rank is determined by the values of their homeland and which receives Kru visitors in a manner incorporating certain traditional elements such as the spilling of a little gin on the doorstep before the remainder of the bottle is drunk. In such ways some of the group have succeeded in transplanting part of the body of collective attitudes upon which the unity of their tribe is founded.

A tribal group more representative of West Africans in Britain is that of the Ijo who come from the western part of the Niger delta. They have certain points of similarity with the Kru, for like them, many of their tribe are seamen and used to migrating in search of work; they are not advanced educationally and are sometimes looked down upon by other groups. Most of the Ijo in East London settled there just after the war, and for the first four to five years group loyalties steadily declined. This was owing partly to the individuals' personal difficulties, and partly to the fact that they were often let down by the men who appealed to their African loyalties. One Ijo who was acting as a landlord was at first unable to trust any but his fellow countrymen, and when a stranger came to him for a room he would reflect 'This man doesn't speak one language with me. No, I don't know how he will treat me,' and the would-be tenant was turned away. But after a while he found that he had nothing but trouble from his fellow countrymen and began to think it might be better to avoid having business dealings with them. 'My people don't show you respect,' he said. It can be very much more difficult to collect the rent, or to recover a debt, from a man who claims to be your brother, and it is usually the less responsible person who appeals to the obligations of the relationship. The Ijo used to hold a 'meeting' when each man paid in two shillings a week and could borrow money from the fund when he was in need, but the number supporting it got smaller and smaller until the subscription had to be reduced to one shilling, and then after a while the surviving members wound it up. Men who failed continually to live up to their obligations were ostracized by the others so that the pattern came to resemble that of a core surrounded by a small number of isolates. Within the core no one was recognized as senior and a desperate equality prevailed; thus, while the collective sentiment was not dead, relationships between members of the group were on an inter-personal plane. Some stimuli would have evoked that sentiment: they would have gone to the help of most of their fellow countrymen if they were in trouble, and would have contributed to the expenses of a funeral for a member of their tribe no matter how much they disliked him when alive.

In early 1952 group cohesion began to increase again. Some of the older men were in a better position to help others and were accorded a certain deference by the younger men falling into the category of 'Johnny Just Come.' A new 'meeting' was started with a membership of 13 and some of the local men who had been ostracized were not invited. One member of the group thought this decision wrong but he did not press the point. His unwillingness to come to judgment on a fellow tribesman was shown in the opinion he once expressed of a fellow countryman who spent much of his time gambling, who used to live a riotous life with women and gave no indication of settling down: 'I don't say he's doing wrong,' he said, 'London is a big place and there's room for all of us. He's been here longer than nearly all of us and he could have been sitting back giving advice. He's been unfortunate, but his way is completely different from ours.' At the same time as the new 'meeting' was started two new Ijo arrived and in a short space of time were provided with good housing accommodation and were drawn into a group life, which, as strangers to the country, meant a great deal to them. Making weekly contributions to a benefit fund is not only a form of insurance but an incentive to saving greatly valued by some of the men; one of them explained that if he lent a man money and it was paid back in instalments he was inclined to spend the instalments as they came in and thus the sum of these payments was not worth so much as the original loan.

Some of the Yoruba used at one time to hold a 'meeting,' but as some of their number moved out to more respectable neighbourhoods they did not continue it. It is interesting to note that in this instance an important part in the accounting was performed by the European wife of one of the men; normally the wives are not admitted because they rarely speak the language and are generally considered untrustworthy. None of the other West African groups in East London maintains any tribal association. There are appreciable numbers of immigrants of common origin from Freetown and Bathurst but these men are always referred to by the others as 'Freetown boys' and 'Bathurst boys' without any distinction as to tribe. Some of the Freetonians prefer to use the coastal *patois* in talking to fellow countrymen and can, indeed, speak their tribal language only with difficulty. Nearly all of them were 'pilots' or 'rarray boys' before they migrated, usually as stowaways; they possess little common culture and show much less cohesion than the other groups.

The position of European wives in the tribal group is an interesting one. All the West African immigrants are males and whilst a few find wives among the United Kingdom—born coloured women, the majority marry or consort with white women, who frequently have come from the industrial towns of the North or from Ireland. The women make many concessions to the tastes and customs of their menfolk and learn a great deal from them; they learn how to cook African dishes and often how to speak a little of their consort's language. They act as intermediaries for their men in dealing with officialdom and manage the correspondence of those who are not literate. The man instructs his wife in her obligations towards his kinsmen and countrymen, and, being to some extent ostracized by the whites, she tends to identify herself with the cause of the coloured man and gradually obtains an honorary place in the system of tribal loyalties. In many ways, however, her influence operates against the immigrants' pre-migration values and is a means of adapting them to the expectations of the new society. As children grow up the father's

obligations to his family may not harmonize with those to his fellow countrymen as well as they would in Africa. Conflict arises as a result of the control the English women have over some household matters, and was expressed in the words of a Nigerian who complained 'I'm fed up with all this business of "Missus say . . ." I've lived in too many old-timers' houses in Liverpool not to know what it's like. These things should be man to man and woman to woman.' The sanctions which the tribal group can wield against wrong-doers may be extended to cover the wives of members of the group, for a man whose wife has disgraced herself in the eyes of the others will not be able to take her with him when he goes to visit them. Where a group is fairly cohesive and some sanctions can be applied to enforce group norms, an element of social control is brought into the situation where the purely external means of control—such as the police—are ineffective. Such sanctions, the refusal to help people, the withdrawal of recognition, etc., are not powerful, but in the long run they can have an important influence in bringing miscreants to heel.

The small group among immigrants—such as that of members of the same tribe—has a very important function, in respect both to the individual members whom it helps to adjust to the new circumstances, and to the wider society. In Britain the barrier to the assimilation of the West African immigrants is not the unwillingness or inability of the immigrants to follow British modes of behaviour, but comes from the reluctance of the British public to accept them socially. Thus the small tribal group is not the obstacle to assimilation which it is sometimes thought, for lack of organization on the part of the immigrants does not aid assimilation when the principal obstacle is created by the other group. Immigrant organization can help the men to fight for social equality and it is the only way by which effective means of social control can be developed.

Notes

[1] This article is based upon material collected in the course of research carried out on a grant from the Noel-Buxton Trust.

[2] See my 'Recent Migration from West Africa and the West Indies to the United Kingdom,' *Population Studies*, Vol. VII (1953), No. 1; also my article in *Phylon*, Vol. XIV (1953).

[3] S. Comhaire-Sylvain, 'Associations on the Basis of Origin in Lagos, Nigeria,' *Amer. Cath. Sociol. Rev.*, Vol. XI (1950), pp. 234–6.

[4] See W. R. Bascom in *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXII (1952), pp. 63–9; and MAN, 1953, 51, 123 and 225.—ED.

OBITUARY

Wendell Clark Bennett: 1905–1953

204 The tragic death of the Royal Anthropological Institute's Honorary Fellow, Professor Bennett of Yale, is a serious loss to anthropology and a shattering blow to South American archæology. To his many friends the world over it is cause for deep sorrow. He was accidentally drowned recently, when going to the assistance of his daughter who was bathing in a rough sea.

Wendell Clark Bennett was born in 1905. He graduated at the University of Chicago, taking his doctorate in 1930. He was an Assistant Curator at the American Museum of Natural History from 1931 to 1938, Associate Professor of Anthropology successively at the University of Wisconsin and at Yale, becoming Professor at Yale in 1945. He was an active member of the American Anthropological Association, serving on several of its committees, and was President in 1952. He was Treasurer of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists at its New York session in 1949. During the recent war he served the United States Government on the Ethnogeographic Board, an organization whose duty was to supply all sorts of information about peoples and places for the use of the armed forces, and to put forward the names of specialists who could best undertake particular jobs. His field work included expeditions to Mexico, Bolivia, Venezuela, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and at least three to Peru, resulting in a long series of papers and monographs which have transformed our knowledge of South American archæology. He made notable contributions to the great *Handbook of South American Indians*, and, with his friend Junius Bird, he wrote the most admirable summary of South American archæology called *Andean Culture History* as a handbook of the American Museum of Natural History. We had looked forward to many more contributions to knowledge from his pen.

These are the bones of his career and they may give some little idea of his ability and his achievements, but there was more than that. All who knew him will treasure memories of Wendy Bennett as a friendly, genial personality and a most hospitable host. He knew and understood Latin America as few foreigners can, and he had a profound knowledge of Spanish. I have the liveliest recollections of his able chairmanship of meetings of the archæological section of the Peruvianist Congress in Lima in 1951, and of his firm and tactful handling of at least one difficult situation, but even more agreeable are my memories of our pleasant social contacts outside the Congress meetings.

His family and his colleagues in the United States can be assured of our deepest sympathy.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Subcutaneous Fat and Age Changes in the Body Form of Women. *By Professor B. Škerlj, University of Ljubljana. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 29 January, 1953*

205 In this study I was mainly concerned (together with J. Brožek, University of Minnesota, and E. E. Hunt, Jr., Forsyth Infirmary, Boston, Mass.) with the mass and distribution of soft tissue (muscles and, particularly, fat) in the female body. During the summer of 1952, in the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, University of Minnesota, 84 women, from 18 to 67 years old, were investigated by inspection and by measuring specific gravity, height, weight and skinfold thickness at ten sites.

With respect to the mass of soft tissue evaluated by inspection, there is a certain increase of 'hyperplastic' types and a decrease of 'normal' and 'hypoplastic' types with age. This is paralleled by a decreasing specific gravity. Comparing the mass of the

subcutaneous fat with the total body fat one sees that the increase with age is, apparently, due chiefly to an increase of the 'inner' fat.

The distribution of the subcutaneous fat on the female body changes with age in that (1) the subcutaneous fat thickness increases mainly on the trunk and, in some cases, on the proximal parts of the extremities; (2) there is a relative, or even absolute, decrease on the limbs, especially on their distal parts; and (3) there are apparent age changes in body form. Comparisons with men show that the main trends in both sexes are the same. Considering the body form in women, younger ones have more subcutaneous fat below the waist (*I* vector), older ones above the waist (*S* vector); also, younger ones are characterized by more subcutaneous fat on the extremities (*Ex* vector), the older ones on the trunk (*Tr* vector). There is, then, a clear-cut age shift in both these vector continua from *I* to *S* and from *Ex* to *Tr*. These changes as well as the changing relationship between the 'inner' and subcutaneous fat seem to be important criteria of aging in future constitutional and nutrition studies.

Anthropological Measurements on the Arab Bedouin with Comments on their Customs. *By Professor William M. Shanklin, American University, Beirut, Lebanon. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 30 June, 1953*

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This lecture was based on observations and measurements made on the males of five Bedouin tribes. The series includes 270 Rwala, 176 Maualy, 120 Akeydat, 70 Howeitat and 65 Beni Sakhr tribesmen. The Akeydat and Maualy are primarily sheep-breeders living in the north Syrian desert; the Rwala raise camels and migrate deep into the Syrian desert; the Beni Sakhr and Howeitat live in Jordan, some of their tribesmen raising sheep while others are camel-breeders.

Members of the different tribes were fairly similar in their observable characteristics. The observations given below, unless otherwise noted, are on the Beni Sakhr. Skin colour, forehead: medium brown 55, light brown 21, red-brown 11, and chocolate 5 per cent. Hair form: low waves 35, curly 30, deep waves 22 and straight 13 per cent. Hair texture: coarse 37, medium 24 and fine 39 per cent. Hair quantity, beard: very small 14, sub-medium 39, medium 27 and pronounced 19 per cent. Hair colour, head: black 33, dark brown 48, brown 15 and red 4 per cent. Eye colour: dark brown 37, dark-light brown 12, light brown 50, grey-brown 2 per cent. Many more eyes of mixed colour were observed among the Maualy, Akeydat and Rwala. Maualy eye colour: dark brown 75, blue-brown 11, grey-brown 11, light brown, black and blue 1 per cent. each. The presence of light mixed eyes among these Bedouin is evidence of some degree of blondism. The same is true for eye colour among the desert border villagers. This is illustrated by the males of the village of Hafar: grey-brown 13, green-brown 13, blue-brown 8, blue 4 and grey 2 per cent. Examples of the 'Jewish type' of nose were not numerous among the Bedouin. Actually their noses tend to be straight with a high bridge and are relatively narrow. Beni Sakhr nasal profile: concave 7, straight 61, convex 30 and wavy 2 per cent. Nasal bridge heights were: sub-medium 3, medium 48, pronounced 43 and very pronounced 5 per cent. Nearly all of the Bedouin were of the linear body build.

One of the most interesting findings was the striking difference in stature; the Akeydat (168 cm.) and Maualy (170 cm.) were relatively tall while the three other tribes were short: Rwala 162, Beni Sakhr and Howeitat 163 cm. each. The Akeydat and Maualy sitting heights, 86 and 87 cm., are also high compared with those of Rwala 83, Beni Sakhr 83 and Howeitat 85. The relative sitting heights are Akeydat and Maualy 50·5 per cent. each, Rwala 51·1, Beni Sakhr 51·2 and Howeitat 51·7. Coon considers a relative sitting height of 51 a standard Mediterranean character.

All five of the groups have long narrow heads. Head lengths vary from 190 mm. for Beni Sakhr and Rwala to 192 for Howeitat. Head breadths vary from 143 mm. for Beni Sakhr to 146 for Akeydat and 147 for Maualy. The cephalic indices are: Beni Sakhr 74·9, Rwala 75·0, Howeitat 75·5, Akeydat 76·4 and Maualy 77·3. The cephalic indices of the Lebanese and Syrians fall into three categories. The Bedouin cephalic indices vary from 74·9 to 77·3, the desert border villagers (for example, Mhardeh 79·9) tend to have averages around 80, while the Mitwali living in the mountains are hyper-brachycephalics (87·4). The studies of Ewing suggest that this extreme brachycephalism may be due to cradling.

The actual facial measurements show that the faces of the Akeydat and Maualy are, like stature, much greater than those of the other Bedouin. Minimum frontal diameter: Beni Sakhr 104 mm., Howeitat 106, Akeydat 110 and Maualy 110. Bizygomatic diameter: Beni Sakhr and Howeitat 131 mm. each, Akeydat 135 and Maualy 136. Total facial height: Howeitat 115 mm., Beni Sakhr 120, Akeydat 123 and Maualy 124. Upper facial height: Howeitat 67 mm., Beni Sakhr 69, Akeydat 72 and Maualy 73.

On the basis of the above measurements I conclude that these Bedouin constitute two varieties of the Mediterranean Race, the Rwala, Beni Sakhr and Howeitat representing the small variety while the Akeydat and Maualy represent the large variety.

A comparison of the Bedouin with the desert border villagers shows that in some features there are striking similarities, but in others there is marked dissimilarity. The occupants of the desert border vary markedly from village to village, and show as much variation among themselves as they do when compared with the Bedouin. This is not surprising, for the hostile desert has not attracted newcomers, whereas the 'Fertile Crescent' surrounding the northern side of the Syrian desert and the fertile plains extending south from Aleppo and including the old cities of Hama, Homs and Damascus have been the battleground of successive waves of invaders from the time of earliest recorded history.

The customs and manners of these Bedouin remained unchanged from early biblical days until very recent years. Strong governmental control, aided by modern transportation, has nearly ended some of their activities, especially raiding. Furthermore, the development of the vast oil industry in their midst and the policies of some governments of encouraging the Bedouin to settle on the land are having a profound effect on the economy and customs of many of the tribes.

SHORTER NOTE

Horniman Museum Lectures, January–March, 1954

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The following illustrated lectures of anthropological interest will be delivered at the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London, S.E. 23, on Saturday afternoons at 3.30 during the first quarter of 1954: 9 January, Mrs. J. Adamson on 'Traditional Customs and Costumes of Some Kenya Tribes'; 23 January, Dr. I. C. Peate on 'The Welsh Folk Museum'; 30 January, Dr. A. A. Bake on 'Hobby-Horses and other Folk Dances in Southern India'; 6 February, Mr. M. Freedman on 'Death and Marriage among Chinese in Singapore'; 20 February, Mr. W. Watson on 'Ancient Chinese Civilization'; 13 March, Dr. J. Kunst on 'Dutch Folk Dances.'

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Life of the Past: An Introduction to Palæontology. *By George Gaylord Simpson. New Haven (Yale U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. xii, 198, 48 figs. Price £1 5s.*

208 The book is written with an air of well assured dogmatism such as no doubt befits the presentation by a great exponent of the subject to 'the general reader and the beginning student alike.' But in one regard this attitude may awaken uncomfortable thoughts in some readers. The author will have nothing to do with any Lamarckian interpretations of organic evolution. That attitude is probably well justified and its inception is easy to understand in the case of one who is the Curator of fossil mammals and birds in the American Museum of Natural History. But the manner of dealing with the subject is somewhat disturbing. On p. 144, the author writes: 'There are still a handful of neo-Lamarckians in countries where known truths, possibilities and known errors may be expressed with equal freedom. The only significant support for neo-Lamarckism now, however, is in the U.S.S.R., where *only* error may be expressed if the political bosses so decree.' It is greatly to be hoped that no circumstances of time or place have contributed towards this style of writing, for it would be a bad day for science should declarations of this kind be considered necessary or even desirable. The well-known findings of palæontologists and 'neontologists' are presented with the clarity naturally expected from the Professor of Vertebrate Palæontology at Columbia University: but even for an exposition of the subject to the 'beginning student,' the author has seen fit to employ such usually unfamiliar and unpleasing terms as 'thanatocenose,' 'biocenose,' 'biotas' and 'hypodigm.' On the other hand, descent is made to terming precarious land bridges as 'sweepstakes routes' and to the use of such expressions as 'Baron Georges Léopold Chrétien Frédéric Dagobert Cuvier (1769–1832), "Cuvier" for short.' Possibly I have failed in ordinary intelligence in that I have to confess to some difficulty in grasping completely the meaning of certain passages in the book. 'Darwinian natural selection, death or survival of certain sorts of individuals, may and usually does lead to reproductive or genetical selection. When it does not, it has no effect on evolution. When it does, it is a special case of genetical selection. Genetical selection is more general and does not necessarily involve Darwinian natural selection. To take only one simple case, it is evident that two individuals that survive equally long may nevertheless have quite different numbers of offspring. Then genetical but not Darwinian selection has occurred.' It is not clear to me exactly why, if two individuals have lived for the same length of time but have not produced the same number of offspring, they have thereby demonstrated the phenomenon of the action of selection of any kind. But perhaps this failure to appreciate the import goes deeper and is due to a more profound ignorance on my part.

The illustrations are frankly diagrammatic but, even as diagrams, most of them must be judged as somewhat crude and it is difficult to ascribe any scientific value whatever to such a figure as that reproduced as fig. 17 on p. 52.

A very useful appendix—'A review of the forms of life'—gives in readily accessible form the brief palæontological histories of the main phyla both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The author may be said to have achieved his aim of producing 'a nontechnical discussion of the whole scope and significance of palæontology as a science, concerned with the principles and interpretation of the history of life and not only with the identification of objects called fossils.' On this he is to be congratulated. F. WOOD JONES

Primates: A Monograph: Comparative Anatomy and Taxonomy, Vol. I, Strepsirrhini. *By W. C. Osman Hill. Edinburgh (U.P.), 1953. Pp. xxiii, 798, 199 text figs. and 34 plates. Price 5 gns.*

209 It is obviously impossible to review, in the ordinary way, a monograph so detailed and so important as Dr. Osman Hill's first volume on the Primates. This volume contains a comprehensive account of the Strepsirrhine Primates—the Lemurs and the Lorises—and deals exhaustively with the taxonomy, the distribution, the habits and, above all, the anatomy of the members of the group. Extinct as well as living forms are dealt with and the whole corpus of our knowledge concerning the Strepsirrhine Primates is gathered together in this beautifully prepared volume.

The appearance of a monograph on any group of living things is an event of importance; but a monograph dealing with a Mammalian Order is something upon which to congratulate both the author and the enlightened policy of the Edinburgh University Press. In the golden age of publishing, beautiful monographs dealing with avian groups and with botanical subjects were freely produced and were eagerly sought for by specialists and amateurs alike; but exhaustive works on special Mammalian Orders have always been few and far between and have had no such wide appeal. Perhaps the most attractive feature of the older monographic works was the beautiful coloured plates with which they were adorned: but the real student of the Primates will gladly forego this luxury in exchange for the detailed and accurate line drawings signed by Yvonne Burn. The succeeding volumes of Dr. Osman Hill's monograph will be eagerly looked forward to by all students of man's nearest relatives. F. WOOD JONES

Anthropology Today: An Encyclopædic Inventory. *Prepared under the Chairmanship of A. L. Kroeber. Chicago (U. of Chicago P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1953. Pp. xv, 966. Price £3 7s. 6d.*

210 This is the first of the three volumes which resulted from a grand enterprise carried through in a notably short time. The preface tells of the beginning of the enterprise in a letter of September, 1951, from Dr. Paul Fejos, Director of Research of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to the Foundation's Board of Directors. 'That letter proposed a symposium to which scholars from nearly all major regions of the world would be invited, in order to assess the accomplishments of anthropological science to date and to solicit answers on what direction future research would be likely to take, so that the Wenner-Gren Foundation might be provided with a concrete basis on which to erect its future policies.'

Within two months a planning committee, under the chairmanship of Professor A. L. Kroeber, had met and had blocked out plans and procedures for the Symposium. Within three months invitations had been sent to 58 United States scholars and to 31 from other countries to attend the Symposium in New York on 9–20 June, 1952, under the beneficent auspices of the Foundation. Before the opening session, the 50 inventory papers prepared as a basis for discussions had been written and circulated to the Symposium participants. Before the end of 1952 the volume under review, of the inventory papers, had been published. A few months later there appeared a second volume, the edited discussions which took place at the Symposium, and shortly thereafter the third volume of the project, a catalogue of resources for anthropological research, was published.

The dispatch with which all this was accomplished is a heartening change from the more familiar and more languid pace of publication, but it also imposed certain limitations on those who accepted an invitation to write an inventory paper. In most cases a bare three months was available, and this in the midst of a calendar already crowded with other obligations. Few new research leads could be worked through in that period, but work already done could be summarized and surveys which came fairly readily to hand could be prepared. Thus the papers, not generally notable for literary polish, do fulfil their purpose of stock-taking. Professor Kroeber defines the purpose of an inventory paper in his introduction to the volume: 'It is a systematic review of the methods deployed and substantive results obtained by research along a particular front—a subject or field or segment of anthropology—as this has developed, particularly in recent years.'

The way in which these subjects and fields are classified in the

volume marks a noteworthy departure from the conventional divisions of anthropology. The three major groupings are entitled, 'Problems of the Historical Approach,' 'Problems of Process,' and 'Problems of Application.' Hence inventory papers dealing with data from physical anthropology and linguistics are represented in all three groupings: synoptic subjects such as comparative religion or primitive art are not treated in separate articles (the papers on social structure and on folklore are special cases), but references to studies of religion or art appear in a wide range of the papers. The criterion for the major classification of anthropological subjects then is not the context of observation, whether linguistic, human-biological or other but rather the uses to which the observations are put, historical-explanatory, scientific-generalizing, or applicative.

Not much more than a listing of papers and authors is possible in a brief review: many of the papers and certainly the volume itself deserve long, careful and thorough-going consideration.

Each of the first two divisions has subsections on method, results, and theory respectively. Three papers comprise the group on method under problems of the historical approach. Heizer and Oakley give fine summaries of the techniques for dating finds. Rouse discusses objectives in methodology. Under 'results' in this historical section appear papers on a variety of subjects relating to human (and primate) biology and evolution, by Strauss, Teilhard de Chardin, Weinert, Ackerknecht, Monge and Vallois. Old World prehistory is well surveyed by Movius and Childe, New World culture history by Bennett, Caso and Krieger. Greenberg has an illuminating review of historical linguistics; Schapiro analyses problems of style.

The subsection on theory in the historical-approach section leads off with an apt discussion by Steward of cultural evolution and by Carter of biological evolution. Clark and Willey contribute two cogent papers on archæological theory which have wide bearing throughout anthropology. Strong's appraisal of the place of the historical approach in anthropology concludes the subsection.

The papers on method in the section on problems of process includes three on relatively specialized procedures, by Lounsbury on field linguistics, by Henry and Spiro on projective tests, and by Murdock on the processing of anthropological materials. Two are on a broader front and are particularly useful expositions of the subjects, by Paul on field techniques and relationships and by Lewis on controls and experiments in field work.

The next following subsection on 'results' also includes several articles on relatively specialized subjects, by Boyd on genetics, Hoijer and Martinet on linguistics, Thompson on folklore. Beals reviews the results of acculturation studies, Hallowell considers the fundamental precepts of culture-personality research, Mead sums up national-character studies. The other papers on the subsection deal with some of the basic categories of anthropological analysis; these include Lévi-Strauss on social structure, Kluckhohn on universal categories, Northrup on cultural values and Bidney on the concept of value.

The subsection on theory under problems of process contains three articles. Bates presents a broad perspective of human ecology. Two complementary and incisive discussions are those by Washburn on the strategy of physical anthropology and by Redfield on the relation of anthropology to the social sciences and the humanities.

Problems of application, discussed in the third main section, are surveyed by Newman and by Tanner in their biological aspects, by Caudill for medicine, by Haas for linguistics, by Chapple for industry. Four papers on applied anthropology in different governmental situations conclude the section: they are by Kennard and Macgregor, Forde, Held and Métraux. A discussion by Rowe of technical aids in anthropology appears at the end of the volume.

These latter papers on problems of application exemplify one of the major contributions of the volume. Studies in applied anthropology are mainly of recent date and have been published in a wide variety of sources. Here for the first time there is brought together for convenient reference and study the outcome of much research work in a new area of inquiry. If the papers yielded no more useful information than the bibliographies contained in each, they still would be most valuable.

Actually they yield a great deal more. They constitute a fair enough accounting of our anthropological culture at mid-century. Anthropologists have been benefited by this volume both in the tools it has made available for the furtherance of their own work and in the accomplishment it presents for inspection and contemplation by non-anthropologists. Over the whole enterprise has shone the sun of Professor Kroeber's bright and benign wisdom. In his brief introduction, he sets the note which was independently sounded in a number of the inventory papers—that all which anthropology studies is one and its name is one.

The reinforcement of this tenet may possibly turn out to be of considerable consequence in the history of science, but there remains the question of whether the purposes set forth by the Director of Research of the Wenner-Gren Foundation have been fulfilled. Does this volume assess anthropological accomplishments and provide clues to strategic directions for future research? Perhaps the fairest answer is that this volume, as well as the second volume of Symposium discussions, makes it more feasible to do these things but does not, in itself, accomplish them. As the subtitle indicates, the volume has some of the qualities of an encyclopædia. The scope has been too great, the authors necessarily too concerned with their particular assignments, the time for reflection too limited, for clear and well considered answers to be forthcoming in these papers. But such answers can now be more intelligently given on the basis of the Symposium papers. For their unusual deed of intellectual entrepreneurship in initiating and making possible the International Symposium, the Board of Directors and Director of Research of the Wenner-Gren Foundation must be thanked.

DAVID G. MANDELBAUM

Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions. *By A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn. Pap. Peabody Mus. Amer. Arch. and Ethn., Harvard U., Vol. XLVII, No. 1. Cambridge, Mass., 1952. Pp. viii, 223*

211 With the aid of five graduate research assistants, six secretaries and two editors, Professors Kroeber and Kluckhohn have here assembled 300 definitions and statements concerning the word 'culture.' These they have classified and compared, adding a review of their own present standpoint with regard to this concept. This sort of staff work is so far beyond the resources of the small guerilla bands of British anthropologists that inevitably admiration is tempered by some initial doubt of its necessity. But unjustly so, for this is a most useful document which fulfils with considerable success the larger part of the authors' intentions—to provide 'some sources for a case study in one aspect of recent intellectual history'; to document 'the gradual emergence and refinement of a concept we believe to be of great actual and still greater potential significance'; and to 'assist other investigators in reaching agreement and greater precision in definition in pointing out and commenting upon agreements and disagreements in the definitions thus far propounded' (p. 4).

Apart from the considerable utility of this book as a presentation of source material it is also a stimulating contribution to theoretical discussion. But, paradoxically, although in its dismembered sections almost all the authors' argument can only be welcomed—as in the discussion of the strategic levels of analysis of human behaviour, in the survey of the 'science *v.* historiography' debate, and in the comments on the basic biological facts which determine the rock-bottom comparabilities of human social life and custom—in its sum total it leaves the reader with one or two uncomfortable questions. Interesting as the etymological and semantic study of a single word may be, the fundamental issue at this stage of anthropological development is surely not how X's use of the concept 'culture' compares with Y's, but how intelligible X's argument as a whole may be to other workers in the general fields of inquiry to which his work may be relevant. A degree of standardization of vocabulary is essential, but over-precise universal agreement on the definition of abstractions of this order might be positively detrimental. A premature standardization of terminology, however convenient for the card index, would only indicate theoretical fossilization. But in fact the work under review demonstrates quite well that 'culture' is still all things to a wide variety of men, including its confessed devotees.

If then the basic unit for meaningful discussion of the history of anthropology is the 'total argument,' it follows that a discussion of disjointed concepts is liable at times to be profitless or misleading. A 'snippet' definition may in fact be totally unintelligible in isolation (the one noticeable case here is the passage from Fortes's 'Time and Social Structure' on p. 130) or at least only partially significant. Further, the selection of any one concept as fundamental, whether as the one crucial 'explanatory concept' (p. 3) or as a 'general category of nature' (p. 185), seems a little arbitrary, and, with current and past research in mind, doubtfully justified.

To the unconvinced, the most discouraging thing about this all-embracing concept is its morass-like quality, and the lack of success so far achieved in breaking it down. The authors' view is that there is merit in attributing to 'culture' all the many facets, elements and qualities they categorize in their historical review—inclusive, traditional, normative, adjustive, integrated, symbolic—but that those properties of the patterned activity of culture which seem most distinctive of it and most important 'are its significance and its values, or perhaps, "significance or values," for the two are difficult to keep separate and perhaps constitute no more than somewhat different aspects of the same thing' (p. 171).

How far does this argument carry conviction? Granted that the concepts of custom, norm, tradition, symbol and value are all of the greatest proved utility to the social scientist, does this necessitate their compounding into a system of further abstraction, or is it not better to relate them primarily to the structure of social relations within which they apply? And even if 'culture' is treated as a frame of reference of the same level or status as that of structure, what achievements have yet been made by this procedure alone? One suspects that much of what has been hailed, in this book and elsewhere, as the achievement of 'cultural anthropology' (*cf.* p. 167) is in fact 'structural' if looked at closely enough. The status of theoretical linguistics might seem to belie this argument and show a case where social-structural contexts are irrelevant, but in fact language can be abstracted and treated as a system of symbols on its own not because its social context is irrelevant but because this is so easily and implicitly assessed and its social locus is so easily defined. The relationship of 'values' to the social structure, for example, is contrariwise of such considerable intricacy that one might ask what validity there is in discussing a value system as the key element of a culture before first plotting its structural relevance. Music and other art forms, possibly systems of religious symbolism and philosophy, are or might well be treated up to a point in a way analogous to language, but one doubts whether that is what is meant by 'cultural analysis' in Kluckhohn's and Kroeber's sense.

How the authors arrived at the conclusion that this is the all-important concept is an interesting point. They could doubtless support it on the evidence of a word count of any representative sample of anthropological literature, or, as they have so amply demonstrated, on that of the statements of opinion they have collected. But these are not necessarily reliable guides. On p. 162 Professors Kroeber and Kluckhohn point out the necessity, now generally appreciated, for the anthropologist to distinguish at least three different classes of data: '(*i*) a people's notions of the way things ought to be: (*ii*) their conceptions of the way the group actually behaves: (*iii*) what does in fact occur, as objectively determined.' The application of this routine to the study of the social scientist's own activities might provide an interesting result. In short, the major criticism of this book is that it pays a disproportionate attention to what social scientists say they are doing or ought to do, with little attempt to show how their practice measures up to their theorizing. Such an attempt would be far more arduous than the simple analysis of statements of faith, generally well indexed and easily excerpted, and the co-ordination of a research battery for such a task might be difficult, but it should take the argument at least one stage further forward. In so far as it would involve an investigation into certain social factors limiting and stimulating anthropological theory this would be particularly interesting. Is it impertinent to hazard the guess that there is a traditional structurally moulded element in the attitude many anthropologists show towards their concepts (and not only 'culture')?

'Culture' is still a most useful term and cannot conveniently be expunged from our vocabularies or even now rigidly restricted to the usage recommended by Professor Radcliffe-Brown and the *O.E.D.*, but we should beware of any tendency it might show to become a symbol restricting conceptual divergences and analytical progress while justifying the continuing coherence of the devotees of that heterogeneous group of disciplines traditionally known as anthropology.

However, this is a book which even the dissident will find useful; and, even if all do not agree with the theoretical views it expresses, as a contribution to inter- and intra-disciplinary communication it is certainly to be welcomed. RALPH BULMER

Anthropogenesis: A Study of the Origin of Man. *By A. Pannekoek. Amsterdam (North Holland Publ. Co.), 1953. Pp. 120. Price 12 florins*

212 This is an English version of a book issued in Dutch during the war, and it includes French and German summaries. It is written from the point of view of the social psychologist. Abstract thinking, tools and speech are made the three basic human characteristics and are assumed to have evolved together. At the same time the author allows that social life is a primary human characteristic, that man is essentially a groundling with at least a close approach to the erect posture, and that the use (probably not at first the making) of fire came very early. The Neandertal types are looked upon, more or less, as precursors of *Homo sapiens*, a doubtful view; but the book is not primarily concerned with archæology and physical anthropology. The English is so good that one wishes the few remaining defects in this respect had been smoothed away. The book is a thoughtful and balanced summary of generally accepted news, save that the author seems a little too favourable to Lévy-Bruhl's theories. H. J. FLEURE

Plough and Pasture: The Early History of Farming. *By E. Cecil Curwen and Gudmund Hatt. New York (Schuman), 1953. Pp. 329, 14 plates, text figs., map. Price $5*

213 This is a book of joint authorship in which 'an attempt is made to sketch the story of food-production down the ages from earliest beginnings to modern times.' Each author uses roughly half the space of the book for his part. Dr. Curwen, an English antiquary whose special interests are the study of prehistoric agriculture and agricultural implements deals authoritatively and very clearly in Part I with Prehistoric Farming of Europe and the Near East. Professor Gudmund Hatt, who was Professor of Human Geography at the University of Copenhagen from 1929 to 1947, is equally competent to deal in Part II with Farming of Non-European Peoples.

Dr. Curwen's method of treatment is best appreciated by listing the chapter headings of his part: The Quest for Food, The Origin of Agriculture, The Origin of Stockbreeding, The Early Spread of Agriculture, Plows and Fields, Pasture, Reaping and Threshing, and Drying and Milling. All the 14 excellent photographic plates are in illustration of these chapters, as also are 21 out of the 25 line drawings. The section dealing with the origin of the cereals or grain plants, wheat and barley, is a very clear piece of elucidation of what might be a dull subject. Dr. Curwen has done much original work on the evolution and history of rotary querns or handmills in Britain some of which is incorporated in the interesting chapter on Drying and Milling.

Illustrations (only four line blocks in the text and a map) are very much lacking in Part II of the book, that covered by Professor Hatt. In this he attempts 'to elucidate the origin of farming by studying the economic culture of non-European peoples of modern or late historic times.' He introduces a map, unfortunately without a general title, in which a 'rough outline of the geographical distribution of certain types of economic culture is indicated as it was at a period before the Europeanization of the world.'

Of necessity this second part, because of its vast field, has to be treated somewhat sketchily by the author, but he nevertheless produces a work which is at least easily readable and easily understandable. There is a short but interesting chapter on Nutrition.

The book is obviously intended to be of a popular character and its size has kept down detail. But this is compensated by the

inclusion of most useful bibliographies, one to each part of the book. Dr. Curwen does not give individual references to authorities from whom he has derived information. These are listed alphabetically under authors. Professor Hatt, on the other hand uses a convenient and simple keying of references in his bibliography thus avoiding much repetition of book titles. With the help of these bibliographies the reader is enabled to follow up particular subjects more thoroughly. THOMAS W. BAGSHAWE

Gestaltheiligkeit im bäuerlichen Arbeitsmythos. *By Leopold Schmidt. Wien (Österreich. Mus. für Volkskunde), 1952. Pp. viii, 240, 7 maps*

214 In his latest book Professor Schmidt rightly maintains that the study of the spiritual background of material folk culture remains the chief concern of folklorists. In his investigation of harvest implements, among which sickle and scythe occupy the first rank, he proves that their deep spiritual meaning is of far greater significance than the aspects of material and form, origin and diffusion. Never before has the close relationship between material culture, folk art and magico-religious objects been so clearly demonstrated. The author uses the term *Gestaltheiligkeit* to denote 'traditional form *plus* traditional meaning' as a kind of depth charge. The peasants' unanimous and yet unconscious acknowledgment of the sacredness inherent in their harvest implements constitutes the 'bäuerliche Arbeitsmythos.'

It took Professor Schmidt 20 years to collect the relevant beliefs and customs in many parts of the Eurasian continent. The archetypes of the mythological beings associated with the sickle, whose variety is astounding, go back to the Neolithic period and are so dim that we can no longer recognize to what extent the people differentiated between the implement itself and its anthropomorphic form.

The whole subject seems to me so original and important that I prefer to forego questioning some very minor points and put instead four Celtic references on the maps, which have been left almost blank in regard to the British Isles.

There were and still are places where the cutting of hay is taboo: on visiting the large stone circle at Ballynoe (Co. Down) in the summer of 1951 I noticed that the high grass between the two inner rings had been left standing. There is an Irish parallel to the North German and Finnish *Wetzzauber* (p. 53): at Samhain-tide the Fianna used to grind their arms on a stone (*Silva Gadelica*, II, 209); the strange markings on the well-known stone at Kilnasaggart may have been caused by such a magical observance. In 'The Adventures of the Sons of Eochaid' (*Revue Celtique*, Vol. XXIV, p. 197) we read about an old loathsome hag guarding a well: 'The green branch of an oak in bearing would be severed by the sickle of green teeth that lay in her head and reached to her ears . . .' Sickles are mentioned among the implements of Celtic saints (Wh. Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 253; M. Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, p. xxxiii). Evidence of greater bearing may be forthcoming from Celtic literature; Professor Schmidt's book should greatly help to elucidate their meaning.

E. ETTLINGER

AFRICA

Islam in Ethiopia. *By J. Spencer Trimingham. O.U.P., 1952. Pp. xvi, 299, 6 maps. Price 25s.*

215 Let it be said at once that Mr. Trimingham has produced a book of major importance for the study of Ethiopia, in which he distinguishes between Abyssinia, the kingdom of the highlands whose people use the Ethiopic group of languages, and Ethiopia, the wider region which includes the state founded by Menilek II at the end of the nineteenth century. The book is divided into four main sections: The Region and Its Folk; The Conflict of Christianity and Islam in Ethiopia; Tribal Distribution of Islam; Special Characteristics of Islam in the Region. So comprehensive is his treatment that the book is practically a history of the country. It brings out the fundamental importance of Christianity in the political and social life of the Abyssinians, and describes how for a long period much of the history of Abyssinia has been concerned with the conflict between the two religions. This conflict, which came to a head in the invasion of Abyssinia by Ahmad Grany in 1527–8, was accompanied by another event which had far-reaching effects on the country, the Galla invasion which began between 1522 and 1530.

The strength of Christianity was such that Islam, though it could gain a footing in places, never acquired a real hold in Abyssinia. Parts of Eastern Ethiopia like Somaliland were of course Islamized at an early period, and Islamic centres grew up in places like Harar. But the mass of pagan south-western Ethiopia resisted both Christianity and Islam; the original establishment of both before the Galla invasion was followed by decay, with the re-emergence of Islam in the Galla monarchies which grew up in the Gibē region.

One of the features of the book is the attention paid to the ethnology of the peoples concerned. The first part (pp. 1–31) contains a sketch of the ethnological and cultural history with the general conclusions of which one may agree. The section entitled 'Tribal Distribution of Islam' reviews briefly the history and political organization of the Hamitic and negroid peoples of the region, including some of the Beja and Agau, the Afar, Saho, Sidama, Gurage, Galla and Somali, the greatest space being given to the Galla on account of the Moslem monarchies of the Gibē.

While the author's scholarship and skill have produced a book that is on the whole a sound, well written, even brilliant study of an immensely complicated subject, there are (as is inevitable in a work of such complexity) some questionable points of detail. The speculations about the origin of the *gada* system of the Galla (ascribed on p. 8 to the former Bantu inhabitants of Central Somalia, and on p. 191 to the 'Hamitic Nilotes') come into this category, as do the supposed Bantu predecessors of the Somali (pp. 8, 221) of whose existence there is no real evidence, such Bantu as do occur being settlements of slaves of comparatively recent times. Some of the spellings adopted are also questionable; and it is surely better to use standardized forms for well-known names like Massawa, Mogadishu, Hamasen, Suakin. The grouping of Somali tribes (p. 210) is not quite accurate, and some of the spellings are shaky (Webi Shabēli, for instance, should be W. Shabelle, and Isaq is Ishāq—pronounced Is-hāq). The index is full, but indulges in the tiresome practice of giving long strings of page references without subheadings. These minor details, which can easily be corrected in a future edition, do not in the least detract from the value of the book.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes. *By I. Schapera. L.S.E. Monographs on Soc. Anthrop., No. 11. London (L.S.E.), 1952. Pp. vi, 133, maps. Price 15s.*

216 The high standard of scholarship, the careful fieldwork, the penetrating analysis and the clarity of exposition, of Professor Schapera's writings are so well known that a reviewer of his books has now only to indicate their scope. The author's name itself is sufficient measure of their quality.

Professor Schapera modestly says that this monograph 'is, in a sense, merely a collection of the raw material upon which a sociological study of the class system among the Tswana must necessarily be based'—and he tells us that the sociological study is nearly completed and he hopes that it will be published soon. But some of the outlines of that study emerge from the raw material presented here, and indicate how important the final study will be.

Detailed material on the composition of 10 Tswana tribes, according to their ethnic, kinship and tribal origins, is presented, with historical accounts of how different tribes were built up. The relations between chiefs, nobles, commoners, foreign retainers of the chief, refugees and in some tribes serf communities are outlined. The material is largely quantitative, and forms a model for this kind of work. The tribes are mostly shown to be very heterogeneous in composition. Professor Schapera has carefully compared this heterogeneity for various tribes and wards within the tribes. As a whole, the study whets our appetites for the sociological study to follow;

but it is also in itself a valuable contribution to African sociology and to general methodology. It is to be hoped that others will be stimulated to collect and publish similar data on other peoples.

MAX GLUCKMAN

The Icila Dance Old Style. *By A. M. Jones and L. Kombe. Cape Town and London (Longmans Green for African Music Society), 1952. Pp. 49*

217 A. M. Jones is a pioneer and therefore necessarily an adventurer. It is the excitement of discovery as much as the interest of the material which holds one's attention in reading *The Icila Dance Old Style*, a description made with the assistance of Mr. L. Kombe of a dance and its accompanying music from the Lala of Northern Rhodesia. Anyone who has attempted to transcribe African music will realize the importance of Mr. Jones's analysis. Here for the first time is exposed with great clarity the structure of the fascinating counterpoint of rhythms which is indeed the 'heart of African music.' While Mr. Jones is careful to equate his use of 'African' with 'Northern Rhodesian,' the temptation to extrapolate must remain until such time as more studies of this kind become available, when it will be possible to decide whether groups differing in their social structures extend their cultural differentiation—or lack of it—to music.

One point made by A. M. Jones which is not often sufficently emphasized is the emergence of the dance form and its music as a social tradition changing in much the same sort of way as does a language, although perhaps rather faster, but still recognizable to members of the group as a continuing expression of their corporate life.

A most interesting piece of information to those wanting to know what makes the wheels of African music go round is craftily kept till the last. This is the description of what Jones calls the 'Off-hand technique,' a device whereby *one* of the drummer's two hands strikes the drumhead at *regular* intervals—in the case of the Ikulu player, it is the left hand which beats once every third quaver. Mr. Jones does not mention two exceptions to this rule which occur in numbers 4 and 6 of the three listed Ikulu variations in which a dotted quaver is featured. Are these perhaps examples of real syncopation?

The final section of this admirable study is devoted to a description of how a Lala craftsman sets about making a drum.

RAYMOND CLAUSEN

ASIA

The Religion of China. *By Max Weber, translated and edited by Hans H. Gerth. Glencoe, Illinois (Free Press), 1951. Pp. xi, 308. Price $4.50*

218 A sound knowledge of the foreign literature on China is a prerequisite for an intelligent study of contemporary happenings in that country, but, uncorrected by long personal experience, it may also be a source of misunderstanding. Foreign writers have usually been preoccupied with, and sometimes obsessed by, the basic Chinese institutions, and have tended to see more reality in the traditional forms than really existed. Into this they were seduced by Chinese officialdom which, up to the very moment when the Manchu dynasty collapsed from internal rottenness, appealed consistently to the principles of Confucianism. Foreigners also have tended to be even more conservative in Chinese politics than the Chinese themselves. The British, in particular, have shown a special affection for lost causes and diehard rumps. And right down to the final Communist victory in 1949, we find many Britons foretelling a Confucian revival as a solution of China's troubles. (Sir Reginald Johnston, who was appointed tutor to the deposed Manchu Emperor in the confident expectation of a Manchu restoration, placed great faith in China's renewing her Confucianism; even Sir John Pratt—who has changed his mind since—saw in Chiang Kai-shek, a Christian and a Confucian at the same time, the ideal synthesis of East and West.)

Confucianism still influences the attitudes and the forms of Communist China, but the difference between the two creeds is fundamental. Whereas the Confucians looked back to a mythical golden age, the Communists look forward towards a distant goal in which the present is only a passing phase. The Communists are bent on eradicating the last vestiges of traditionalism and the resistance to this aim is not so obstinate as many foreign observers like to think.

It follows that anthropologists, sociologists, etc., who are concerned with present-day manifestations and who seek for them their origins in China's past would be well advised to treat the foreign literature with reserve. Max Weber (1864–1920) was a great sociologist (originally an economist), but his study of China was circumscribed by the authorities on which he had to rely. So far as I am able to judge, his argument that the Chinese system was opposed to the growth of capitalism is well founded and his comparison of Confucian and Protestant rationalism is very suggestive, but his book affords very little material for the study of Confucianism and Taoism in their more recent phases. The authorities cited (the book was published in 1918) are mostly 'dated' and have largely been superseded. The editor has added some more up-to-date references, but on the whole he leaves Weber's notes as they were; *e.g.*, 'Book printing was invented and used for administrative purposes to overcome the slowness of copying in long hand' (p. 287), whereas actually printing evolved from the multiplication of Buddhist charms and for centuries was used almost exclusively for the reproduction of sacred—not administrative or secular—books; paper was not 'imported' into China (p. 268), but was a native product.

The editor remarks that Max Weber was 'no sinologist.' He intends no censure, or even criticism (after all, one man cannot know everything). But if a reviewer were to remark of a writer that he was 'no anthropologist,' I cannot but feel that downright condemnation would be intended. Sinologists have to be more tolerant.

The translation is made somewhat heavy-going by the use of unusual words: 'sib' (for clan), 'syncœcism,' 'charisma,' 'macrobiotics.' But I think that 'misteria' for Mystery Plays is going too far. An 'introduction' by the editor is announced on the dust cover but I cannot find one.

VICTOR PURCELL

OCEANIA

Die Tasmanischen Sprachen: Quellen, Gruppierungen, Grammatik, Wörterbücher. *By W. Schmidt. Utrecht-Anvers (Comité International de Linguistes), 1952. Pp. 521*

219 In this comprehensive work on the aboriginal languages of Tasmania, Pater Schmidt, with very great care and patience, has attempted to reconstruct the linguistic map of the island. The most reliable material at his disposal comes from a protector of the aborigines, J. Milligan, who 'was unacquainted with any language but English and so was not well fitted for his task.' The fabric of Tasmanian society was already broken up when Milligan set to work and that consideration alone must reflect on the value of his linguistic work. The author has also drawn upon other sources, but much of the data is fragmentary, unreliable, was gathered at different times in different places by people of diverse origins using makeshift spelling devices. Since Pater Schmidt is well aware of the limitations imposed upon him by these shortcomings, the rigorous methods of classical philology have been used to eliminate spurious evidence. It is very doubtful, however, whether even they can redeem the book from the effects of perpetual conjecture and uncertainty. So unworthy is the material of the scholar, that one wonders why the author ever embarked on such an unpromising and jejune enterprise.

He tells us that the work goes back to the beginning of the century, and that in all its essentials it was completed before the end of the first world war. Only the hope that unpublished material, known to have existed, might one day come to light delayed the

publication of the book. In the author's opinion, all the Tasmanian languages were related, both lexically and grammatically. He divides them into two groups and five languages, three of them spoken on the East Coast and the remainder in the west and north of the island.

In the text itself there is no reference to the question of comparative philology, but in a brief statement at the end of the preface, Pater Schmidt states that he has failed to find any connexions between the languages of Tasmania and those of the neighbouring continent of Australia. It would be futile, he adds, to look for similar connexions in Melanesia or Polynesia and it is not very likely that the 'Babel' of New Guinea will reveal languages akin to those of Tasmania.

G. B. MILNER

From Black to White in South Australia. *By Ronald and Catherine Berndt, with an Introduction by Professor A. P. Elkin. Melbourne (Cheshire) (U.K. agents: Angus & Robertson), 1951. Pp. 313. Price £1 17s. 6d.*

220

Mr. and Mrs. Berndt carried out fieldwork in South Australia between 1941 and 1944, and have already published part of their material in *Oceania*. The present book is 'descriptive, rather than comparative or analytical, setting out some outstanding features of the contact between white settlers and people of Aboriginal stock in South Australia' (p. 18). After a very generalized account of aboriginal culture throughout the continent, a chapter is devoted to the history of early settlement in the State, followed by one on current trends in policy, present-day attitudes, and the status of Aborigines in law.

The pattern of settlement and contact shows considerable variation throughout the State, and the authors have therefore selected four areas for a detailed survey: the outback as typified by Ooldea, where a mission was not established until 1933, and where the natives have retained much of their culture; and Oodnadatta, where the majority of aborigines are employed in casual labour and have their encampment on the outskirts of the township. In the third area, the Lower Murray River, the full-bloods have been almost entirely replaced by people of mixed descent; group solidarity is not strong; and most of the men find work as farm labourers, fishermen, shearers, fruit-pickers and so on. In the fourth area, Adelaide, assimilation to a European way of life and to the European community has proceeded furthest. Each of these four areas is discussed under certain headings: people and environment, settlement, employment, law, sexual behaviour, education, missions and general adjustment. The appendices contain estimates of population, citations from gazettes, reports, mission and government correspondence. Unfortunately there is no map.

It should be clear from this resumé of contents that the Berndts are primarily concerned with describing the present status of Aborigines in law, the disabilities under which they labour, and their relations as dependents and employees with Europeans who are Protectors, police, station managers, missionaries and residents in town and farming centres. The pattern which emerges bears a close similarity to that obtaining throughout the Northern and Central parts of Australia, and the value of the book lies in drawing attention to this fact, in summarizing in broad terms the main phases of contact, and in bringing before the Australian public a clear and on the whole detached account of outstanding Aboriginal problems in South Australia.

From the point of view of the anthropologist, interested in processes of social and cultural change, the book is disappointing. The authors have deliberately omitted 'observations on field technique, use of informants and sampling methods' (p. 20). But, more importantly, the specific contribution which they might have made as anthropologists on the basis of their detailed knowledge of the region is largely conspicuous by its absence. While the book is admittedly intended to be a background study, it does little more than provide further detail and documentation of aspects and problems of European-Aboriginal relations recently analysed by Dr. Grenfell Price in his *White Settlers and Native Peoples* (C.U.P., 1950). Though the authors have rightly selected four areas in different stages of acculturation for discussion, they confine themselves to very broad general statements on change. For example, we are told that in the outback areas Aborigines absorb a few rudiments of Christian dogma and secular education, that they acquire a taste for liquor, clothes, European food, and other goods, that sexual laxity and 'wrong' marriages are increasing, that the authority of the old people is being overthrown and that, as they become a dependent group, they no longer think in terms of reciprocity. These are all familiar facts, and the Berndts have, on the whole, missed the opportunity to break new ground in giving us a more detailed appraisal of the structure of groups around ration depots, cattle stations, missions and small townships; the actual extent to which authority is or is not wielded by the old in certain segments of tribal life; and the nature of the changes in rights and obligations associated with marriage and the family. In their 'Preliminary Report of Fieldwork in the Ooldea Region' (*Oceania*, 1945, bound reprint), a brief reference was made to new forms of integration and camp cohesion (p. 26). The point was not developed then, nor is it taken up here where we might have hoped for a discussion of new groupings, and new types of leadership. Again, in the earlier report, there is a suggestion that the marriage norms are widening; but here again the present book contains no quantitative material on the number of 'wrong' marriages and the effects of these on social structure and horde relationships. Finally, there are no details about the range and categories of relationships where reciprocity is still observed.

I have made these suggestions at random. Clearly it would be unfair to criticize the authors for omitting to provide us with data on one or two of them or even all of them. But the criticism is, I think, justified that they appear unaware of the need for such research and the formulation of results in a manner likely to be productive of new hypotheses, or to suggest new lines of investigation, or at least to show aspects of culture contact in a fresh perspective. An analysis of the problems which I have mentioned above, along with many others, is required if our understanding of the factors involved in change is to be carried beyond a mere listing of the broad phases of contact. It is through an intensive investigation of communities where Aborigines and Europeans interact that the anthropologist is particularly fitted to make a contribution distinct from that offered by historians and economists for whom this field of social relations may also be a subject of study.

PHYLLIS M. KABERRY

Djanggawul: An Aboriginal Religious Cult of North-Eastern Arnhem Land. *By Ronald M. Berndt. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1952. Pp. 350. Price £2 2s.*

221

This work is a free translation of an Australian aboriginal liturgy sung to dancing in the course of a system of fertility rites which invoke the continuity of the life of the tribe and the maintenance of its food supply as themes. The liturgy translated comprises songs of the *dua* moiety ceremonies. The fertility cult involved is a variety of a form which is found also in Ceram and in New Guinea.[1] Amongst the Banaro in New Guinea, as amongst the Arnhem Land aboriginals, it happens to be associated with occasions of extra-marital sex intercourse, regarded as a sacrament, marriage not being so regarded.

One symbolism of the cult is that of death and rebirth applied to male novices. In north-eastern Arnhem Land mythology the local rainbow serpent or python spirits of the land, known in New Guinea pidgin English as *marsalai*, are associated with the Fertility Mothers named Wauwalak. The rainbow serpent is a phallic symbol depicted as attracted by and dangerous to menstruating or child-bearing women. In some areas of New Guinea the mythology about the *marsalai* does not appear to coalesce with that about divinities of the death and rebirth cult as it does in Arnhem Land; and again in New Guinea some of these latter divinities are represented as male to the women and children, who are kept partly in the dark about the esoteric significance of the rites.

The Djanggawul, a brother and two sisters, are represented in this liturgy as creator spirits of Arnhem Land topographical features and procreators of human beings in something like mass reproduction. The female Djanggawul are represented as mothers of the Wauwalak, subsequent Fertility Mothers whose liturgy is rendered in literal translation in Berndt's companion volume, *Kunapipi*.

It is clear that, as the natives recognize natural conditions of death and yet attribute responsibility for its imposition to medicinemen, sorcerers, seers and exorcists of ghosts, so also they recognize

natural conditions of birth, and yet take responsibility for its production in a magical sense again. The birth or fertility cult is more popular than sorcery, and there is more mythology associated with it. The men undertake most of the responsibility for all magic. In Arnhem Land as in New Guinea there is a myth that the women originally possessed the birth or fertility rituals, but the men stole it from them. R. F. FORTUNE

Note

[1] A. B. Deacon, 'The Kakihan Ceremony of Ceram and New Guinea Initiation Cults,' *Folklore*, 1925; R. Thurnwald, *Die Gemeinde der Bánaro*, Stuttgart, 1921; M. Mead, 'The Marsalai Cult Among the Arapesh,' *Oceania*, 1933; W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization*, New York, 1937; R. M. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, 1951.

The First Australians. *By Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt. Sydney (Ure Smith), 1952. Pp. 144, illus. Price 17s. 6d. (Australian)*

222 Since the appearance of that valuable work *The Australian Aborigines* by A. P. Elkin 15 years ago there has been no other general anthropological book dealing with the cultures of those peoples, though some interesting publications of a more popular kind have been issued, and the works of T. G. H. Strehlow on Aranda traditions and of D. F. Thomson on Arnhem Land economics, *inter alia*, have given very useful information on contemporary aboriginal life. This book is written for an intelligent lay audience, by two authors whose long field experience and abundance of technical publications in anthropology entitle them to speak with assurance on their broad subject. Its essential aim is to bring out the basic principles of structure and values of aboriginal society, and so to induce in the reader—primarily the Australian reader—a more sympathetic understanding of the difficult position of the aborigines.

But the book will also be useful to anthropologists. It provides a simple, yet pithy introduction to Australian ethnography, giving the main elementary facts in an attractive way. It also has a more general educational value because, coolly and pleasantly, it makes out a good case for the work of the trained anthropologist as the interpreter of an exotic society.

Very pertinent observations are made on the results of the impact of Oriental and of white culture on the aboriginal way of life. The diversity of the aborigines, both in physical type and in culture, is well brought out—some details of the former may surprise even professional anthropologists. (The remark that aborigines from different regions, different tribes, will not react in exactly the same way to a given situation (p. 30) is one that might well be later followed up in more positive observational, even experimental, terms.) The material on kinship structure is naturally slight in a book of this character. But the chapters on roles of men and women, on growing up, on making a living, on religious symbolism, mythology and other aspects of the esoteric life, though brief, are freshly written, with many neat generalizations. One might put a question mark, however, against a few points of phraseology. The use of the term 'Aboriginal Way' in capitals (pp. 12, 18, 20) for the indigenous mode of life suggests a rather dubious verbal analogy with recent books on American Indians on the one hand, and the Chinese *Tao* on the other. It could be taken to imply a world view of a more coherent, explicit, methodological kind than I think the authors intended here. The statement that 'aboriginal man feels himself to be in need of divine intervention' (p. 74) has to be understood in a somewhat special sense, as the authors seem to have recognized when they inserted the inverted commas two pages later in writing about the Ancestral Being as 'the "divine" presence' (p. 76). I have an impression that we can detect in such phraseology a tendency to that over-development of the mystical elements in aboriginal thought promoted by Elkin some years ago in his *Aboriginal Men of High Degree*. Finally, the sentence 'abstract emotion is not easy to grasp or sustain' (p. 75) is surely meiosis! RAYMOND FIRTH

CORRESPONDENCE

Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 75 *and* 122

223 SIR,—In a note on the above subject in MAN, 1953, 75, Dr. David Schneider criticized the manner in which principally Professor Evans-Pritchard,[1] and secondarily myself,[2] formulated the concept of 'stability of marriage' for investigation. Professor Evans-Pritchard (MAN, 1953, 122) has decided that it would not be proper for him to meet Dr. Schneider's criticism until Dr. P. P. Howell's forthcoming book on Nuer law is available to both of them. Naturally, therefore, I held up my own comments on Dr. Schneider's Note. But I have just read this Note again, and find its points so penetrating that I must cry at once, 'I am galled.' I refer, of course, to my own article, and not to Professor Evans-Pritchard's book.

In my article I attempted to formulate a hypothesis to relate a high rate of divorce among the Lozi and the virtual absence of divorce among the Zulu—these being two peoples I had studied intensively—to the structure of their kinship systems. As the Zulu do not have divorce, when I spoke of a high rate of divorce among the Lozi this was a single comparison. I suggested that the answer lay in the agnatic lineage system of the Zulu, which required the complete and final transference of a woman into her husband's group, where her children obtained all their legal rights, as against the cognatic system of the Lozi, in which a wife remained a member of her natal groups whence she transmitted legal rights to her children. As the study appeared in a symposium I could not quote all my data from other tribes in support of the hypothesis, but cited what I regarded as critical examples by the test of significant variations.

I spoke in general terms of the 'stability' and 'instability' of marriage. Dr. Schneider asserts, correctly in my opinion, that this may lead to confusion. He distinguishes 'three fundamentally different problems, all subsumed under the phrase "stability of marriage" . . . There is first the problem of why conjugal relations are stable in that portion of the Nuer population which maintains stable conjugal relations. Second, there is the problem of why conjugal relations are less stable in another portion of the same Nuer population. Third, there is the problem of why, despite a measure of instability in conjugal relations, the jural [legal] bonds of marriage nevertheless remain stable even when conjugal relations are broken.' I shall not meet this criticism of Professor Evans-Pritchard's analysis of the Nuer, but take it as applying to my own analysis, since I am accused of perpetuating the confusion. This arises, says Dr. Schneider elsewhere, from a failure to distinguish jural stability of marriage, *i.e.* impossibility or rareness of divorce, from stability of conjugal relations, and from stability of personal relations between the spouses in that each fulfils the expectations of the other. Earlier Dr. Schneider noted a fourth kind of stability—the stability of a particular system of marriage rules over a period of time.

I concede at once that there are these four—and more—kinds of 'stability' and that all should be kept clearly in mind by the anthropologist. Further, I strongly recommend to anyone studying this problem that he study closely Dr. Schneider's highly packed Note. It might have been as well if I had stated these distinctions clearly in my article: I could not be expected to handle all of them in the limited space allotted me in a symposium. But I must say in my defence that I was fully aware of the distinctions, and thought I had brought this out in the article. I dealt only with the jural stability of marriage. For the Zulu this was simple, because they had neither jural divorce, nor breach of conjugal [domestic] relations. I made my awareness of the distinction clear at p. 185 of my article when I contrasted this situation among the Zulu with Professor

Evans-Pritchard's description of the Nuer where (my words) 'the legal bonds resulting from marriage are very strong, though often a man's wife may not live with him or his proxy. Nuer women do desert their husbands, and many widows live in widow concubinage and not in leviratic marriage. . . . [Among the Zulu] the members of a legal family always live together.' And again (at p. 192) I speak of the Nuer, 'where with constant changes of households the legal bonds in the family resulting from marriage are very stable.' Among the Lozi there is a high instability of both jural and conjugal relations: this problem therefore did not arise for my treatment of Lozi marriage.

I thought I had dealt with the problem of the stability of personal relations between spouses when I stated (at p. 179): 'I observed no important differences in the psychological relationships of husbands and wives.' I admit this is not a very clear statement and does not meet all Dr. Schneider's points: I had few words to cover a difficult problem. I wished only to indicate that as far as I could tell personality factors were not a complicating variable.

Finally, on pp. 180f., I tried—again in the brief space allotted me—to consider changes in the stability of the two marriage systems over time.

I do not make these citations merely to defend myself: it seems to me that the way I formulated my analysis must have been confusing to others, if not to myself. But I can at least use my deficiencies to support Dr. Schneider's argument that we should be clear what are we doing when we use comprehensive phrases like 'stability' or 'instability' of marriage. It would obviously be best to abandon them.

I reply to one other point. Dr. Schneider says: 'Professor Gluckman, in his essay on the Lozi and Zulu, chose that definition most appropriate to a structural treatment of the problem, namely, stable marriage as stable jural bonds irrespective of conjugal relations. However, he chose to treat a low divorce rate as an index of stable marriage. He might have chosen prohibition on divorce instead.' I did not choose 'prohibition on divorce' because I did not want 'ease of divorce' to mark the other type of system, that with instability of jural marriage. In Arab societies divorce is easy for a man: but, in the desert at least, they appear to have agnatic lineages of the Zulu-Nuer type. I quoted (at p. 206) Miss Granqvist's statement on a Palestinian village, that divorce was not frequent, and ventured to predict that 'modern studies will show Bedouin marriage to be stable' [*peccavi*—in the *jural* sense]. Here we must wait for Dr. Emrys Peters' report on Cyrenaica. But clearly it is necessary to work with two rates: (1) a rate for jural divorce of spouses; (2) a rate for conjugal separation. Furthermore, these rates should be calculated on 'life probability' tables, as formulated by Dr. J. A. Barnes.[3]

The crux of Dr. Schneider's attack, however, is on Professor Evans-Pritchard's rejection of the simple formulation that bride-wealth stabilizes marriage. I presented my own data, and data from a number of other societies, and concluded on this point (at p. 192): 'On this hypothesis, which needs more testing, the amount of goods transferred and the divorce rate tend to be directly associated, but both are rooted in the kinship structure. It is rare divorce which allows high marriage payment, rather than high marriage payment which prevents divorce.' I noted that the size of the marriage payment would be influenced by such factors as the supply of goods and the supply of marriageable women in relation to would-be bridegrooms.

It would entail my recapitulating most of Dr. Schneider's Note if I tried to emphasize how important is his analysis of the need to analyse, besides those marriages which remain stable jurally and conjugally, also those which persist jurally but break conjugally. Here I draw attention only to his conclusion that 'a divorce rate is a consequence of persons' actions. It cannot follow directly from social structure. Immediately the problem is posed as one of rate, motivations become relevant and the problem cannot be treated exclusively as one of structural relations, but must be attacked both from the point of view of the motivations of actors and the structure of the situation within which they act. The only way to avoid the systematic use of a motivational dimension is to restate the problem as a structural problem, allowing for the fact that it cannot be fully solved on that base alone. Thus it might be phrased as "what structural considerations bear on the divorce rate?" Although the problem is not explicitly stated in these terms, Professor Gluckman appears to have oriented his analysis of Zulu and Lozi divorce rates in this direction.' I thought I had made clear that this is the problem I was seeking to answer: 'What structural considerations bear on the divorce rate?' I am grateful to Dr. Schneider for formulating my problem so clearly.

We are here surely back at the problem raised by Durkheim's sociological analysis of suicide rates. The main point is that we should be clear what we mean when we say '. . . it cannot be fully solved . . .' What is 'it'? If 'it' is marriages which are broken by divorce and those which are not, we have to look at typical marriages of both kinds; if 'it' is the problem of 'what structural considerations bear on the divorce rate' we may not need to do so. So too for 'fully solved.' And the data we require to answer our problem depend on the problem. The theme of my article is that to say 'what structural considerations bear on the divorce rate' requires comparison of several societies. Since I advanced my hypothesis it has been systematically tested, with standardized rates collected according to Dr. Barnes's rules, by my colleagues at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Their results are not available in detail, but it seems that the hypothesis at least has something in it.[4] We hope soon to make a comparative study available. This study will be of rates and structures as such; but individual analyses of particular marriage systems will deal with motivation in 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' marriages. And here we shall owe much to the stimulus of Dr. Schneider's Note.

While I am writing on the theme of the structural concomitants of marriage, I take the opportunity to deal with a point outside Dr. Schneider's Note. In my article I drew attention to the importance of Professor Evans-Pritchard's definition of the true 'levirate' as against 'widow-inheritance' (at p. 183). I concluded (at p. 192) that 'rare divorce goes with levirate, sororate . . . and is found in father-right societies.' In his Introduction to the symposium in question (at p. 65) Professor Radcliffe-Brown emphasizes that sororal polygamy, and presumably the sororate, are largely tied to lineage systems, and he cited the Bemba as a matrilineal example. I do not question this. But I want to stress that it is important to distinguish the true levirate and sororate, when kinsfolk permanently replace a dead spouse, from an institution reported by Dr. Ian Cunnison, then of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, from the Luapula tribes of the Rhodesia-Congo border. They have matrilineal succession with small lineages. In their system it is important to maintain the social positions of all men and women even after they die. Therefore a part of every succession ceremony, when a man dies, is that his heir should have ritual sexual relations with the surviving great wife. Thereafter she is free to leave him after a slight ceremony in which it is stressed that the duty of keeping alive the name and position of the dead has been accomplished. But she must for a brief period be his wife if he is to replace the dead man. Correspondingly if a wife dies, a kinswoman must have ritual relations with her husband to maintain his position: then both are free to separate. Dr. Cunnison states that such 'divorce' is frequent. I acknowledge gratefully Dr. Cunnison's permission to quote this unpublished analysis:[5] it emphasizes the importance of care in applying terms like sororate and levirate.

In conclusion, I repeat from my article that my hypothesis is advanced for societies with a peasant subsistence economy.

Department of Social Anthropology, MAX GLUCKMAN
University of Manchester

Notes

[1] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1951.

[2] M. Gluckman, 'Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal,' in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and C. D. Forde, London (O.U.P.), 1950.

[3] J. A. Barnes, 'Measures of Divorce Frequency in Simple Societies,' *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXIX (1949, publ. 1951).

[4] One study has been published: J. A. Barnes, *Marriage in a*

Changing Society: A Study in Structural Change Among the Fort Jameson Ngoni, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 20, Cape Town (O.U.P.), 1951.

5 The social setting of this institution and the outlines of the institution can be found in two of Dr. Cunnison's publications: (*a*) *Kinship and Local Organization on the Luapula: A Preliminary Account of Some Aspects of Luapula Social Organization*, Communications from the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, No. V (1950); and (*b*) *History on the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 21, Cape Town (O.U.P.), 1952.

Dravidian Kinship Terminology. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 54

224 SIR,—Professor Radcliffe-Brown has honoured me by criticizing at some length my article on 'Dravidian Kinship Terminology.' What can I say in its defence? In the first place I dealt solely with a type of *terminology* common among *South Indian* castes. On this I feel that none of my distinguished critic's arguments has a direct bearing, as I considered neither kinship *behaviour*, nor *Australian* aborigines. When the assumption is renewed that Dravidian and Australian terminologies belong to the same type, I would ask that some attention be given to the difference I mentioned (note 7). The only Indian group which Professor Radcliffe-Brown refers to is the Nayar. They were not included by me (sources, note 6), and their terminology differs widely from the type studied (see K. Gough in *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXII, Part I (1952), pp. 82f.).

I attempted to show that the simplest way of accounting for the basic distinction between two kinds of relatives in the systems which I considered is to say that it is based on affinity, *e.g.* the father and the mother's brother are distinguished as being affines to one another. The extra-terminological (and therefore strictly speaking irrelevant) Nayar data adduced by Professor Radcliffe-Brown would not seem to go against this, but rather to accord with it: there, the mother's brother is a close relative, while the father on the contrary is 'no more than the *sambandham* lover . . . of the mother.' (Incidentally, *sam-bandham*, 'con-junction,' means in Sanskrit and in common South Indian usage 'marriage,' 'affinity.') True, the ordinary positions—which alone I mentioned—of father and mother's brother are here reversed, but the principle of the distinction stands, and this is the main matter.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown extends to kinship in general categories which I defined only on the terminological level: the system of kinship terms distinguishes two categories; the principle of the distinction lies in alliance (or affinal) relationship defined as 'the relationship arising between two male (or two female) persons . . . when a sister (a brother) of one is married to the other.' As against this relationship is defined a relationship excluding alliance, which is called arbitrarily 'kin' relationship. Then the *kinship* terms fall into two categories: 'terminological kin' and 'terminological affines' (p. 37, *in fine*). It is relatively easy to confuse the issue by disregarding the definition of 'kin' and identifying 'kin' with kinship in general. Professor Radcliffe-Brown ironically asks in which category the mother's sister fits. The answer should be obvious, but, to clear up any doubts, she is present in fig. 3 of my text. He suggests that she might be considered as the father's affine. But this is clearly impossible, as they do not belong to the same sex, whereas affinity is considered only between persons of the same sex in the above definition, which was quoted by Professor Radcliffe-Brown himself a few lines earlier. Also, while I wrote of the 'anthropologist's customary and peculiar vocabulary' only in relation to cross-cousin marriage (p. 38), this is given by Professor Radcliffe-Brown as applying to the maternal uncle.

Is that all? Let us try to see where the disagreement actually lies. Two points seem important. First, Professor Radcliffe-Brown insists on knowing 'how the maternal uncle is thought of' by the people. This, I submit, is not a matter of terminology, but of behaviour. Two different approaches are contrasted here: in the first one, Professor Radcliffe-Brown takes the maternal uncle as the prototype of a whole class of relatives, and enquires into the concrete linguistic form of the term (*e.g.* 'male mother,' etc.), the way the people think of that particular relative, etc. In the other approach, we take the terminological system as a whole and try to determine from its structure what the content of each of its categories is. The latter method obviously implies that the system as a whole is logically consistent, and one might object to that assumption, if one were inclined to consider the kinship vocabulary as being merely a rough reflection of patterns of behaviour. But is this possible in a case where the assumption of consistency is verified? Here, there is some advantage in treating the two sexes separately. In English, it might perhaps be said that the aunt is a female uncle, etc. But it does not lead us very far unless we recognize that the difference between the father and the uncle, the mother and the aunt, the brother (or sister) and the cousin, the son (or daughter) and the nephew (or niece) is one and the same, and is the difference between the direct line and the collateral lines. Here is the main distinction, the axis of the system. Once we have acknowledged this, is not the question how an Englishman 'thinks of' his paternal aunt a different matter altogether? But, if the English system is logical, then is not the Dravidian type (my fig. 1) as logical as the English? If so, then what is the structural principle on which it is based? I may have been mistaken in its identification, but the task of seeking it is inescapable.

A second reason of disagreement lies in contrary assumptions about the importance of affinity. From the fact that in a given system 'there are no terms for relatives by marriage,' Professor Radcliffe-Brown seems to conclude that any affinal content is absent from the terms of that system. Limited as my experience is compared with his, I should conjecture on the contrary that in such a case many terms have an affinal content, which may be important even though unsuspected or understressed by the anthropologist. This is true already of the Kariera examples adduced: 'a man is only permitted to marry a woman who is his *nuba* . . ., after the marriage his wife is still his *nuba* . . .,' and then comes the startling conclusion: 'The terms *nuba* (etc.), which are applied to large numbers of persons, are not terms for relatives by marriage.' True, they are not *distinctive* terms but, precisely for that reason, is not the whole category of *nuba* tinged with affinity? Or should we say that the connexions of *nuba* with marriage referred to above are not part of the meaning of the term, on the level on which Professor Radcliffe-Brown considers it?

In general, Professor Radcliffe-Brown objects to widening the concept of affinity. He is satisfied with the current meaning of the word, *i.e.* with a common-sense category of our own society which has not undergone any transformation or adaptation before being applied to different societies, in particular to societies with positive marriage regulations. I submit that this is untenable. If there are prescribed or preferred mates, what does it mean, if not that affinity in a way precedes the actual marriage, that an individual has potential affines before he acquires actual in-laws by marriage, that affinity in a wider sense is inherited just as our 'blood' relationships are?

I can assure Professor Radcliffe-Brown that I have only tried to do justice to my field data by adapting my ideas to them. I do not for a moment equate terminology with the whole of kinship. Of the latter in some South Indian groups I would in fact claim that it is not possible to get a satisfactory picture without widening our notion of affinity. Whether or not, by doing so, I succeed in giving a relatively simple and well connected account, as he instructed us to do, Professor Radcliffe-Brown will judge from an article to be published.

LOUIS DUMONT
Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford

African Credit Institutions. *Cf. J. R. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. LXXXII (1952), pp. 63–9, and* MAN, 1953, 51, 123, 203

225 SIR,—Following up W. R. Bascom's article 'The *Esusu*: A Credit Institution of the Yoruba' (*J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXII (1952), pp. 63–9), it is worth while pointing out that comparable institutions exist in southern and central Africa. A detailed analysis of urban South African parallels, known as *stokfel* and *mahodisane*, appeared in *African Studies* (Vol. III (1944), pp. 178–86). I have also found an almost identical institution, the *chita*, among Hindus in Durban. In *stokfel* and *chita*, as in the *esusu*, a group of individuals make fixed contributions of cash at fixed intervals and the total amount is assigned to each member in rotation. The number

of contributors, the amount contributed and the period between payments varies with the economic standing of the members. The constitution of *stokfels* and *chitas* varies, and the obligations of mutual help are not explicitly stated. A notable difference between *stokfel* and *chita* is that the *stokfel* is associated with the holding of a party by the recipient of the day. Other aspects of the *stokfel* and *mahodisane* might also be useful in throwing light on Dr. Bascom's analysis of the Yoruba *esusu*.

Durban, South Africa HILDA KUPER

The Couvade. *Cf.* MAN, 1944, 49, 69; 1953, 129

226 SIR,—If it were the fact that proximity to a pregnant woman makes people ill, this fact would be known to every general practitioner; others than the husband, in particular the children, would be affected, and the symptoms would be regular. The symptoms reported by Professor Gates and others from England and the U.S.A. are very varied, but all are such as could easily be imagined or self-induced.

It is possible that these symptoms are vestigial survivals of the couvade, but they are not the couvade. The couvade is a custom by which a man at the birth of his child has to take to his bed for a fixed number of days, and has to observe a variety of taboos before, while and after doing so. Some of these taboos have also to be observed by the woman, and it is believed that their breach will endanger not the man's but the child's health. There is nothing in the numerous descriptions cited by Dawson in his *Custom of Couvade* to suggest that the man is or thinks he is ill when he takes to his bed. There is thus nothing in the custom of couvade which gives the slightest support to Professor Gates's theory.

But while there is no evidence that among savages parturient women are regarded as dangerous to men, there is ample evidence that menstruous women are so regarded; how would Professor Gates explain this?

Usk RAGLAN

227 SIR,—Although intrigued by Professor Ruggles Gates's note on and transcription of the passage from Robert Plot relating to couvade, I was none the less sorry to see it lend weight to an explanation of the couvade which one had hoped dishonourably dead with the passage of nine years. This explanation (MAN, 1944, 49), previously based on a paper by Dr. R. I. Frame (*W. Virginia Med. J.*, 1934, pp. 228f.), would have us believe that the inhalation by the father of œstrin exhaled by the mother produces such symptoms of pregnancy as malaise, loss of appetite, morning sickness, etc. In other words Professor Gates would hazard a physiological basis of the couvade.

There is a rare, but well authenticated, condition called pseudocyesis or phantom pregnancy, which can occur in females even in the absence of sexual connexion. The woman concerned inevitably has an abnormally strong desire to conceive, she shows cessation of the menses, enlargement of the abdomen, morning sickness, in fact a most acceptable imitation of pregnancy except for the fœtus. The empty nature of this performance can be well demonstrated by examination of the woman under an anæsthetic. Pseudocyesis is of psychological origin, and no physiological factor is involved.

If the female can, from psychological origins, produce such an extraordinary condition as pseudocyesis, it is surely unnecessary to seek a highly improbable physiological explanation for the much less distinguished male act.

The origin of the couvade can, in my opinion, be indicated as follows. For a very long time a small number of emotionally unstable husbands have imagined themselves afflicted by certain of the symptoms which characterize pregnancy in the female; to those men their feelings were very real and their obvious incapacitation increased the respect that they received from the rest of society. In time it became essential for the husband, if he was not to offend his community, to show some of the characteristics of pregnancy, which in truth only a few men experienced. I would agree with Professor Gates when he writes: 'Perhaps the taboos among modern primitive peoples arose as a result of the realities some of the husbands of pregnant women had experienced.' But I would suggest a psychological origin.

It is wrong to consider that modern instances of pregnancy symptoms in the male are limited to uneducated persons living in poor circumstances. I can recall an intelligent man, living in a good environment, who exhibited abdominal pain, sickness and malaise during the last days of his wife's pregnancy. His condition quickly responded to a simple explanation.

*London, S.E.*20 ANTONY ESSEX-CATER

Note

It is regretted that in the text of MAN, 1953, 129, a reference to the previous correspondence by page numbers (unidentified as such) instead of article numbers was not corrected in the course of editing. The correct references for 1944 are as shown above.—ED.

Stonehenge. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 151

228 SIR,—I should like to reply to some of the points on Stonehenge raised by Professor Hatto.

Are the stones of the Bluestone Horseshoe really meant to represent phalli? If so, one would have thought that they would have been a little more realistic as those of Malta.

Chorea Gigantum is surely a county name turned into Latin by Geoffery of Monmouth; he was only stating a fact, for Stonehenge does dance as merrily as any county dance when seen through the hot quivering air of summer. The same applies to the Merry Maidens of Cornwall, formerly called the Dancing Stones, and to the Whispering Knights of Berkshire, the supports of a capstone of the megalithic cist, so they necessarily put their heads together. One need not go as far away as Slovenia to see a boy decked in greenery with his attendant dancers: this took place yearly up to 1900 on the first of May within two miles of Stonehenge.

Professor Hatto kindly refers to my article on Stonehenge in *Antiquity*, but that was written nearly 25 years ago, and even then I should have paid more attention to Abercromby on Stonehenge in his *Bronze Age Pottery*, Chapter X, written nearly 40 years ago and still perhaps one of the best theories on Stonehenge. He also compares it to a chambered cairn. The horned cairns of Ireland with their Heelstones had not been excavated when I wrote, and it is to these that I now would compare Stonehenge. The forecourts of these cairns immediately in front of the entrance to the tomb were the place for funeral ceremonies, just as at Stonehenge this forecourt, now inside the circles, was the place for ceremonies in front of the great central trilithon, and it is here that Professor Hatto will find his connexion with the dead, though not at midsummer, for Stonehenge is oriented to the mid-winter sunset. Are we to believe that the worshippers at Stonehenge walked up the avenue and in at the entrance and then turned right round with their backs to the great trilithon to face the focus of their worship? In no temple does this happen: the focus of the building is always opposite the entrance; and so here the winter solstice sunset, the death of the sun at the end of the year, this is the sepulchral connexion; this with all it entails is the main purpose of Stonehenge.

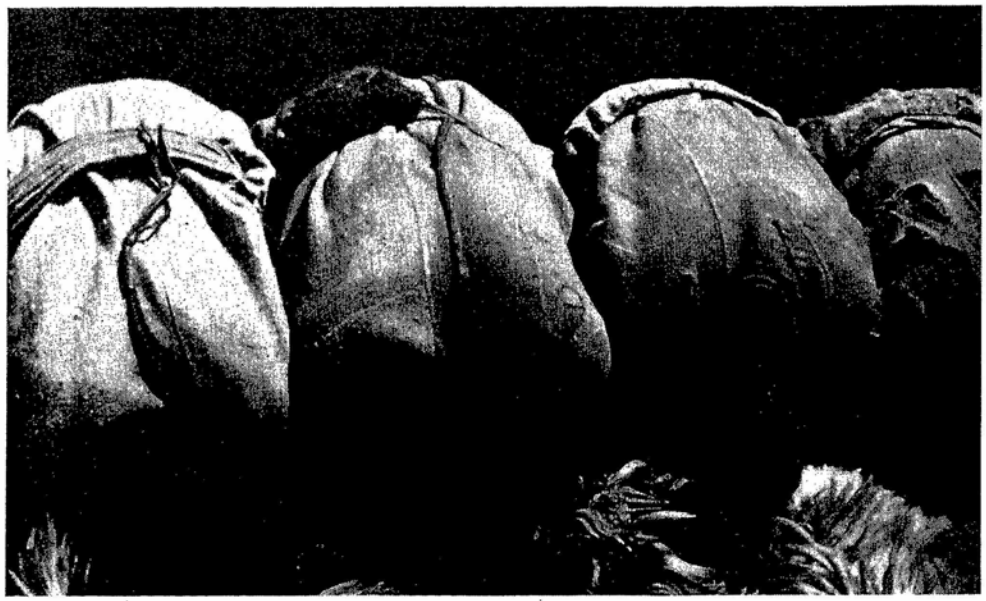
Wylye, Wilts. R. S. NEWALL

Anthropology and the Study of Folk Cultures. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 152

229 SIR,—Mr. Ian Whitaker (MAN, 1953, 152) speaks of 'the general misuse of the methods of ethnology by diffusionists and theorists of the Perry—Elliot Smith school.' One would like to know what are the methods which have been so misused, whether Rivers and Dr. Harrison are among the diffusionists who have misused them, and who are the theorists of the Perry—Elliot Smith school.

Mr. Whitaker goes on to suggest, somewhat naïvely, that our social anthropologists should turn their attention to Balkan communities. He should realize that our social anthropologists, or at any rate those with 'functional' leanings, are careful to avoid communities of whose past anything is known. They would find in a Balkan village that one trait was derived from the Byzantines, a second from the Turks and so on, and would be intolerably trammelled by such facts in spinning their webs of fantasy.

Usk RAGLAN



(*a*) *Ladaki caravaneers sleeping at Leh*



(*b*) *The same, side view*



(*c*) *Lama asleep at Ri-dzong*

PECULIAR SLEEPING POSTURES OF THE TIBETANS

Photographs: H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, 1938

PECULIAR SLEEPING POSTURES OF THE TIBETANS*

by

H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE AND DENMARK
Leader of the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia, 1953–54

I

230 While travelling through western Tibet and eastern Kashmir before the war (1938) I noticed that my caravaneers, all local men, slept out at night, when it was very cold, in a peculiar posture. They would crowd together round the fire and, kneeling side by side, so that their shoulders and hips touched, place their faces in the upturned palms of their hands resting on the ground in front of them.

In the accompanying photographs, taken in Leh, capital of Ladak, during the day (when I got my men to pose for me in exactly the same posture as they adopted at night), my caravaneers can be seen lined up in this fashion. Plate K*a* is a view taken from in front; fig. 1, one snapped from above and from behind; while Plate K*b* shows, from a side angle, the line of heads resting on the sheepskin coats.



FIG. 1. REAR VIEW OF LADAKI CARAVANEERS SLEEPING (SEE PLATE K *a, b*)

I first discovered that this was the way in which Ladakis rested during the night when I came out of the *dak* bungalow at Spituk one evening and found the *chowkidar* (watchman) fast asleep in this curious position. To begin with, I imagined that he was praying, but soon, as loud snores issued from the crouching figure, I became aware that he was actually sleeping. Later when the weather in October became distinctly colder, and the ground froze at night, I noticed that my caravaneers adopted the same posture, grouped together as in these illustrations, for their night's sleep.

Asked why they did not lie down but instead laid themselves to rest in so extraordinary a manner, they answered that they 'kept warmer this way.' Doctors whom I have since consulted have confirmed that this is probably true, as in a kneeling position the heart is apt to keep on functioning faster than in a lying one, and that this would make for a more active circulation, and hence for more warmth.

I enquired from other Tibetans whom I have met since the war, in Kalimpong, West Bengal, India, and they have assured me that, although this is not a general practice in the central provinces of Ü-Tsang, it is so among the nomads of the Chang-Thang, of Amdo (Chinese: Tsing-hai) and of eastern Kham (Chinese: Sikang). The reason given here too was that one kept warmer this way.

II

Another peculiar slumber posture is that adopted mainly by Tibetan monks in the monasteries. Whether for reasons of asceticism or because of a special sense of comfort derived from very long habit, I cannot say, but this seems to be the favourite position in which to settle down for the night. Plate K*c*, a photograph of a lama taken in the Ladaki monastery of Ri-dzong in 1938, shows the subject asleep in his cell, in the same posture in which he had been praying and telling his beads (seen on the right) all day. In some cases, a belt made of a piece of cloth or of rope, called a *gom-ta* (*sGom-thag*, 'meditation rope'), is tied round the body, so that it passes over the knees and behind the back, in order to keep the sleeper from toppling over.

I have occasionally, in western Tibet, seen my caravaneers also sleeping in this position. While they seemed to prefer the kneeling posture described above, on less cold nights and when they were sitting around a good blaze they seemed content, like the monks, to take their night's rest in the same position in which they had earlier been chatting with each other.

I do not know to what extent other sleeping positions than that of lying down are to be found in other parts of the world.

**With Plate K and a text figure*

THE STUDY OF VALUES BY SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS*

THE MARETT LECTURE, 1953

by

PROFESSOR RAYMOND FIRTH, F.B.A.

231 In an earlier Marett Lecture, a brilliant essay which, to borrow a transatlantic metaphor, had some of his fellow anthropologists reaching for their guns, Professor Evans-Pritchard discussed some broad problems of the status and method of social anthropology. I am taking a narrower field, though one in which there is also a lively interest. In talking about some of the problems of values as treated by social anthropologists, I shall be expressing a personal view. But I think it timely to give a brief appreciation of issues which many anthropologists think to be important.

Social anthropologists are, in general, concerned with social relations expressed in behaviour—verbal behaviour as well as non-verbal behaviour; words as well as acts. They can give their study various emphases. One emphasis, given by W. H. R. Rivers in outline more than 30 years ago, but vastly developed in recent years, particularly through the lead given by the anthropologists of Oxford University, is that on social structure. As a study of social groups and social relations of a relatively permanent kind, expressed in a very systematic, highly abstract form, this emphasis has been of great service. It has helped us to sift and clarify our material, and to formulate propositions of clear-cut and testable quality. A second emphasis, complementary to the first, is on social organization. This, less clearly formulated, is the study of how social relations actually work out over time. In most fields of social action there are alternative courses open, and there must be selection between them if social life is to be carried on. Such decision-taking has social repercussions—social relations are created or modified and adjusted as a result of the choices made. This continual ordering and reordering of social relations is the process of organization. Even where no choice seems to be involved, but only impulsive action, the consequential adjustments in the activities of others mean social organization. A third emphasis relates to the quality and ends of social relations—the material for choice and decision. The preferences in social relations, their worthwhileness, the standards of judgment applied, give a content and meaning to social action. This is the field for the study of values.

Take an example from the Polynesian society of Tikopia, which I have recently re-studied after nearly 25 years. I found in 1952 that the chiefs were still, as in 1929, the apex of the ranking system. People still obeyed them, knelt in obeisance before them, and treated them with the greatest respect. Chieftainship had remained an important element in the social structure. But during my long absence several chiefs had died, and had been succeeded by son or grandson. These various acts of succession had involved choices and decisions by their clans, and consequential adjustments in the status and relations of the brothers and other kin of each newly elected chief. All these variations, rearrangements and adjustments were part of the social organization. The social structure, viewed abstractly as the main elements giving the society its characteristic Tikopia form, was the same, but there had been a reordering over time of the human components and of the social relations in respect of them. Social organization is dynamic, part of the social process. During the years I had been away changes had taken place in the religious sphere too. Christianity, which had some hold when I was there earlier, had first suffered a setback, then swept on again. In particular one chief, when newly elected, had reverted to paganism, and gone over to play once again the traditional role of his office in the rites of worship of the ancient gods. Later, he was re-evangelized, repented of his backsliding and joined the Church once again. These were significant changes in his personal conduct, due to the shifting interplay of a complex set of personal and social values, which left the chieftainship unimpaired, but involved change of functions and readjustment among his followers. In the chief's decisions many value elements were mingled, including his belief in the powers of his ancient gods, his respect for representatives of foreign spiritual authority, his economic interest in the gifts they brought, his attachment to traditional ceremonial among his peers, his feeling of the importance of his own status. And these elements were operative in varying degree also among other members of the community and affected the issue. To understand what happened in the society it is essential to understand the significance and distribution of such values.

The Notion of Values

The word 'value' is a hard-worked one, and often used in a vague way. Reduction of the notion to any very precise form to serve anthropologists is difficult. Despite the elaborate analysis of it by philosophers, anthropologists themselves have hardly begun the definition of it—that is, the preliminary demarcation of it—for their purposes. Some wish to avoid the term as far as possible, not deeming it a useful heuristic tool. Some use it in a restricted sense, variously equivalent to ideals, to social imperatives, to the

* *Delivered before the Rector, Fellows and Scholars of Exeter College, Oxford, on 6 June, 1953. The text has been slightly revised and abridged for publication. Preparation of it has been facilitated by use of part of a grant-in-aid from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation, to which Professor Firth expresses his gratitude. The addition of four pages to this issue of* MAN *to allow the lecture to be published at length has been made possible by a generous contribution from the author. As in the case of Professor Evans-Pritchard's Marett Lecture* (MAN, 1950, 198), *the Hon. Editor hopes that it will arouse discussion in the correspondence columns.*

basic assumptions of a society, to the dictates of moral obligation. Some are willing to extend the term to cover all exercise of preference into which an element of worthwhileness enters. Some admit evaluation as a part of social process, a concomitant of social action, while refusing to grant the separation of 'values' as useful isolates for examination.

The importance of such distinctions lies not in their conclusions, but in the refinement of our ideas produced by their discussion. To me the study of values, properly organized, can give a useful systematic frame of reference for the analysis of social behaviour. It gives reality to our structural concepts. Studies of social structures deal by abstraction with the most general, the most common elements in social action. They tell us much about the form of action—the nature of society in a relatively stable state, or as imagined in a set of ideal rules. Studies of values help us to understand the meaning of action. Moreover, they help us to take account of variation, arising in individual action. By reference to values we help to clarify the theory of stability and change in social action—and in social anthropology we are much concerned with getting an adequate theoretical basis for dynamic analysis. In fact what have been called studies of social structure have usually incorporated a great deal of study of values (and of social organization) as well.

Of course we must guard against reifying values, much as we should avoid reifying social structures. Our statements about values are inferences from observation of behaviour. Our use of the term 'value' is a way of talking about behaviour.[1] It suggests persistence of a common element over time. We recognize a quality-isolate in antecedent and consequent.

Breadth of the Study

In studying values we are not doing anything radically new. For many years, leaders of anthropological thought have been concerned with value data. In Britain, Radcliffe-Brown long ago examined what he called the social values of the Andamanese, the social effects of their use of fire, and food and marriage. Malinowski included traditionally established values at the core of his notion of the charter of institutions. Evans-Pritchard pointed out how important are the political values, including feelings of unity, in the life of the Nuer. He and Fortes have set common ritual or mystical values as the ideological superstructure of an African political organization. In the United States Linton put the acquisition of common values as basic to the development of individuals and to the perpetuation of society. Kroeber stressed the importance of a study of values as part of a natural science of society. Redfield has consistently emphasized a humanistic aspect of anthropology which gives full weight to personal preferences and community values. Kluckhohn has explicitly defined the concept of values and formulated an elaborate field scheme for their study.

Why does the anthropologist study values at all? Primarily because he thinks his analysis of society is otherwise incomplete. But obviously he alone cannot be responsible for value study. He cannot match the analytical rigour of philosopher or economist, or the minute examination and experiment of the psychologist. He has not the range of knowledge of his own society in its geographical and historical perspective which the ordinary sociologist has. What then can he give? His contribution lies mainly in two directions. In the first place he can give material to others. He covers a wider field of comparative data than do any of his colleagues. The exotic character—to Western views—of many of the value judgments he records is a challenge to produce a rational theory of social relations and of the foundations of social action. Sociologists and philosophers from Durkheim and Hobhouse to Parsons, Ginsberg and Macbeath have drawn upon these findings. In the second place, most of this material is empirical in origin. One pivotal feature in the anthropologist's method is to apply field observation consistently to check his theories. His notions of what values are and how they are used are verified by systematic appeal to his experience. This experience is partly obtained by listening to what people say about what they believe and do. But it is largely given by watching what they do. So while conceptually the anthropologist's notions of values may change in accordance with a changing climate of opinion, empirically a constantly growing body of field data is accumulated as a test of his ideas. The anthropological definition of values in its widest meaning is an operational one.

But if the anthropologist is a producer of raw materials, he also processes them. He provides interpretation. In this he works with a framework of theory about societies. He is not content with an *a priori* position derived from a Western or other particular cultural upbringing. If necessary he is prepared to take the analysis back to first principles. He asks what are the fundamental elements in a social system, its simplest components? Hardly any principles of human action are admitted without question to be 'natural' or given by some principles of order outside those provided by human association itself. So, as compared with that of his colleagues in the social sciences, the anthropologist's treatment of values tends to be broader in cultural scope, more realistic in illustration, and still fitted to a general social theory. Partly because of this, it is sometimes more naïve. Philosophically such anthropological views may have their shortcomings. As guides to action they may be ineffective. But they are sincere attempts to meet on more than an empirical level the problem of diversity of judgments and conflicts of codes in circumstances when they are claimed to be right by people concerned.

Unevenness of Treatment

But the anthropological treatment of values has been very uneven. When judgments on conduct are described, or theoretical analyses of social action given, it is only recently that value terms have come to be much used. Durkheim's great body of work, with its emphatic and elaborate analysis of moral obligation and the moral character of consensus, has probably influenced anthropological thinking on values at least as much as that of any

other writer in this field. But though there are a few scattered references to the term *valeur* in most of his writings, it appears as a specific subject of discussion only in his essay of 1911.[2] As late as 1942 one of the standard American textbooks gives a whole chapter on economic institutions without mentioning values once; the notion is introduced only when the authors come to the chapter on Money. Such abstentions may be due to a conviction that since values are basic to and inherent in all social action, they are best dealt with indirectly, and discussed in terms of their content, without specific reference. It is perhaps for this reason that contributors to a recent British series of broadcast talks on the values of primitive society discussed beliefs, behaviour, organization, institutions, modes of thought as much as they did values as such.

But the reason for the lack of discussion in value terms may have also lain in anthropological notions about primitive processes of valuing. When Goldenweiser[3] used the term 'values' sparsely and did not define it, the reason was perhaps the notion that valuation as a cognitive process is foreign to the primitive. Goldenweiser stressed the directness, the pragmatic nature, of primitive pursuits—'what is aimed at is achievement, not understanding.' Tools and inventions are accepted traditionally and become part of the technical equipment of behaviour, not of thought and understanding. This, he conjectured, explained in part why objective experience in primitive life failed to bring its full intellectual harvest. The primitive is guided by patterns; they are experienced, and the primitive individual identifies himself with his experience, so gratifying his pride and his vanity. There is hardly room for any process of evaluation. This underplaying of primitive conceptualization, with the virtual exclusion of consciousness and deliberate thought, was useful in maintaining the critique of Tylorian intellectualism. But it tended to push values simply into the realm of the irrational and the unconscious. In particular it seemed to give no basis for any change in value judgments. But Goldenweiser did bring out the way in which the patterns of primitive culture in their positive quality prescribe and delineate the *acceptable*. A pattern is not merely a systematic regular chain or modal form of behaviour. It also carries an invitation or command to reproduce the pattern as well as an exclusion and proscription of what is outside it and therefore unacceptable. By implication here is a most important aspect of value, namely its quality of being something wanted and felt to be proper to be wanted.

Most anthropologists so far have treated values mainly in a descriptive way. There is a vast amount of evidence of this kind. We know about the values of cattle in East Africa, of pigs in Melanesia, of a head wrenched in triumph from an enemy in Borneo or the Philippines. Many of these objects of value have symbolic and therefore intricate, even arbitrary aspects. What the anthropologist does is to try to reduce the element of arbitrariness involved. He tries to show how the evaluations correspond to what we ordinarily regard as commonsense requirements of social living. Cattle and pigs have some such recognizable uses. He tries to relate the evaluations to as wide a range as possible of social concomitants—to show that they do not stand alone but have their place in a whole scheme of actions which are characteristic of the society concerned. Ultimately he tries to see them as intelligible in terms of generally recognized human characteristics. So the values of head-taking can be linked with the acquisition of prestige and power, of ritual notions of prosperity and fertility. To go much further into the question of why a *head* has been taken as an object for valuing would demand psychological analysis—for instance, of the importance of eye and mouth, sight and speech, as expressions of personality. But even without all this, and without finding referents in any general human attitudes, values are treated as significant because of the regular systematic social operations which express them. There may be no way of ascribing meaning beyond the closed system, but within it, behaviour can be 'explained' insofar as it can be given a context.

Comparative Approach

When an anthropologist is thus describing the values of a particular society he usually has an implicit comparative approach. F. E. Williams gives a list of what he calls the 'more positive virtues' of the Orokaiva, a northern New Guinea tribe. In this, liberality and good temper come near the top and honesty fairly low down, while sexual continence before marriage has no place at all. In examining Orokaiva ideals, actual conduct and sanctions needed to keep them up to the mark, Williams notes that while their standards are very different from our own, the village life of these people compares by no means unfavourably with ours, in its relative freedom from quarrels and ill-feeling. When C. K. Meek is discussing the legal system of the Ibo of Nigeria he points out too that their sense of values does not coincide with ours. To accuse an unsophisticated Ibo of witchcraft, he says, would be a much more serious matter than to accuse him of having embezzled a large sum of money, whereas an Englishman—a modern one—would think nothing of the one charge and be most deeply concerned at the other. Linked with this is the traditional Ibo notion that to kill a witch is a duty, and that the European legal process which condemns the murderer is unjust and brutal. Both of these studies were by anthropologists for whom such comparisons had a practical administrative relevance. But studies of primitive economic values, made without this interest, have also shown this comparative theme. Malinowski, who first opened up several fruitful aspects of these problems by his field research in the Trobriands, was clearly influenced by his studies at Leipzig under Karl Bücher, who worked on problems of comparative economics, especially the evolution of labour and industry. When Malinowski pointed out that in the Trobriand scheme of things display of food gives social status and therefore abundance is valued as such; that an artifact may be valued the more highly because it is over-ornamented and therefore useless for its original purpose; that an act of exchange may be important for its social implications even more than for the things that change hands, he was doing more than contributing to our understanding of Trobriand values. His propositions

were derived from comparative theory, and implied a generality which invited further comparison.

But there are two types of comparison. One is the itemistic type of Westermarck and other older writers. This compares values in their bare judgment or practice—different attitudes to lying, to stealing, to suicide among different societies. The other is more integrative. It compares values in their configuration of social action, in reference to the different structures of the societies in which they operate. The method of Malinowski and most recent anthropologists, while integrative or 'functional' in analysis, has been to offer comparative material rather by implication—by parallelism, one might say. They have co-operated in comparison of values rather than individually engaged in such synthetic work.

A study which does make a frontal attack on the comparative value problems is Ruth Benedict's comparison of Zuñi, Dobu and Kwakiutl societies. This brings out clearly how diversity of custom is not fortuitous, but is explicable in terms of the integration of patterns of behaviour for each type of society. These patterns, fundamental and distinctive, condition the thoughts and emotions of the members of the society. Benedict's conception of a culture as a neatly rounded whole and her attempt to perceive in cultures leading themes which can be characterized as one would describe the character of a person has been rightly much criticized. So also has her inability to make adequate allowance for the conflicts of values within a society, for individual selection and variation. But the appeal of her study in circles outside anthropology was undoubtedly not only its over-simplification but also its emphatic suggestion of passing judgment on our own civilization. People at large are interested not in the Zuñi or the Dobu but in their own discontents. The growing reputation of the anthropologist rests in part on a conviction—sometimes ill-founded—that if he cannot find the cure at least he can help in the diagnosis of our social ills. What in essence Ruth Benedict seemed to offer was an explanation of dominant traits of civilization in terms of cultural choice, and the possibility of a more self-conscious direction of social process on a new value basis. But at the same time she was stressing the importance of cultural relativity, of recognizing as equally valid the pattern of life which each type of society has created. In doing this she was giving her Western readers the chance for self-criticism and for an apologia. She was also implicated in a value standpoint which has become of considerable interest to anthropologists themselves.

Marett and Cultural Relativism

These issues recall to us the contribution of R. R. Marett. A great deal of Marett's work was concerned, implicitly at least, with questions of values, infused as always by a warm humanistic approach. One of his earliest writings, he tells us, was an essay on the ethics of savage races, which gained him the Green Moral Philosophy Prize in 1891 not long after his election to a Fellowship of Exeter College. Forty years after this early account (which was never published) he went so far as to define social anthropology itself in value terms—as 'the study of moral institutions and ideas.'[4] This was an outline of social anthropology for general readers and he was concerned with what he termed the historical development of morality. Like Durkheim he saw moral values as regulating mechanisms of culture, though he disagreed with the stringency of Durkheim's view of the coercive nature of social facts. In his usual trenchant style he said that the deterministic interpretation of the pressure they undoubtedly exercise is a sheer piece of exaggeration more suited for a rhetorical than for a scientific context. Marett was latitudinarian in his view of exotic moral codes. He warned the student of civilization against treating culture of a Western type as an ultimate fact and so mistaking relative values for absolute ones. But he, unlike Benedict and some other later writers, was not a thorough-going ethical relativist. He held that a Science of Man was bound indirectly to a firm comment upon human progress. There are, he thought, significant human goals, defined by notions of the ideal and perfect derived from an infusion of hope into our observation of actuality. These are to be realized in a degree of social equilibrium controlling impulses in a healthy and, he said, therefore 'happy' system. Marett's contribution in this field lay then as much in what has been called 'meta-anthropology' as in value study proper. It is true that in an essay on 'Fact and Value' in 1934 he was concerned to stress that sociology (in which he clearly meant to include anthropology) studies values as facts. Such a treatment he held is neutral and can be satisfied with relativity not professing to be absolute. Facts so treated, he thought, can be used for the criticism of values. They show the existence of a field of choices leaving the choice itself to others, the framers of ideals. In his vivid metaphor he said, 'The sociologist presides over a bazaar of social experiments, open to all customers to buy or not to buy as they please; his business being simply to see to it that the goods displayed are so labelled that bankrupt stock can be distinguished from the products of some leading house.'[5]

Yet the use of the term bankrupt suggests that his own treatment is not perhaps so neutral after all. Indeed in this essay he does give to what (following Bouglé) he terms 'polytelism,' the multiple value system of modern liberal democracy, a kindly pat on the head.

In these and more recent anthropological analyses arise the problems of the general status of values and the relation of the observer to them. The most forthright statement, picking up the torch of Westermarck and Benedict, is that of Herskovits, in terms of 'cultural relativism.' All evaluations, he argues, are relative to the cultural background out of which they arise. The primary mechanism that makes for the evaluation of culture is ethnocentrism, the point of view that one's own way of life is to be preferred to all others. In a culture like that of the West, where the existence of absolute values has been stressed for so long, it is difficult to understand the relativism of a world that encompasses many ways of living. Here, it is argued, is where the anthropologist steps in. He studies customs and values in their context, and can so get away from the ethnocentrism of the ordinary man. The principle

of cultural relativism springs from a vast array of factual evidence, obtained, Herskovits says, by field techniques that have allowed us 'to penetrate the underlying value systems of societies having diverse customs.' 'It is not chance,' he says, 'that a philosophy of cultural relativism . . . has had to await the development of adequate ethnographic knowledge.'[6] Moreover, Herskovits sees the essence of cultural relativism in a respect for the values of other societies, leading directly to the practical implication that an attempt should be made to harmonize these variant goals, not destroy them.

The aspect of the theme of relativism to be paraphrased as 'there's nothing either good or bad but culture makes it so' has a distinguished ancestry, in which perhaps Nietzsche and certainly Westermarck deserved to be remembered. But there are some differences from the way in which modern anthropological thought has developed which should be noted. Much of the traditional discussion in these terms, especially in literature, has been in rebuttal, not in acceptance, of the role of culture. In *The Maid's Tragedy*, where so much of the action hinges, as it usually does in such plays, on conventional values, Beaumont and Fletcher make Amintor say:

> 'The thing that we call honour bears us all
> Headlong into sin, and yet itself is nothing.'

In Henry de Montherlant's drama of Pasiphaë, the Chorus tells the hesitating unhappy woman that she is hitting at bars that do not exist. There is no absoluteness, he says, in the moral value that human and animal worlds shall not be confused. It is not her passion which is unhealthy, but her belief in the judgment upon it—'shameful vapours from the human brain.' This differs from the 'cultural relativism' view of morals. The latter is not concerned to defend the right of the actor to disregard public opinion and create and follow his own values. If not asserting that the act *is* wrong because of the social judgment upon it, cultural relativism assumes that the actor would be well advised to behave *as if* it were wrong, otherwise unpleasant consequences will follow, to himself and to the society.[7]

Now turn to the question of systematic comparison. In asserting like Nietzsche that moral judgments have no objective validity, but are of emotional origin, Westermarck did not overlook their social basis. But if his arguments lack that tight positivist framework which A. J. Ayer and others who shared his ideas in this respect have used, they are also without that close context which the modern anthropologist provides. There is little demonstration of the intimate connexion between value judgment, form of the society and actions of its members. On the other hand, it is clear that while recent ethnographical data could have reinforced Westermarck's argument for ethical relativity, it does not depend upon them. The variety of custom he cites from classical antiquity alone could have served him for illustration. In other words, insofar as Herskovits's principle of 'cultural relativism' is not simply a plea for the proper contextual study of values—an up-to-date statement of Malinowski's functionalism—it requires philosophical, not merely anthropological proof. Propositions relating the diversity of value judgments to the specific cultural contexts in which they are formulated help us to greater understanding. They also may make us realize that our own ethical codes may be capable of improvement. But they do not lead inevitably to the proposition that there are no ultimate values, that there is no absolute criterion. To borrow an analogy (from the Italian novelist Marotta), it is as if the fact that so many clocks were out of order had made one lose faith in the existence of Time. Moreover, as Redfield and also Bidney have shown, the affirmation that we should have respect and tolerance for the values of other cultures is itself a value which is not derivable from the proposition that all values are relative.[8] An anthropologist may wish to hold such a position. But if he does so, it must be on other grounds.

Detachment in Value Studies

Anthropologists have often talked about the degree of detachment they can really bring to their value studies. That there must be some personal involvement on the spot is clear. But how far is this emotional interest transferred from field situation to lecture room or book? It is fairly simple to note the occasional overt judgment that slips through. Audrey Richards liked the courtesy and etiquette of the Bemba, and thought European manners apt to be crude and boorish by comparison. Evans-Pritchard has said he thought the Nuer interest in cattle hypertrophied. Clyde Kluckhohn saw Navaho culture becoming an ugly patchwork of meaningless and unrelated pieces instead of a patterned mosaic. At the broad comparative level, even those who argue strongly for cultural relativism can hardly avoid giving marks at times to the values and institutions they examine, as Benedict did, in terms of a scale of social costs or social waste. Many such anthropological judgments seem to be of æsthetic rather than moral order. But what is far more difficult to estimate is how far the anthropologist's description of the form or the functioning of the society is in part a response to some of his own hidden evaluations. To take a hypothetical example, how far is an expression of kinship relations in terms of tension, a reflection of some of the anthropologist's own early family experience?

Most of us at one time or other have attempted a statement on the conventional problems of the relation of the scientist to the man. One of my own, years ago, is probably representative. It pointed out how the anthropologist has his own bias, due to his own conditioning and personal interests; and while this must influence his findings, that bias should be consciously faced, the possibility of other initial assumptions be realized and allowance be made for the implications of each in the course of analysis.[9]

Brave words, as I read them now! How can a man face a bias which, even with a psycho-analyst at his elbow, he may not be able to identify? The work of correction may have to be done by others. But it is not uncommon in the university world to have to distinguish between personal and academic interests. And if one does not set objectivity

as a goal and strive towards it, however stumbling by the way, one may fall into an obscurantist attitude which seeks and protrudes the irrational, instead of trying to reduce it.

One need not try to defend all values by reason. My own preferences for the music of J. S. Bach and for Romanesque architecture and sculpture—or indeed for the study of anthropology rather than of economics—I find to be without any particular rational grounds. Imaginative and emotional elements are fundamental components of every personality. But this does not mean that they must have a mystical foundation, that they can have no place in a theory of personality. I think there is little doubt that for some people outside anthropology the study of values is attractive because it is thought to be anti-intellectualistic. It is conceived as a kind of restoration of *laissez faire* to social theory, the establishment of a personal retreat from the implications of an imagined social determinism, a quasi-mystical reply to the rationalist temper of much anthropological thought. And who then at some point does not echo Nietzsche and say he is sick to death of all this subjectivity and its confounded *ipsissimosity*! It is the role of the sociologist to extend, not circumscribe the field of reason in scientific study. And so I think there are sounder attitudes towards value-study.

But to come back for a moment to the problems of the values in the role of the anthropologist himself. Robert Redfield, in a recent illuminating discussion of this whole problem, holds the scales fairly evenly. He points out the rules of objectivity: the marshalling of evidence that may be confirmed by others, the persistent doubting and testing of all important descriptive formulations, the humility before the facts and the willingness to confess oneself wrong and begin again. 'I hope I may always strive to obey these rules,' he says. 'But I think now that what I see men do, and understand as something that human beings do, is seen often with a valuing of it. I like or dislike as I go. This is how I reach understanding of it.'[10] This humility seems to me of the spirit of science. Acceptance of oneself as a valuing instrument with an initial bias doesn't need to make one claim that the bias is either essential or correct.

There has always been some tendency for anthropologists to express their personal values, often of a humanistic kind, and identify them with some extra-cultural norms or universals. The international history of the last two decades stimulated this. The boldest and most interesting essay of this type is the attempt by Bronislaw Malinowski to give an objective basis for the definition of freedom. Writing during the war, with the rise of Hitler strongly in mind, Malinowski tried to show from a study of the minimal conditions of human organization how freedom is essential to civilization. Not to be equated with mere absence of restraint, it is achieved, he argued, by co-operation in conditions of greatest efficiency. Yet while many of his fellow anthropologists may share the main value judgments of Malinowski's essay, few find his arguments self-contained. The concepts of efficiency and of legitimacy of control which he finds essential to his definition cannot be derived effectively from the ethnographical data.

Anthropological Definition of Values

From all this you may get the impression that as Marett once said, 'we [sociologists and anthropologists] are notoriously vague, not to say confused in respect to our architectonic' (*op. cit.*, p. 43). This might be confirmed by a quick look at the way in which we have defined the notion of values. Values are sentiments (Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard); conceptions (Kluckhohn and Murray); generalized meanings (Florence Kluckhohn); unconscious assumptions (Homans); relations of interest (Radcliffe-Brown); ethos (Bateson and Kroeber). Sometimes values are identified with things, sometimes with motives, sometimes with ends. It would be harsh to argue that there is a temptation in the social sciences to make up in language what is lacking in clarity of ideas. But the lack of agreed definition makes for overlapping in the use of what Thomas Hobbes called 'metaphors, tropes and other rhetorical figures, instead of words proper.' It is true too that at times the treatment of values by anthropologists assumes almost the character of a dimension of the whole of social life.

The notion of values is clearly complex. But much anthropological treatment seems to agree in essence though the wording may differ. To speak of values implies recognition of preference qualities of relationships between means and ends in social contexts. Values involve a grading of things and actions in terms of their relative desirability. The emphasis is positive. (A glance at the dictionary gives the Latin *valere*, 'to be strong' and the Old French *valoir*, 'to be worth,' as related terms.[11]) It also implies systematic behaviour, not simply random choice. Values have a cognitive aspect, they may be conceptualized, have a shape in ideas. They have also an emotional charge. This may be at a minimum with values of a technological or economic kind. But even here this element exists. In the notion of the economic value of a book or the worth, technically speaking, of its binding, there are elements of feeling tone, a small emotional charge expressed in attitudes such as that the price of the book is fair or unfair, or that the binding has been well or shoddily done. It is this emotional element in values in particular which makes them promote and guide conduct. A. J. Ayer has said that ethical judgments are calculated to arouse feeling and so to stimulate action. So Malinowski pointed out how values are important for the exercise of choice among alternatives to action, and provide the force and integration for action. Or as Clyde Kluckhohn has said, 'values are ideas formulating action commitments.'[12] Hence they tend to have an obligatory character—an element of 'ought' as well as of 'want.'

As stimuli to action, values operate from the early years of childhood, once there is some systematic organization of experience into forms which perpetuate motivation. Values are learned, and some very useful work has been done by anthropologists on the way in which different processes of child-training in different societies provide diverse sets of values. But the genetics of value systems,

both for individuals and societies, is a subject on which much anthropological work has still to be done.

An Empirical Classification

As yet too anthropologists have made little attempt to classify values in any very systematic way. I find this a difficult problem, if only because values vary in quality and in intensity, But I find it convenient to distinguish at an empirical level between technological, economic, æsthetic, normative and ritual elements in any value configuration.[13] In doing so I make three points. The first is that these value elements are of different orders. As such, while conceptually separable, in practice they may all be present in an evaluation. A problem for the anthropologist is the identification of them and estimation of their relative weight. The second point is that in some cases it is possible to abstract and capitalize a value element which is especially marked in a range of situations, and refer to these situations as showing 'values' of a particular type. Thus while a normative quality may be ascribed to all evaluating, it is a specific characteristic of evaluations of an ethical or moral kind, where the notion of a standard is in the forefront. These are the 'normative values' *par excellence*. The third point is that I think it is expedient for the present at least to recognize the use of the term values in a wide connotation. There is a case for wishing to confine the term to those basic conceptions or assumptions which are 'obligatory'; which are regarded as predominant in regulating the life of the society. There is no doubt that a most important task in anthropology lies in clarifying these 'grand values,' as they have been called. But to stop there is difficult. On this basis economic values would be excluded, since they often relate to trivially motivated demands. Yet Durkheim himself has argued that they must be included, that all types of values are species of the same genus. There is then a case for using the term value, like structure, as an inclusive label without too precise definition.

Some of these elements have socially and for individuals a more relative or optional character than others. The definition of economic value in terms of supply and demand relations shows a specific assignment which is less perceptible in values of other types. In technological values, concerned with standards of efficiency, despite immense variation in range of objects involved in different cultures, there is more common measure of agreement than in other fields. Yet while demand for more efficient tools may be a spur to cultural change, differences of view may arise over the question: efficient for what? The argument whether technological achievement is to be preferred to another value in given circumstances is typical of many such conflicts.

It is taken for granted that values are not randomly distributed, either for an individual or a society. They are interconnected in some systematic way. But the degree of integration of the system may vary. If with an individual the integration is very low, then his actions are incoherent. If with a society, there is conflict. In studies of primitive societies anthropologists have shown the high degree of integration of the kinship system, in what may be termed the associational field of values. Values in behaviour between cross-cousins, for instance, are linked with values attributed to father's sister and mother's brother; and these in turn are linked with values attaching to property and social status. Field research done by anthropologists in London and elsewhere in this country indicates that kinship outside the elementary family has likewise significant values in our Western type of European society.

But one may adopt the assumption that in all social life there is necessarily and inescapably a clash between interests or values of individual and society. Even if one does not, it is clear that there are many spheres of discrepancy. In an economically under-developed territory nowadays, values described as rights to self-government, political freedom and responsibility may be in conflict with values attached to the requirements of technical efficiency. Both in turn may conflict with traditional values of the local people about their class or caste structure, their religion, or their use of leisure. Anthropologists have already contributed towards both theoretical and practical knowledge of the cross-cutting planes in such value systems. Redfield's studies of Chan-Kom illustrate how significant kin group and generation cleavages may be here. First results from the elaborate 'Rimrock Project,' in studying Navaho war veterans, suggest how important are early individual experiences in shaping reaction to major social changes, and that it is the implicit values not normally put into words which are most resistant to change. They also reinforce the generalization made by others that change is often easier in the religious orientation than in social organization.[14]

In a clash between values in a social system those in what I have called the associational field often seem to assert their primacy. In South Africa the *apartheid* policy goes in some respects directly in the face of those economic values which call for the preservation of an African labour force as an intimate part of both rural and urban white enterprises. This policy also maintains and is supported by a special sectarian interpretation of Biblical values. Similarly in the southern United States the segregation policy draws an almost surrealist distinction between brown men and pink men—meaning by the latter term a physical and not a political complexion. As Myrdal has pointed out, with anthropological support, many Southern white men find themselves in a grave dilemma in trying to justify with all kinds of rationalization the basic inconsistency between the American Creed and the Christian religion on the one hand, and the various forms of discrimination and segregation on the other. The values, both positive and negative, arising from and attached to close association with other human beings have immense weight.

This example bears upon what are often called 'ultimate values.' These, it is presumed, are the most important, the fundamental mainsprings of human action. They are frequently identified with, or thought to reside in, religion. This view is to some extent a matter of definitions. For the anthropologist as a scientist, his ultimate values include knowledge and truth, for which he may or may not feel

the need of religious validation. Apart from this, in his material, empirically, he is concerned to extract the basic values in the relations of man to man, man to nature, and man to himself. Here, moral and religious standards, and even economic standards, seem often *de facto* to yield and be re-defined in favour of standards of what is agreeable or disagreeable to have in close human association. Preference qualities of such association, what may be called the 'companionship value' or 'sharing value,' seem to be basic in social judgment. In trying to establish some universals in human values—a search which I think not in vain—the anthropologist can turn his attention to defining even more closely than hitherto the conditions in which such sharing operates as a positive preference.

Notes

[1] Any conception of 'ultimate values' which are inacessible to scientific study by their very nature does not fall within this field. But by definition such values (if they exist) are not anthropological material and do not concern us here.

[2] 'Jugements de Valeur et Jugements de Réalité,' in *Sociologie et Philosophie*, Paris, 1924. *Cf. De La Division du Travail Social*, 6th edn. Paris, 1932, pp. 5, 7, 8, 12, 17, etc., where Durkheim mentions the moral value of the division of labour; the value of dilettantism (negatively); the intrinsic value of civilization, etc. In *Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Réligieuse*, Paris, 2nd edn., 1925, p. 637, he alludes to the 'value' attributed to an effect. But compare also Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York, 1937, who formulates Durkheim's propositions specifically in terms of 'ultimate values' (pp. 391f.).

[3] A. A. Goldenweiser, *Anthropology*, London, 1937, pp. 407–26. *Cf.* C. Kluckhohn, 'Patterning as Exemplified in Navaho Culture,' from *Language, Culture, and Personality*, pp. 109–30, Wis., 1941.

[4] R. R. Marett, 'The Beginnings of Morals and Culture; An Introduction to Social Anthropology,' in *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, ed. by William Rose, London, 1931, pp. 395–430.

[5] *Head, Heart and Hands in Human Evolution*, pp. 43–61.

[6] M. J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works*, 1948, pp. 63, 68, 78 ; *cf. idem*, 'Cultural Anthropology in Area Studies,' *Internat. Soc. Sci. Bull.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, 1952, p. 688.

[7] *Cf.* M. J. Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 77: 'Cultural relativism must be sharply distinguished from concepts of individual behaviour, which would negate all social controls over conduct. . . . Conformity to the code of the group is a requirement for any regularity in life.'

[8] David Bidney, 'The Concept of Value in Modern Anthropology' in *Anthropology Today* (Wenner-Gren Foundation International Symposium on Anthropology), Chicago, 1953, p. 690; Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, Cornell U.P., 1953, pp. 147, etc.

[9] Raymond Firth, *We, The Tikopia*, 1936, London, p. 599.

[10] Redfield, *ibid.*, p. 165.

[11] *Cf.* J. L. Gillin and J. P. Gillin, *Cultural Sociology*, New York, 1948, p. 157; S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, London, 1951.

[12] A. J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic*, 2nd edn. London, 1950, p. 108; B. Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, London, 1947, pp. 129–31; C. Kluckhohn, in *Towards a General Theory of Social Action*, ed. by T. Parsons and E. A. Shils, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, p. 396.

[13] I have previously included a category of 'associational' in such a list. But if one is speaking of 'value elements' rather than 'values' this should be omitted since it refers rather to a field of operations than to a special quality of preference.

[14] *E.g.* E. Z. Vogt, *Navaho Veterans: A Study of Changing Values*, Peabody Museum, Harvard, Vol. XLI, No. 1, Cambridge, Mass., 1951.

OBITUARY

Theodor Mollison: 1874-1952

232 Theodor Mollison's Scottish father died soon after the son's birth in 1874 and the lad was brought up by his German mother in her own country, in which her husband died. Mollison became a student and an assistant under R. Martin at Munich and combined a medical qualification with his training in anthropology and anatomy. Martin died in 1925 and Mollison was elected as his successor in 1926. He represented perhaps more completely than almost any other German anthropologist of his time a loyal adherence to truth and an objective assessment of evidence. The decadence of science under Nazi influence did not touch his work, but his friends and admirers in this country could sometimes glimpse the difficulties that, consequently, beset his path for many years. His sympathetic and entirely unaggressive attitude in scientific discussion by no means hid the firmness with which he could defend an inference made on what he considered sufficient evidence. In 1931, when Dr. Leakey brought to Europe a skull from Kanjera and a jaw from Kanam, both in Kenya, along with artifacts and a mass of accompanying data, a weekend conference at St. John's College, Cambridge, considered the finds. Professor Mollison was specially invited to join in the conference, and to study the skull and jaw; and his presence and contribution to the discussion were highly valued.

Mollison improved various goniometers, craniometers, craniophores and so on and was the author of a large number of scientific papers from 1898 onwards, the first being a study of anatomical change in the skin during scarlet fever.

His interest in the comparative anatomy of the primates was maintained all through his life and led him to contribute to the Virchow *Festschrift* of 1933 what was practically a book, reviewing the descent of man ('Phylogenie des Menschen'). Its study of the higher apes and the remains of hominids known at that time was done with his usual care and sanity of argument. The large number of subsequent discoveries and new methods such as those of fluorine-absorption and Carbon-14 decomposition make a work issued in 1933 of historic rather than contemporary importance. But Mollison included a section on albumen reactions in the serum of mammals including apes and man. He seems to have been feeling his way towards a hypothesis giving great systematic importance to similarities and differences in the albumen molecules in different genera. His student and colleague, Dr. E. Breitinger, of the Frankfurt-am-Main University, has published an article on the subject in *Die Umschau*, 15 November, 1952, as a tribute to the memory of Mollison, who died in 1952 in Munich. Mollison's work on albumens mainly confirmed conclusions of comparative anatomy concerning relationships of various genera, but it may some day lead to further conclusions when more delicate analysis of the various albumens becomes possible. It was characteristic of Mollison's care that, unlike so many authors who tire of the subject of human evolution once they reach Aurignacian man, he maintained his keenness and sought to show the importance of morphological diversities among the fossils of *Homo sapiens* from the later Palæolithic. He was a worthy representative of the tirelessly industrious German scientific worker, integrally seeking the truth and carefully treating every detail on the way.

H. J. FLEURE

SHORTER NOTES

The Sickle-Cell Trait: A Possible Mode of Introduction into Africa. *By Dr. P. Brain, Shabanie Mine Hospital, Southern Rhodesia*

233 Dr. H. Lehmann[1] has recently considered the distribution of the sickle-cell trait in Africa, and has suggested that the sickling gene may have been introduced into the continent, through Southern Arabia, well after the African races had established themselves. This opinion was based on the discovery by Lehmann and Cutbush[2] that the sickle-cell trait occurred in a high proportion of Veddians of South India, who show, however, no increase in the frequency of the typically African *Rh* chromosome *cDe* (Rh_0) such as would be expected if the Veddians had received their sickle cells from African sources. By the principle of economy of hypothesis, we must, if we can, connect these Indian sicklers with those in Africa, rather than assume independent mutations in the two places; and it is quite clear from the *Rh* findings that the migration, if it occurred, was from India to Africa and not in the opposite direction. The assumption of a comparatively recent migration of this kind, however, raises certain very interesting problems.

As Lehmann has observed, the trait is very rare in the Union of South Africa. Studies of its incidence in Southern Rhodesia, not yet published, show the same extremely low incidence (0·6 per cent.) in 956 individuals of the Karanga tribe. The sample of 500 Bantu investigated at Salisbury by Gelfand[3] was drawn from surrounding territories as well as from Southern Rhodesia,[4] and the finding of 8 per cent. sickling is thus not necessarily representative of indigenous tribes. It seems probable that the Zambesi River, which forms a cultural boundary between patrilineal tribes to the south and those predominantly matrilineal to the north, marks also the southern boundary of the spread of sickling in Africa.

If the sickle-cell trait was introduced into Africa from India within comparatively recent times—that is, after the settlement south of the Zambesi of the tribes making up the Southern Bantu—then we have to account for its relatively high and uniform incidence[5] in the Negroes of West Africa, who must by the time of the sickle-cell migration have been separated from the Bantu for a very long time. Even in Gambia, which is very distantly removed from the postulated site of entry of the gene, a frequency of sickling of 28 per cent. has been found by Evans.[5]

This difficulty, I think, is probably only apparent. We have in the distribution of cattle in Africa evidence of human migrations which is very suggestive. Dart[6] has dealt with cattle distribution and its bearing on the blood groups, and I would suggest that it can also throw light on the distribution of sickling. The interesting breed in this respect is the shorthorn zebu variety of Indian cattle, the distribution of which in Africa has been described by Bisschop and by Curson and Thornton.[7] The shorthorn zebu breed, according to Bisschop, was introduced into Africa, via Southern Arabia, by Indians and Arabians. The time of introduction is placed by Bisschop at some time after 400 B.C., but by Dart at after A.D. 700. The shorthorn zebu entered Africa at the southern end of the Red Sea, in exactly the spot postulated by Lehmann for the introduction of the sickling gene. From this point the migration took two routes: (*a*) westwards across the continent to the Negroes of West Africa, on whose cattle the breed has had much influence; and (*b*) down the east coast as far as the Zambesi River, which it is to be noted that it did not cross. The paths of the migration are mapped in Bisschop's paper.

We have thus in the distribution of the shorthorn zebu evidence of a human migration which brought this breed to Africa at about the time postulated by Lehmann for the introduction of the sickling gene, and which spread the shorthorn zebu very suggestively in the present areas of sickle-cell distribution. Is it possible that the sickle-cell gene was distributed in Africa by the custodians of the shorthorn zebu?

I am grateful to Mr. Roger Summers of the National Museum, Bulawayo, for expressing his views on this theory.

Notes

1 MAN, 1953, 5.

2 H. Lehmann and M. Cutbush, *Brit. Med J.*, Vol. I (1952), p. 404, and *Trans. Roy. Soc. Trop. Med. Hyg.*, Vol. XLVI (1952), p. 380.

3 M. Gelfand, cited by E. A. Beet, *E. Afr. Med. J.*, Vol. XXIV (1947), p. 212.

4 M. Gelfand, personal communication.

5 R. W. Evans, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Trop. Med. Hyg.*, Vol. XXXVII (1944), p. 281; G. M. Findlay, W. M. Robertson and F. J. Zacharias, *ibid.*, Vol. XL (1946), p. 83.

6 R. A. Dart, *African Serological Patterns and Human Migrations*, Cape Town (S. African Archæol. Soc.), 1951.

7 J. H. R. Bisschop, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, Vol. XXXIII (1937), p. 852; H. H. Curson and W. R. Thornton, *Ond. J. Vet. Sci. An. Ind.*, Vol. VII (1936), p. 613.

The East African Institute of Social Research: A Report. *A note by Ian Cunnison*

234 *The East African Institute of Social Research, 1950–1953: A Report on Three Years' Work* (Kampala, 1953, pp. 77, price 3*s*.) is an impressive account of the formative years of a social research institute. The institute has a large staff, which includes Africans, of anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, linguists, economists and economic historians, and works in close association with other individual anthropological research projects in East Africa. While it is mainly financed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund and is attached to Makerere College it remains independent as far as its research programme goes. It plans to become not only an academic institute but also an information centre for East African sociology. An interesting feature is the extent to which African students of Makerere are involved in various ways with the research and its results.

The writer of the report points throughout to advantages to be gained from co-operative rather than individual research. In the first three years members took part in no less than six conferences. In the course of these it was agreed to collect concrete data of particular types and to use certain definite field techniques, including common questionnaires, and they agreed on a terminology; but it was considered too early to work from a common conceptual scheme. Thus basic data from all areas could be used in monographs by any one member on particular institutions, while the main field monographs would be presented according to individual leanings. The situation in Uganda is favourable for intensive comparative work, not only because there are many students in a fairly small area, but also because the peoples studied appear willing to lay themselves open to formal examination.

In research methods attempts are being made to ally the collection of quantitative data with the classical desiderata of field research—intimacy and informality of approach.

The report also states that, in Uganda at any rate, co-operation in producing material for the Administration has not shown 'that the dichotomy between pure and applied research has been as great as it is often represented.'

'Social and Economic Studies': A New West Indian Periodical. *A note by Dr. F. Henriques, Leeds University*

235 A periodical devoted to economic and sociological research in the British West Indies is greatly to be welcomed. *Social and Economic Studies*, of which the first number appeared in February, 1953, is published under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University College of the West Indies, and is edited by the Director of the Institute, Dr. H. D. Huggins.

In this first number the paper of prime interest to anthropologists is the interim field report of R. T. Smith, entitled 'Family Organization—British Guiana.' This deals with the family structure of a Guianese coastal village of 1,700 people. Mr. Smith has given a most interesting analysis of the composition and functioning of village households. It appears that, although kinship relations are emphasized within the village as a whole, quarrelling and tension between relatives are such that many households cannot be considered as co-operative units. Similarity with African examples is suggested by the fact that villagers all claim descent from a semi-mythical ancestor. Mr. Smith's view that 'it is around mothers that all forms of domestic organization seem to crystallize' is supported by research material from Jamaica and Haiti. This paper can be considered a real contribution to the anthropology of the Caribbean.

Other papers deal with employment, productivity, and urban research. This journal will do much to fill the gap in the Caribbean economic and social fields.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Nature of Culture. *By A. L. Kroeber. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. Agents: C.U.P.), 1952. Pp. x, 438. Price £2 9s.*

236 This is very largely a reprint of short essays and addresses written at various times during the last half century. Although Professor Kroeber's teaching will now be well known to all anthropologists, this chronological collection is valuable for illustrating the genesis and evolution of his ideas. His wide interest in natural history has always influenced his thought profoundly, and it is typical of him that he was persuaded to take culture rather than society as his unit of study partly by the observation that ants display a social structure but not a cultural system. Again, the brilliant outline of ethnological principles, written in 1931 ('Historical Reconstruction of Culture Growths and Organic Evolution') is based throughout on an analogy between anthropology and biology.

The author decided as early as 1901 that quests for ultimate origins would be fruitless, and that a comparative method which disregarded contexts might lead to grievous errors. But these conclusions did not bring him into an alliance with any of the 'functionalists,' from whom he was kept separated by his lively historical sense. Moreover, he has never thrown in his lot with any of the stricter 'schools' of anthropology and to judge from these essays, he has always felt uncomfortable with such generalities as Rivers' culture strata, Elliot Smith's Egyptian origins or Freud's incest taboo. He is rather in the scholarly tradition of Ratzel and Tylor, for whom he frequently mentions his admiration. The fine essay on Stimulus Diffusion (1940) is perhaps the best expression of his debt to them.

Throughout Professor Kroeber's writings there has always been a healthy balance between theory and research, and in this book one can trace the development of his ideas, not only on anthropology generally, but also on particular subjects which have interested him, such as the fluctuations of fashions in dress, the coincidence of inventions and the relation of genius to its cultural setting. Along with a few other veterans, with whom he shares, however much their ideas may differ, a wide learning and a capacity for painstaking research, he has been responsible for preserving continuity with the generation of Morgan, Spencer and Tylor, and for keeping anthropology at least recognizable as the same subject which they wrote about. May his teaching long continue to act as a wise and steadying influence on the discipline to which he has devoted his long career!

W. C. BRICE

An Appraisal of Anthropology Today. *Edited by Sol Tax, Loren C. Eiseley, Irving Rouse and Carl F. Voegelin. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. Agents: C.U.P.), 1953. Pp. xiv, 395. Price £2 5s.*

237 This is a carefully edited record of the discussions which followed the papers given at the International Symposium on Anthropology, sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and held in New York in 1952. The papers themselves have already appeared in book form, as *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (see MAN, 1953, 210).

There is some precedent for this sort of publication, notably in the *Geographical Journal*, but this is probably the first time that *extempore* comments at a learned gathering have been reproduced on this scale. As might be expected, they make uneven reading. Sometimes the meeting of specialists in different fields produces lively and fresh ideas, as in the debate on social selection and genetics in Chapter XV; sometimes the discussion becomes heavy and obscure, as in the lengthy analysis of the meaning of 'models' in Chapter VII. Many of the criticisms of old theories are already familiar, but there is also valuable information, which has often not yet been published elsewhere, on new lines of research, for example in genetics and techniques of archæological dating. For this, however, the book has manifestly only a temporary interest. Its permanent value will probably be rather in the light it throws on the outlook and dispositions of the different contemporary 'schools' of anthropology, and their attitudes to each other. Informal recollections, challenges and exchanges are often more illuminating in this respect than carefully reasoned apologies. To this extent the experiment has succeeded in its first object, of presenting an account of the state of the subject in the middle of the twentieth century. The moral of the congress, pointed by Professor Kroeber in a concluding review, is that anthropology must at all costs be kept one and indivisible. The wide range of contemporary specialist research revealed in this book shows how difficult this is going to be.

W. C. BRICE

Shame and Guilt: A Psycho-Analytic and Culture Study. *By Gerhart Piers and Milton B. Singer. Springfield, Ill. (Thomas) (U.K. Agents: Blackwell), 1953. Pp. x, 86. Price £1 3s. 6d.*

238 This short monograph is Publication No. 171 in American Lectures in Psychiatry edited by Dr. Roy R. Grinker of Chicago. Of its two authors, Gerhart Piers is a staff member of the Institute for Psycho-analysis there, and writes Part I which is a somewhat academic summary of recent work based on clinical material directed towards defining shame and guilt respectively in psychoanalytical terms. The style is stilted and marred by teutonisms. It is too short to make any notable new contribution to knowledge, but serves the purpose of introducing Part II which will be of more interest to social anthropologists.

This second part is well written by Milton B. Singer, who is Professor of Social Sciences in the University of Chicago, and raises once more the familiar problem of 'Shame Cultures and Guilt Cultures' among primitive peoples. He recognizes, with Gerhart Piers, that cut-and-dried definitions as hitherto attempted are inadequate on account of lack of discrimination between conscious and unconscious psychic contents, which causes much misunderstanding between psychologists and social anthropologists, since the same word may in this case be used for two quite opposite

things. Anthropologists are concerned primarily with cultural adaptations and manifestations in society, while psycho-analysts are primarily oriented towards unconscious motivations such as are disclosed in the consulting room. Thus, shame may be unconscious guilt, or guilt consciousness of shame. In this way, the writer turns some of Margaret Mead's conclusions upside-down, and, in a chapter on psychometric data obtained from children of several American Indian tribes he shows a much higher percentage of consciousness of inner guilt than had been acknowledged hitherto.

The problem is discussed both from the cultural angle of social adaptation (external shame) and from the cultural angle of personal (internal) responsibility, and, while no definite conclusions are drawn, he emphasizes the need for new criteria based on abandoning the simple 'internal-external' duality of shame depending on external sanctions and guilt on internal ones, which has been useful as a primary concept, and substituting a somewhat more subtle understanding of mutually interacting conscious and unconscious forces which, if they cannot be studied individually, can be deduced from the interaction between social structure and its compensating mythology or animistic (projected) beliefs.

JOHN LAYARD

A History of Medicine: I, Primitive and Archaic Medicine. *By H. E. Sigerist. Publ. No. 27 of Historical Library. New York (Yale Medical Library) (U.K. Agent: Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. 564. Price £3*

239 This is the first volume of what is proposed to be completed in eight volumes, and to be the most informative work so far issued on this vast subject. The present volume deals solely with primitive and ancient medicine in its widest sense, and is, therefore, the one most likely to be of interest to anthropologists and archæologists. The approach is a new one, the author studying the health, preventive medicine and disease of primitive and ancient peoples from the standpoint of their ecological background, economic structure and stage of psychological development.

The present volume is introductory to the whole work. Medical history and its problems are first of all defined and its methods and relations to social problems are discussed.

The major part of the volume is devoted to systems of medicine and hygiene in the old civilizations of the Near East, especially Egypt and Mesopotamia. Sources and their mode of study are described. An immense amount of material has been utilized and great things are promised in the early chapters, though they do not all materialize by the end of the volume.

The section on primitive medicine is extremely well done, the account of the medical and surgical procedures in relation to their psychology and ideas of the nature of disease being very informative.

Chapters on Egypt and Mesopotamia do not attain the same standard. One expects to learn a good deal in chapters of this kind about the dawn of medicine, its history and of history in general, but one's expectations here are not fulfilled. The best part, again, is that which correlates the state of medicine to the current cultural and psychic standards, but too much space is devoted to religion and magic, and too little to rational methods. The material, one would have expected, might have supplied more data on the ills afflicting people at the time. The fault probably lies in the vague nature of the sources, but the Ebers papyrus, at least, gives a more vivid picture of medical knowledge of the time.

Lists of incantations are too tedious for a work of this kind. The general reader will be bored with them and they supply little of interest to the student of medicine. They might have been relegated to an appendix if considered essential to the book at all.

Rather too much knowledge is assumed of the reader on the subject of general knowledge of early civilizations. For example it is assumed that the reader is well acquainted with the Gilgamesh myth. I, for one, know nothing of it and I must be no isolated example.

A few minor errors might be pointed out. P. 58, last 4 lines, referring to bone tumours: these in my experience are not by any means confined to the aged. P. 60, line 10: the author's chronology seems to be at fault; Mineptah (of Exodus fame) died about 1200 B.C. and was a Nineteenth Dynasty monarch, being the son of Ramses II. On p. 317, line 19, the dating is probably correct. P. 106, line 9, etc.: the dawn of medicine must have been long before the Upper Palæolithic as the author implies, p. 114, paragraph 4, in his account of dogs eating herbs to restore health. The discussion on pp. 115–17 seems to be pure speculation, which is surprising in view of the interlude in the middle of the discussion where the author blames others for committing the same nuisance. P. 310, lines 6 and 7: Imhotep must have learned his surgery somewhere and there seems no reason at all for denying that he could have been an army surgeon before he became vizier. P. 456, line 15: a scorpion is not an insect.

Illustrations, of which there are over 100, are well chosen and well reproduced, but all concentrated, according to a current deplorable fashion, in the middle of the book, needing constant page-turning and re-turning to correlate them with the text.

W. C. OSMAN HILL

Field Archæology. *By R. J. C. Atkinson. 2nd. edn., revised. London (Methuen), 1953. Pp. x, 231, 12 plates, 79 text figs. Price 17s. 6d.*

240 The rapidity with which the first edition of this book went out of print was a measure of its value, and the second edition has been eagerly awaited. This, second, edition is much revised both in text and illustration so that those already acquainted with the first will do well to familiarize themselves with the second. For all beginners, and for anyone with pretensions to field archæology, this book is essential. It is well written, the illustrations are to the point, and the format is good.

While the book is based on field experience in Britain, the basic methods and techniques described are applicable to practically every theatre of archæological field research. The chapters on Field Work, Excavation, Archæological Surveying, Recording, Photography and Interpretation have been written in relation to general requirements, and not to particular types of field monuments in Britain. The scientific excavation of such things as ditches, banks, buried structures, pits and graves is fully discussed, and a particularly useful section is devoted to the drawing-up of archæological reports, and their preparation for publication. It is rightly stressed that excavation is a gross waste of irreplaceable evidence if adequate publication is not achieved, and indeed, excavation should not be undertaken at all unless technical efficiency can be assured in the field backed by sufficient training. Amongst other things, at the end of the book, is a glossary of archæological terms and an appendix on the treatment of finds.

The use of the word 'sample' on p. 75 may be a little misleading. The author means that all bones, human, animal or other, should be kept for expert examination both for identification and for statistics. This also includes cremations. While charcoal samples are mentioned, no remarks are made on hearths as a whole. It is advisable to remove all the black 'mess' as it may contain organic remains not visible to even the most careful examination with the naked eye. I have had particular reason to learn this recently. In dealing with samples or deposits taken in excavations, one great difficulty exists in finding specialists in the various natural sciences who have the time and interest to carry out really adequate investigations. Many of the routine reports published on soil samples in particular are well-nigh meaningless in relation to the archæology and environment of the site in question.

Field Archæology is now established as a standard work, and, one hopes, will see many editions. One could wish too, for certain companion volumes. One fully devoted to the treatment of finds would be most welcome in the laboratory of any museum or archæological department. Secondly, Mr. Atkinson writes of the need for archæologists to know something about primitive technology as a means to the right interpretation of archæological evidence. Could he bring together some of this information especially in relation to excavated evidence, not comparative ethnology? Information on the lay-out of occupational sites, such as forges, kilns and threshing floors and on the uses of different

types of timber, and the appropriate craft tools, not to mention weaving and hide-dressing, would be of the greatest benefit.

Finally, there is a great need for a manual on the technique of cave-excavation. At present there is nothing with which to confront the well intentioned but uninformed enthusiast to whom caves seem to be a particular attraction. T. G. E. POWELL

AFRICA

241 Shaheinab: An Account of the Excavation of a Neolithic Occupation Site carried out for the Sudan Antiquities Service in 1949–50. *By A. J. Arkell. O.U.P., 1953. Pp. xix, 114, 43 plates, 57 text figs. Price £3 3s.*

Ever since Mr. A. J. Arkell published his arresting summary of excavations in a neolithic site at Esh Shaheinab on the Nile about 35 miles north of Khartoum (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, Vol. XV, 1949) it had been evident that material ranking in importance with that of the mesolithic culture previously found by him on the outskirts of Khartoum itself (*Early Khartoum*, O.U.P., 1949) awaited its definitive publication. This, with exemplary speed, is now before us. It is more compressed than *Early Khartoum*, but with the same high quality of illustration and clarity of presentation. Moreover, its intrinsic interest, which is great, is doubled by the typological background provided for this Sudanese Neolithic by its mesolithic forerunner. What physical modifications, if any, distinguished the earlier from the later group of people remains unknown. For the mesolithic custom of burial within the settlement, which yielded a heavily built negroid people, had, by neolithic times, regrettably advanced to some unidentified practice away from it. Speculation, therefore, is permissible on the question of whether material progress from a mesolithic stage (fishing, hunting, primitive pottery) to a neolithic (fishing, hunting, herding, polishing of stone tools, developed pottery) was autochthonous, or due, as Mr. Arkell suggests, to fusion of the Nilotic negroids with more progressive peoples moving into the Sudanese Nile Valley from the west.

Primitive neolithic innovations apart, there appears to have been no very fundamental change in the later mode of existence. Fishing and hunting remained the standard activities; and the evidence for cereal or other cultivation is negative, though I think for various reasons that it probably existed.[1]

The presence of numerous specimens of two, possibly three, sorts of domesticated animals, however, marks the establishment of a new epoch. These, in the sure and searching hands of the late Dorothea Bate, are described in her posthumous report on the fauna as a dwarf goat, a twisted-horned sheep or goat, and possibly a sheep. Her chapter on the 32 species of animals recovered from the settlement is of outstanding interest, and stresses the considerable change in the faunal assemblage since mesolithic times caused by a drier climate. About the goats she concluded: 'the large proportion of young animals is in agreement with conditions usually prevailing under domestication' (p. 15); and in her summary (p. 18) she comments: 'It is of the greatest importance that about two per cent. of the specimens from Esh Shaheinab represent Domestic Goat and Sheep. Since these are not related to the local fauna, they must have been brought into the Nile Valley by immigrants; and since they are mostly from a dwarf Goat, dissimilar to any domestic Goats studied from prehistoric Egypt but possibly related to the fossil dwarf Goats of "neolithic" Algeria, it is suggested that the dwarf Goat of Esh Shaheinab may have reached the Khartoum area from Algeria via Ahaggar and Tibesti.' Mr. Arkell pays his tribute (p. 11): 'She worked on the collection for two years, and her report was approaching completion, when her widely lamented death on 13 January, 1951, robbed archæologists and prehistorians of a palæontologist whose co-operation was invaluable and knowledge unique. . . . Although her report contains some comparative statements, it is a tragedy that it cannot now contain the full comparison that she had intended to make between the domestic fauna of Esh Shaheinab and the domestic fauna of sites of roughly similar age in the Nile Valley, *viz.* Toukh (Naqada), Badari, Mostagedda, and the Fayum.'

The material culture of Shaheinab is of great interest and teases thought as to its relationship with far distant communities. It contains that distinctive tool the flaked and polished gouge, associated otherwise solely with the Fayum, the French Nigerian Sahara and two sites on the flanks of the Tibesti massif; unique axeheads in bone; others in flaked and polished rhyolite of Fayum A-group style; bone, ivory and horn harpoons, including a solitary biserial example, most nearly akin to those found in the French Nigerian Sahara, but paralleled less closely by the Fayum type.[2]

The bowl-shaped pottery is richly varied and characterized in general by burnish applied after decorative impressions or incisions. The sherds of the impressed ware include numerous well classified patterns, one of which forms the ceramic link with the pottery of the Khartoum Mesolithic; combed ware; incised ware; black-topped red ware; plain red or black ware and other smaller classes. The Egyptian parallels in texture and treatment but not in form with Badari (comb-ripple), Fayum (red burnished) and the Early Predynastic are pointed out.

Mr. Arkell reiterates his opinion that the Khartoum Neolithic, in part at least undoubtedly descended from the Khartoum Mesolithic, is no belated reflection of Predynastic civilizations pushed south from Egypt, but has the actual priority. He rationalizes the conception by postulating a centre of primary neolithic dispersion situated somewhere in the Tibesti area, itself well suited physiographically for such a role. This alone, he considers, will account for the common stock of material shared by the Shaheinab Neolithic with the Nigerian Sahara over 2,500 kilometres west on the one hand, and the Fayum Neolithic about 1,500 kilometres north on the other, with no known intermediary points in the Nile Valley, apart from the looser and more restricted resemblances with the Badarian.

In no way has Mr. Arkell overstressed the resemblances of these far separated groups with Shaheinab or between themselves at the expense of the many differences. He recognizes them; and, indeed, the prominence of agriculture in the Fayum is one of many striking divergencies. But he offers the general explanation on an individual object: 'The fact that the developed arrowheads with recessed and occasionally tanged bases are common to Tenéré (Nigerian Sahara), the Fayum Neolithic, and the Badarian in Egypt, but do not occur in the Khartoum Neolithic, seems only explicable if we assume that the neolithic features of the Fayum Neolithic were brought to the Fayum by a later wave of immigrants from the dispersal area (perhaps Tibesti) than that which brought them to the Khartoum area'; and he considers also that typologically the small Fayum harpoons are later than those of Shaheinab.

This raises the question of relative chronology, and at the moment, as there can be no hope of advancing the problem stratigraphically, we have to turn, with reservations, to Carbon 14, the results of which are in general accepted by archæologists when they suit their purpose, and rejected when they do not. The results from Chicago are:

Test	*Culture*	*Material*	*Age*	*Average* B.C.
1952	*Shaheinab Neolithic*	*Charcoal:* 5060±450 *Shell:* 5446±380		3300±415
1950	*Fayum A Neolithic*	*Grain:*	6095±250	4145
1951	*Fayum A Neolithic*	*Grain:*	6391±180	4440

For the moment therefore the matter can be carried no further. It rests with Mr. Arkell, adequately supported, to follow up his immensely stimulating investigations by visits to Tibesti and, I hope hardly less, to the Eastern or Arabian Desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, which may at least, I think, elucidate the homeland of Badarian civilizations. G. CATON-THOMPSON

Notes

[1] Vavilov's distribution of the *Triticum dicoccoides* group of wheat-grass, centred in Abyssinia, is one consideration. One may speculate about Tibesti also, with its diversified altitudes and terrain.

[2] Blurs on clear-cut evidence are tiresome; but in regard to the Fayum polished gouges inadequate evidence of position caused me

to pronounce 'Probably A; certainly B group' (*Desert Fayum*, 1934. p. 20; also pp. 31, 59). Regarding the harpoons see also the caution, *ibid.*, p. 22.

242 The Webster Plass Collection of African Art: The Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition Held in the King Edward VII Galleries of the British Museum, 1953. *By William Fagg. London (B.M.), 1953. Pp. 48, 47 plates, pictorial cover, map, bibliog. Price 5s.*

One of the effects of African sculpture's relation to the modern art movement has been a tendency to explain this art away by application of European psychological and æsthetic principles. Mr. Fagg's introduction to this catalogue states by implication that these methods, however sincere, might lead to a false understanding of the subject. To be properly understood, the material must be viewed in its African context. To this end Mr. Fagg suggests that we acquaint ourselves more fully with the beliefs which bring forth this sculpture. It is his view that field inquiries as to the African's æsthetic values can lead us nearer the truth of tribal art; in view of the mass of literature on the subject, it is little short of remarkable that this consideration has been in most cases overlooked. The relationship of art and philosophy in African tribal life is discussed at some length in this introductory statement, but in a manner which seems rather too deeply felt and movingly written for me to presume to paraphrase.

The same concern with the truth of African tribal art distinguishes the author's comments on objects in the Plass collection. Terse but ample treatment as to salient features, function in tribal life and provenance is given each of the 166 items in this outstanding collection. Each tribe's sculptures are listed under a brief discussion of the group's distribution and the distinctive features of its art style. This is done with exemplary caution. Works in no clear tribal style are attributed to an 'Undetermined Tribe' and placed nearest the tribe whose works they most resemble. The classification of African art is still somewhat confused by the positive but mistaken attributions of the past. It is to be hoped that a precedent has been set in this catalogue.

This circumspect manner of treatment seems to obviate any large or important inaccuracies. The captious reader can always find several points possible of contention. There are two in particular which seem to be heirlooms in the study of African art. It is time that the mudfish of the Bini and Yoruba was gaffed from mythology's stream for closer examination. *Malapterurus beninensis*, in a sense, is a non-ichthyological fish. *Malapterurus electricus*, the electric catfish, exists over most of tropical Africa but, even so, it may be too soon to decide that it, of the five or more interesting catfish of the Yoruba-Bini area, is certainly the sacred mudfish.

Artificial cranial deformation seems to have been a transitory and limited fashion during the Eighteenth Dynasty of ancient Egypt. There seems no evidence of it as a cultural usage before or after that time. The Mangbetu tribe cannot be traced into this period or, for that matter, most of the centuries which followed. At this stage of our knowledge, head-shaping need not necessarily evince an early community of culture between the Mangbetu and ancient Egypt.

One may find additional hairs to split in the text relating to objects other than Yoruba stools and Mangbetu jars. The rib-like projections which traverse the upper face of some Ngere masks need not be interpreted as representing animal tusks or horns. The median groove which follows the outer length of these processes seems to correspond to the space which separates upper and lower eyelids in rather similar masks, thus suggesting that a protruding eye was first rendered and then, as a fanciful afterthought or an expression of a horror of mass, was cut away from most of the base, leaving only the outer margin. Also, to say that the stalk found behind the legs of Fang figures is used to fix them on the lids of cylindrical boxes is to overlook another of its uses. Several illustrations of Fang *bieri* figures show them sitting with legs dangling over the rims of lidless bark barrels, the stalks serving to hold them in place.

In America, incautious readers of this catalogue have begun to refer all Ogowe River masks of the 'pretty,' white-faced type to the Bakota. The author has taken care to note a resemblance only between a mask in the Plass collection and one taken among the Bakota, but perhaps even greater clarity is required.

Perhaps the above reservations can, by the smallness of their import, suggest the soundness and general value of this catalogue's documentation. A most sober and well-informed statement on the physical nature of African tribal art has been put forth in these relatively few notes. LEON SIROTO

243 Les Masques Kono (Haute Guinée française): Leur Rôle dans la Vie religieuse et politique. *By B. Holas. Paris (Geuthner), 1952. Pp. 202, 35 text figs., 12 plates, map. Price 2,250 francs*

Dans son livre, l'assistant d'ethnologie à l'I. F. A. N., le dévoué et actif M. B. Holas, nous ébauche l'institution du masque chez les Kono guinéens, petite peuplade de 30 à 40.000 âmes, près que complètement ignorée jusqu'ici. Se liant à la classification usuelle ethno(?)-linguistique, l'auteur est d'avis que les Kono guinéens, appartenant au groupe Mandé-fu, 'n'ont vraisemblablement aucune parenté directement perceptible' avec les Kono du Sierra Léone qui figurent parmi les peuplades du groupe Mandé-tan (p. 15).

Pourtant, regardant de près plusieurs détails, comme p. ex. les migrations du nord au sud, la présence de 'familles balafrées' reconnues comme les plus purs éléments Kono et nommées 'Les Puissants,' le fait assez troublant que dans un même récit les origines des Kono se trouveraient tant au nord qu'au sud, la parenté coutumière avec les Mano etc., en somme le fait établi que les Kono guinéens actuels sont 'le produit de métissages successifs de plusieurs groupes ethniques différents' (p. 17), il apparait clairement que ce métissage comporte un fond (ancien) de Mandé-fu, mélangé à des parcelles de peuplades sylvestres, submergé d'un groupe Mandé-tan (Kono purs?) à l'esprit dominateur et suivi de quelques forgerons Bambara, à en juger par la présence sporadique du Koma.

Ayant égard tant à l'histoire qu'a l'ordre des choses dans les environs immédiats, comme p. ex. chez les Dan et autres peuplades éburnéenes également à cheval sur la lisière de la forêt, il est presque sûr que les conquérants mandé-tan s'infiltrant parmi les -fu se sont accoutumés à l'idiome de ces derniers afin de faciliter une emprise définitive.

Ce métissage étant acquis, il ressort également du livre de M. B. Holas une autre constatation pas moins importante mais malheureusement non exploitée. Car le 'Masque Kono' en tant que premier principe d'une institution coutumière, et aussi comme réalisation artistique (un aspect que l'auteur a complètement négligé, à dessein il est vrai, mais bien à tort puisque la morphologie du masque sculpté lui aurait appris sans doute que le système stylistique est une base très précaire sinon inexistante pour une classification fonctionnelle; voir à la p. 43) est redevable d'une dualité coutumière extrêmement complexe. Cette conclusion s'impose par suite d'un nombre non négligeable d'informations parmi lesquelles la répartition du pays Kono en deux secteurs, à savoir les deux 'Cantons' de l'ouest où le Poro existe et 'un secteur à circoncision' et 'à excision,' notamment les deux 'Cantons' de l'est (pp. 83, 136–37), nous démontre sans équivoque la présence dans le pays Kono guinéen de deux procédés d'initiation (et non d'un seul) essentiellement différents et se liant à des systèmes de vie opposés dont l'un est dominé par le Poro, l'autre par une institution du Masque indépendante du Poro, comme p. ex. chez les Dan éburnéens et autres peuplades voisines. Voir notre étude préliminaire: 'Poro en Masker: Enkele beschouwingen over "Masks as agents of social control in Northeast Liberia" door Dr. G. W. Harley' (*Kongo-Overzee*, Vol. XVIII (1952), Nos. 2–3, pp. 153–98; summary).

Il serait injuste si ces quelques remarques seraient la cause d'une dépréciation du livre de M. B. Holas qui, je m'empresse de le dire, s'est fait un mérite de son étude.

A vrai dire, à part quelques thèses aventurées ou quelques assertions plutôt gratuites et littéraires, la partie descriptive est réellement précieuse, non seulement à cause d'un grand nombre d'informations tout à fait remarquables, mais d'autant plus méritante que l'auteur a su découvrir l'institution du Masque sans se perdre dans une poussière de détails locaux et de variantes particulières (chaque masque étant une personnalité individuelle!), cause première de

l'embrouillement inextricable de quelques études récentes sur le masque du N. E. Libérien.

C'est un 'coup de drague' comme le dit sagement dans la préface l'éminent Professeur Monod, mais ajoutons-y, un coup de drague réussi dans cet 'Océan ténébreux' aux fascinantes profondeurs de 'La Masque,' cette vaste création humaine effleurant l' *over-elaboration* dans le Haut-Cavally, l'habitat des 'maîtres ès masques,' voisins proches des Kono guinéens. P. JAN VANDENHOUTE

Tribal Crafts of Uganda. *By Margaret Trowell and K. P. Wachsmann. London (Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. xxi, 423, 115 plates, map. Price £2 5s.*

244 The Uganda Museum is fortunate to have had as successive Curators the authors of this volume. They show a cordial enthusiasm for the traditional crafts of the country which turns this volume from a work of reference into a book which one can read through pleasurably.

The book is in two parts. The first, 'Domestic and Cultural,' is by Mrs. Trowell; the other, 'The Sound Instruments,' is by Dr. Wachsmann.

Mrs. Trowell begins with a general introduction dealing with the historical development of the existing situation in Uganda, and incorporating tribal summaries of material culture, from which it appears that the present tense has not yet become the ethnographical fiction which it is in some other parts of the continent, although it is on its way to becoming so. There follow chapters dealing with each craft in turn, each chapter illustrated with its own group of bold, vigorous line drawings. A lengthy appendix shows not only what patterns of implements of every type occur in each tribe, but also the tribal names for them. Where appropriate the chapter begins with a description of the technology involved; this occurs, for example, in reference to pottery, gourds, and basketry. The definitions and descriptions of basketry, together with the very clear drawings, are particularly fine. The illustrations of netting are, however, not so clear, being rather too impressionistic for the purpose. Nevertheless the book would perform a useful service as an introductory textbook for students of technology, although this was perhaps not the authors' intention. A surprising omission is the craft of barkcloth-making: barkcloth clothing is described, but the characteristic tools with which it is made are neither described nor illustrated. The use of the term 'ringed axe' (pp. 91, 257) seems strange to one accustomed to the term 'shaft-hole axe.' All measurements are given in the metric system which is far more convenient than the English.

Dr. Wachsmann deals with each class of musical instrument in turn, and they are illustrated by Mrs. Trowell's drawings and pages of photographs. This section is rather more discursive in style than the first part of the book. The work on musical instruments is evidently at a less advanced stage than the work on the other arts and crafts, and gives the reader a pleasurable anticipation of forthcoming discoveries. As it stands, however, it is an important contribution to the systematics of African musicology.

The book affords a remarkably complete picture of the material culture of Uganda, systematically dealt with, so that it will be an invaluable help to the museum curator with unidentified African material, as well as to Africanists in general, for Uganda is one of the most interesting parts of the continent, in spite of its sad deficiency in works or art, because here it is that Nilotic, Hamitic and Bantu strains are found intimately, yet by no means inextricably, interwoven.

The importance of this study is not confined to Africa, however. The method adopted in the investigation is a model for those interested in recording material culture anywhere in the world. Detailed studies of this type are most valuable. Is it too much to hope for similar studies of other parts of Africa, or of the world even? Few indeed are the investigators who would have the energy and assiduity to carry out such a project as Mrs. Trowell has done, and as Dr. Wachsmann is doing.

The volume is extremely well produced, and is attractively bound. The illustrations are in groups at the end of each chapter so that reference from text to illustration and back is convenient, and the grouping together of all the illustrations of a particular type of object is a great help in running down an unidentified piece, not least because it brings out the salient features of each variety. Not only the matter, but also the presentation have been very well thought out.

There is a commendatory foreword by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz.

FRANK WILLETT

Wall-Paintings by Snake Charmers in Tanganyika. *By H. Cory. London (Faber), 1953. Pp. 99, plates. Price £1 16s.*

245 The Sukuma have no general system of initiation, but have numerous secret societies, to one or more of which nearly all Sukuma belong. The *Buyeye* is a society of snake charmers, the main purpose of which is to impart a thorough knowledge of snakes, how to catch them and how to cure their bites. The initiation rites last about a week, and take place in a hut the walls of which are adorned with paintings. It seems that these paintings have no direct connexion with the rites, but that they, and the myths which they illustrate, form part of the new environment, the 'different world,' to which the novice is inducted.

The paintings here shown were made for the author by a leading artist of the society and others whom he introduced. Owing to the fragile nature of the materials many were destroyed in transit, some having been photographed or copied by the author's wife. The exact provenance of the paintings is not indicated, nor how many of them are from the *Buyeye* and how many from a kindred society, the *Bugoyange*.

Each painting is accompanied by the story or myth which it illustrates, as told to the author, and with this explanation the paintings are mostly easy to understand. They are interesting and even striking, but when the author says that they indicate 'considerable depths of intellectual penetration' he is claiming more for them than they are or could be. RAGLAN

Urwaldmenschen am Ituri. *By Martin Gusinde. Vienna (Springer), 1948. Pp. 419.* **Die Twa-Pygmäen in Ruanda.** *By Martin Gusinde. Vienna Mödling (St. Gabriel), 1949. Pp. 110*

246 In these two volumes the author gives the results of his anthropological researches on three groups in Africa: the Bambuti, the Negroes living in the tropical forest and the Twa Pygmies.

In the first volume a very suggestive description is given of the oppressive conditions reigning in a tropical rain forest: the perpetual twilight, the excessive moisture, the lack of low vegetation, the scarcity of available food. The way of life and the body build of the inhabitants seem to be conditioned and shaped by these special surroundings, partly by selection of suitable gene patterns, partly by mutations.

From the vivid description of everyday life, it appears that the Bambuti are not early risers: awake at around 7, the day begins at about 10, dinner is about 6, dancing until midnight. Their material culture is poor: a wood culture, or a collecting culture. There are no implements for fishing, they use dogs in hunting, or nets, fire-making is very difficult, their knowledge of nature is extensive as regards food and poison for their arrows. Among their mental characteristics are a notable fear of thunder, fear of seeming ridiculous, great joy and lust for life, patience in bearing unavoidable pains, love of children, temperamental outbursts during pregnancy.

Two-thirds of the food is vegetable, one-third animal. Usually it is roasted or heated in hot ashes. They drink cold water, fat is gained from oil-palm seeds, salt is obtained by barter.

In their nomadic way of life, dwelling is very primitive: a small hut built from sticks and leaves in half an hour, changed every two or three days. There is no furniture.

Social organization is rather poorly developed: they live in exogamous family clans, monogamous by necessity, they mourn their dead, which are inhumed in graves which are not marked, nor revisited. Singing is melodious, dancing elaborate; children's games are swinging string figures. Tribes living near the Negro villages are bilingual.

Racially the Bambuti constitute a closed group, having a single autochthonous language, and characterized biometrically and

morphologically. Gusinde considers the Bambuti, like the other Twa tribes, a minus variant with short stature, low weight, slender bones, short legs, big head, round-oval face, short middle face, short and broad nose, long, somewhat inverted upper lip. The skin is warm, dry, thin and lightly coloured, even in old age showing only few wrinkles.

Their blood-group distribution is *O* 27, *A* 41, *B* 25, *AB* 7, in conformity with the data of Jardin and Julien.

Many interesting details are given on physiology and pathology. One detail, however, in an account of filariasis seems somewhat overdone, due to a slip of the pen. It is hardly probable that filariæ are so numerous as is suggested by the words 'nach ihrer Zahl die Erythrozyten um ein vielfaches uebertreffend.'

Finally a number of demographic data are given.

Next to the Bambuti, the Ituri Negroes are described in their social, cultural and physical aspects. They live in villages, in permanent houses, with a well organized clan system, though the might of the headman is not great. The marriage system is polygamous, or in case of poverty monogamous, both with clan exogamy.

Food is mainly vegetable, meat is exchanged with the Pygmy hunters, fish is well used. Drinks are cold water, palm wine and banana beer. Capsicum and tobacco are used. Their material culture is more elaborate than that of the Pygmies: they know iron utensils, pottery, bow, arrow and shield.

They are of medium stature, with relatively long arms, head of medium size, a broad nose in the same range as in Pygmies, blue lips, outwardly curled, mostly leptosomatic or athletic types. The skin feels dry, cold and hard. The colour is greyish-brown, with scanty dark and curly hair. Their smell is different from that of the Pygmies. Their pathology is extensive, gonorrhœa, syphilis and leprosy playing an important role; there is also a marked female sterility, at least unintentional. The children play at string figures, making use of fingers and toes. Finally a chapter on hair and finger-prints is added by G. Geipel.

In the second monograph Gusinde deals with the data on the Pygmies in Ruanda. These groups live partly on high mountainous ranges, partly among Negro (mainly Hutu) settlements. This book contains the analysis of body measurements, but only a few ethnological details, because these will be treated by P. Schumacher.

As for the Ituri Pygmies the author considers the Ruanda Twa as a minus mutant in the afro-negroid group, and in the same sense the Pygmies of the Australian and Indian zone are considered minus mutants in the autochthonous groups. Gusinde sees a genetic 'Pygmy factor' not only for short stature but also for the general, pygmoid type. The main difference between Ituri and Kivu Pygmies is the darker pigment of the latter. The author considers both these groups as having mixed a long time ago with a Negro group to which the now living Hutu bear a close resemblance.

The latter of these remarkable books, both of them a mine of information on the treated subject, ends with the admission by the author that (I translate freely) he did not succeed in elucidating in a completely satisfactory manner the total body build of the Pygmies in Ruanda, and that important problems in the study of man in Africa still await future research—a conclusion with which, even fully acknowledging the value of Gusinde's monographs, every student will agree.

R. A. M. BERGMAN

Economics of Agriculture in a Savannah Village. *By Miss M. R. Haswell. Col. Res. Stud. No.* 8. *London (H.M. Stat. Off.), 1953. Pp.* 142. *Price* 15*s.*

247 The anthropologist will find this a useful work although references to social structure and other aspects of culture are only incidental to the discussion of farm economics. The author collected these data as a member of a nutrition study field team which worked in the Mandinka village of Genieri, about 120 miles up the river Gambia on the south bank. A major part of the work is devoted to records of the farming practices of the villagers presented quantitatively in summary tables and charts. Consideration is given to land utilization, soil composition and climate, crops and crop yields, labour demands and efficiency, and varying patterns of economic activity in relation to social status and role. The author commendably looks into the people's view of what is 'good' or 'bad' farming technique besides attempting a statistical evaluation of the effectiveness of these practices and suggesting how they might be improved.

Miss Haswell uses the conventional economic approach based on the concept of economic efficiency (*e.g.* the output of groundnuts and millet per man hour) and she employs marginal analysis to determine the optimum level of output (p. 56). This is a realistic approach if one wishes to compare the relative efficiency of agricultural practices of villages in a region where similar crops are the rule and similar ecological conditions prevail. The study has considerable value, especially from the standpoint of nutritional problems. For example, if it could be shown that one crop fulfils the nutritional needs of the village to a greater extent than another and that an equal amount of man hours are expended per pound yield of either crop, then it would be economic to divert resources to the more nutritious crop. The author recommends that the people 'irrespective of sex' devote more time to the production of swamp rice which gives higher return per hour of work than late millet. However, it may be difficult to get the co-operation of the men in this matter because among the Mandinka rice cultivation is thought of as 'woman's work.'

Useful generalizations about grassland agriculture, even in a tiny place like the Gambia, cannot be made on the basis of the study of one village. For this reason this study would have been more meaningful had it been possible to work in several Mandinka villages or to utilize the comparative ethnic approach of David P. Gamble in his Socio-Economic Survey of the Gambia.

The following statement by Miss Haswell reflects the basic aim of the study; and is certainly praiseworthy from the anthropological point of view: 'The economic and social development of the Savannah lands and peoples of Africa calls for a thorough understanding of native systems of farming and of ways of life.' This view need not be restricted to 'the Savannah lands and peoples of Africa' but could apply to all of the under-developed areas of the world.

DAVID W. AMES

The Primitive City of Timbuctoo. *By Horace Miner. Princeton (U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. xx, 297. Price* £1

248 In 1940 Dr. Miner spent seven months in Timbuktu, studying the manners and customs of the inhabitants of this ancient city with the aid of six French-speaking informants. He chose Timbuktu as a city relatively little influenced by Europeans, in order to test the concepts, which Durkheim was the first to develop and of which Dr. Robert Redfield is the best-known living exponent, concerning the nature of city life. These concepts consist of a series of polar statements, contrasting 'folk' and 'urban' society; the polarities are sacred and secular, personal and impersonal, organized and disorganized, homogeneous and heterogeneous, the first attributes characterizing the folk and the latter the city. Dr. Miner wished to discover whether the characteristics attributed to the city were a direct resultant of urban conglomerations, or of the impact of Western commercial practices on more primitive economic systems.

Whatever value may be given to these descriptive attributes—they can hardly be classified as theoretical postulates—it would seem impossible to employ them usefully unless (as Dr. Redfield did in Yucatan) parallel studies are made of city and village, so that there is some measure of the processes of secularization and so on. Dr. Miner did not do this. He assumes that the Tuareg, Songhoi and Bambara, the principal ethnic groups inhabiting Timbuktu, are 'folk' in the smaller communities; and then details incidents of conflict and neurosis, sharp commercial practice and so forth as evidence of urbanization. His concluding paragraph, which well illustrates his rebarbative style, sums up the theoretical contribution of this study.

> 'A democratic-capitalistic system of achieved status based on control of wealth now competes with the old patterns of ascribed status. The old system is supported only by sanctions already weakened by the growth of impersonal and secular life in the city. The urban culture of the market comes to dominate

the life of the city to an ever-increasing degree. While the primitive city was a milieu inimical to some folk traits, the imposition of a Western democratic-capitalistic status system has contributed to the further disruption of the folk way of life.'

Before these conclusions are reached, we are given summary descriptions of the way in which the inhabitants of Timbuktu deal with economics and religion, kinship and the family, birth, circumcision, marriage and death. It is never clear whether information is based on observation and participation, on accounts from numbers of informants, or unchecked accounts of a single informant, though in most cases the last seems the most probable. The only identified individuals are a few madmen. The situation in Timbuktu is extremely complex, with its various ethnic components, the groups derived from intermarriage, the surviving statuses of nobles and slaves, and the more or less complete conversion to Islam of the previously pagan Negroes. A great deal of what Dr. Miner describes seems typical of much of Negro Africa converted to Islam, from Senegal to Nigeria; what is specific to Timbuktu or the upper Niger valley fails to survive the rather summary technique of fieldwork. There is however so little information on the cultures of trans-Saharan Moslem Africa that every addition must be welcomed; and there is some interesting information on age grades and the differential handling of *rites de passage*. It is surprising to learn that for the Arab men and women of Timbuktu frequent divorce and remarriage are a means of acquiring prestige. GEOFFREY GORER

249 Ethnographic Survey of Africa: Western Africa, Part VII: Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria. *By Harold D. Gunn. London (Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. 111, map. Price 9s. 6d.*

This is a welcome volume. The pagan tribes of the plateau area of Northern Nigeria, until recently among the most 'primitive' peoples in West Africa and now undergoing violent economic and social change, offer problems of great interest and urgency, both practical and theoretical.

The book consists of a discussion in some detail of what is known of the Jerawa group of tribes, followed by a more synoptic treatment of the other peoples. As a stocktaking it seems admirable. The gaps in our knowledge, often even of the most elementary facts, are enormous, as the author makes clear, but we can now see what they are. Previously the published material available was diffuse and confusing in the extreme, while some of the more useful work was difficult to obtain. Mr. Gunn has condensed all this, together with a great deal from unpublished official records (the quantity of valuable data collected by Government officers is impressive) and grappled with the most difficult problem of presentation of material, all with considerable success. Criticism may be made of the indexing which might well be fuller and include as long a list of alternative, obsolete, and erroneous tribal names given by other authors as possible. For example, the reader, finding in Hailey (*Native Administration in the British African Territories*, Part III, West Africa, London, 1951, p. 62) a reference to the 'primitive and lawless' Eggon, will be hard put to discover here who they are. But in general this book should be most valuable for reference and pave the way, one hopes, for early and extensive further field research in this area. RALPH BULMER

250 Handbook of African Languages: Part II, Languages of West Africa. *By Diedrich Westermann and M. A. Bryan. O.U.P. (for Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. xlii, 216, map. Price £1 1s.*

Poursuivant l'exécution d'un programme arrêté avant la guerre, l'International African Institute publie la seconde partie de son *Handbook of African Languages*, consacrée aux parlers en usage au sud du Sahara, de l'Atlantique au Tchad, entre le désert et la zone de ceux que l'on nomme 'bantous.' Depuis une soixantaine d'années des savants comme Cüst, Drexel, Delafosse, Westermann lui-même et plus récemment Greenberg, ont tenté de localiser et de classer ces langues. L'entreprise s'est révèlée d'autant plus difficile qu'elle se fonde presque uniquement sur des documents contemporains, de valeur inégale, souvent insuffisants, parfois réduits a une simple numération ou à de courts vocabulaires. Le manque de textes utilisables limite le champ d'information et de comparaison, d'autant plus que l'étude des tons, existant dans un certain nombre de ces langues, reste à faire ou à compléter.

Dans ces conditions, on ne saurait aborder qu'avec prudence tout essai tendant à établir une généalogie de ces parlers, ou à décrire leurs formes passées. En outre leur classification actuelle reste forcément provisoire comme le signalent les auteurs eux-mêmes. Celle qu'ils proposent écarte avec raison toute répartition géographique pour garder un caractère linguistique essentiel. Par tant de l'Unité-Langue, dépourvue de variations dialectales ou ne manifestant que des variations mineures, ils intègrent dans des *dialect clusters* ceux qui offrent plus de diversité, sans qu'aucun d'eux domine les autres. A un stade supérieur, des unités de base apparentées constituent à leur tour des *Language Groups*, susceptibles de former des *Larger Groups* plus étendus, comportant à la fois toutes les autres divisions.

La nouvelle classification provisoire du *Handbook* se rapproche en bien des points de celle esquissée par Delafosse en 1924 dans *Les Langues du Monde*, ouvrage publié sous la direction de A. Meillet et de M. Cohen. Par contre elle diffère sensiblement de celle adoptée en 1940 dans la *Völkerkunde von Afrika* par le Professeur Westermann, qui proposait alors une division tripartite en groupes 'Nigritiques, Mandés et Semi-bantous.' Les nouveaux Groupes retenus dans le *Handbook* sont désormais ceux des: *West Atlantic Languages*, correspondant au Sénégalo-Guinéen de Delafosse, et auquel le peul (fulani) est rattaché après de longues hésitations; les *Kwa Languages* en usage dans la zone littorale du Golfe de Guinée, du Bandama jusqu'à l'est du Niger; les *Gur Languages*, ancienne famille Voltaïque de Delafosse, disposée en gros entre les cours moyens des fleuves Bani et Niger; les *Mande Languages* (Nigéro-Sénégalais de Delafosse); enfin à titre indicatif et sous réserve des résultats fournis par des travaux récents et d'autres en cours, les Groupes des *Tchadic* et *Tchado-Hamitic Languages*.

L'analyse et les comparaisons actuelles soulèvent quelques incertitudes au sujet des langues Kru et apparentées du Libéria et de la Côte d'Ivoire occidentale; les auteurs les réunissent en un ensemble particulier et agissent de même à l'égard du Songhai et de ses dialectes au Moyen Niger.

Pour des raisons analogues, il a paru opportun de grouper d'une part les langues du Togo, de la Nigéria et du Cameroun possèdant apparemment des catégories nominales et de l'autre celles des mêmes régions qui n'en ont pas.

La présentation de l'ouvrage est excellente. Dans chaque section, la mention des idiomes est complètée par l'indication du nom que s'attribuent ceux qui les parlent ou que leur donnent les étrangers, par une localisation géographique sommaire et par des éléments statistiques.

Les langues importantes et les mieux connues font l'objet d'analyses critiques utiles, la plupart fort remarquables dans leur brièveté.

L'expérience des auteurs et leur science leur ont permis d'user au maximum des découvertes linguistiques faites depuis une quinzaine d'années dans cette partie de l'Afrique sous l'impulsion conjuguée de l'International African Institute et de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire de Dakar. Dans un champ aussi varié et aussi étendu subsistent cependant d'inévitables lacunes que l'avenir permettra de combler. Elles se réduiront peu à peu grâce aux progrès réalisés, et une connaissance plus précise des faits provoquera quelques remaniements. On peut prévoir dans l'ouest que le groupe Mandé, partagé de façon arbitraire en deux fractions: Mandé-Tan et Mandé-Fu par Delafosse, en subira plusieurs. Le bloc des *Gur Languages*, ainsi dénommé par Christaller à la suggestion du savant allemand Krause sera sans doute scindé en quelques larges unités. Les parlers de la région tchadienne étudiées depuis plusieurs années par des savants anglais et allemands, surtout pat le Professeur Lukas, ménagent à coup sûr des surprises.

Quels que soient les résultats escomptés, la très remarquable mise au point du Professeur Westermann et de Miss M. A. Bryan aura fourni aux savants chercheurs une base logique et solide pour compléter l'édifice. HENRI LABOURET

AMERICA

The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization. *By Roy Harvey Pearce. Baltimore (Johns Hopkins Press) (London: Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. xv, 252. Price £1 12s.*

251 This is an account of the outlook of the North American settlers on the aborigines of the continent, from the period of the first tide-water colonies to the middle of the last century. Mr. Pearce, a teacher of English, has made a thorough study of American writings on the Indians, in political pamphlets, missionaries' reports, drama, poetry, novels and anthropologists' accounts. As might be expected, he finds a wide variety of attitudes. The early settlers showed pained surprise that the natives resisted their attempts to civilize them. Later, the philosophers Ferguson and Robertson and the official anthropologist Schoolcraft were quoted as apologists for the policy of deportation; for according to them the Indian was constitutionally incapable of learning the arts of civilization. At the same time, moralists like Thoreau were drawing lessons from the simple virtues of savage life, which were extolled by the poets and dramatists.

Meanwhile, on the advancing frontier, the immediate task of dealing with the dispossessed natives was being continuously faced. It was a regretful struggle, however, on the part of the pioneers, who have been left with mixed feelings of pity and censure for the Indians, according as these were thought unable or reluctant to adjust themselves to higher ways.

Mr. Pearce's argument is complicated, and his thesis that the struggle against the Indian has become for the American people a symbol of the idea of the triumph of civilization over savagery, may seem too simplified and vague. But there can be only praise for his full and sensitive presentation of the feelings of one side during the long and pathetic clash of two irreconcilable worlds.

W. C. BRICE

Magic Books from Mexico. *With introduction and notes by C. A. Burland. King Penguin Books No. 64. London (Harmondsworth), 1952. Pp. 32, 16 plates. Price 4s. 6d.*

252 This book is an attractive addition to a well established series, and will certainly introduce many people for the first time to the barbarous art of ancient Mexico. Mr. Burland's introduction is well written. It affords a summary of the conquest of Mexico, a brief account of the traditions of the Creation and the early history as recorded in the Aztec writings, an account of the surviving manuscripts, and of the work so far done on them. Then follow descriptive notes on the 16 colour plates, into which one error has crept: the series on Plate 12 begins in the upper right-hand corner, not the lower (p. 26). The colours of the plates have been standardized throughout, thus eliminating the effects of fading. Mr. Burland claims that this 'has enabled us to recover a very nearly accurate version of the original pictures.' One cannot quarrel with this standardization in a book for a non-specialist public, but it is a matter of regret in any book of which the coloured illustrations are a chief feature that accuracy of register of the red printing has not always been achieved.

Publications of the Mexican codices are not easily obtainable, so Mr. Burland is to be congratulated on preparing this inexpensive means of spreading knowledge of these interesting records.

FRANK WILLETT

ASIA

The Godavari Palæolithic Industry. *By H. D. Sankalia. Deccan Coll. Monog. Ser. No. 10. Poona, 1952. Pp. ii, 59, with plates and 41 text figs. Price Rs. 12*

253 Deep digging for the purpose of constructing a dam across the Upper Godavari 12 miles west of Nasik gave Dr. Sankalia the opportunity for collecting a number of palæolithic tools from the vertical section exposed. The bulk of these tools, which came from the lowest gravel bed of Locality I, 30 feet B.S., are Clactonian-like flakes of basaltic trap, for the most part very weathered and rolled. Locality I presents an example of an unusually complex succession of strata for Indian riverine deposits. Instead of the usual tool-bearing layer of cemented gravel or pebble-and-gravel conglomerate covered by a sterile undifferentiated mass of loessic silt, we get a tool-bearing deposit at 30 feet B.S. overlain by three diverse soil layers, including a capping of three bands of cemented gravel indicating a considerable lapse of time. Over this there was a layer of kankary gravel at 15 feet B.S. in which tools, nowhere described or illustrated, were found. Yet higher at about 5 feet B.S. in fine gravel there emerged one Levallois-like flake, which appears to me to be out of context, though the absence of a description of the tools at 15 feet makes a justification of this impression difficult. An opportunity for producing evidence of type development has perhaps been missed.

This Godavari industry is important as a link between those of the Narbada and Gujerat on the one hand and the Lower Godavari and north-east Madras on the other. There is much useful information in this monograph and the explanation of the complicated section in the area round the dam site (p. 5), unusual on the Deccan plateau, seems well reasoned. Maps, sections and photographs are clear and fulfil their purpose excellently.

D. H. GORDON

An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines. *By P. D. R. Williams-Hunt. Kuala Lumpur (Government Press), 1952. Pp. 102, 23 plates, 8 figs.*

254 The Adviser on Aborigines to the Federation Government wrote this introduction for the use of the security forces in Malaya. It has some faults, of which the author was fully aware: there is not space to go into anything very fully, and the style is rather too breezy. These are far outweighed by its virtues. Mr. Williams-Hunt devoted his life to the aboriginal tribes, and knew more about them, probably, than anyone has known before. He gives a clear exposition of the various groups of negritos, Senoi, and aboriginal Malays, their estimated numbers, relationship and distribution, with a distribution map; he also discusses the confusing matter of the various names applied to them. This is followed by sections giving cursory accounts of social systems, daily life, material culture, magical and religious beliefs, etc. A section called 'notes for the security forces' is of far more than ephemeral value. It deals with the recording of routes and natural features; with the technique of obtaining information from the aborigines (with a warning against leading questions); with hints on handling them, indicating some of the pitfalls such as their dislike of mentioning personal names and their physical modesty; and gives advice on their employment as guides and porters, including formations in the jungle, rates of pay, ration scales, presents, etc. There is a short but excellent appendix on collecting for museums, giving some sound general advice and a proforma for the documentation of specimens which is a model for field workers.

Mr. Williams-Hunt was apparently working on a book on the aborigines, of which his recent death following an accident in the jungle has unhappily deprived us. This handbook, brief though it is, provides a valuable check on the work of Evans, Skeat and Blagden, and the few others who have written on the aborigines; it might also be read with profit by anyone who is intending to collect in the field, anywhere.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

A Socio-Economic Survey of Jute Labour. *By K. P. Chattopadhyay. Calcutta (U.P.), 1952. Pp. 67. Rs. 1/8*

255 This pamphlet analyses the statistics of a survey made in 1948–49 among the jute workers of Calcutta which followed on and utilized the plot selection of earlier surveys in 1941 (by P. C. Mahalanobis) and 1945 (by K. P. Chattopadhyay and H. K. Chaturvedi). It consists of two chapters on 'Social Conditions' and 'Living Conditions and Requirements' respectively. It is rich in pointers to research problems in four main fields: (*i*) the factors underlying composition of urban labour groups, (*ii*) the relation between trade union and caste organization, (*iii*) the changes in

composition of the Hindu family, and (*iv*) the causes of variation in types of marriages in different groups.

Correlations are traced between the size and nature of groups from different provinces and (*i*) the communications in and with their home areas, (*ii*) the method of recruitment, and, most important of all, (*iii*) the restrictions imposed by religion and caste rules.

The reader is left with an ardent desire to know, for example, whether the *Sirdars*, who organize recruiting, become *ex officio* leaders in trades unions; whether unions are usurping the disciplinary and welfare functions of caste authorities, or *vice versa*; which caste groups ban which kinds of labour and why they do so. The pamphlet contains useful warnings against jumping too quickly to statistical conclusions, as, for example, where (p. 38) an assumed general correlation between dips in the real wages curve and an increase of deferment in payments of marriage price is shown on further analysis to apply, not to all jute labour as a whole, but mainly to Muslim labour.

In analysing the composition of urban families by the genealogical method, the author has shown a correlation between rural origin and continued survival of the joint family, which one would expect; between factory work by women (largely forbidden by both Muslims and Bengali Hindus) and the ability to maintain a whole family in the urban home; and the existence of what he calls Broken-type Families, that is, families of which part remains at the natal home while part accompanies the wage-earner to his urban home. There are interesting statistics concerning four groups of marriage: those in which (*a*) bride price is paid for a bride, (*b*) no price is paid, (*c*) groom price is paid for husband, and (*d*) widow marriage. Two important trends are noted: (*i*) a steady move from marriages of type (*a*) through, or by-passing, marriages of type (*b*) to marriages of type (*c*), and (*ii*) a steady decline, in spite of 'Vidyasagar's permissive legislation,' of widow marriage. The author attributes both trends to a desire on the part of lower status groups to rise in status by imitating the customs of higher status groups. He notes, but does not comment upon, a very important fact, namely, that although there is a correlation between the rise and fall of real wages among Hindus and the move from type (*a*) to type (*c*) marriage, and a correlation between wage-earning by women and the ability to demand bride price; there is no correlation between fluctuations in either wages or employment of women and type (*d*) marriages, that is widow marriages, except among Bihar groups (which he labels semi-tribal Hindus) who practise widow marriage normally. This indicates that there is a fundamental difference in attitude towards maiden marriage of all types, on the one hand, and widow marriage on the other. It seems probable that variation in marriage-price practice affects only secular status whereas adoption of widow marriage affects ritual status and is, therefore, much more important as a status evaluant. Here is a field of research which might yield vital evidence about the interaction of secular and ritual status in the Hindu caste system. Regrettably, this, like many Indian productions, contains too many errors. One longs for the day when some Kayasth caste group will throw up a subcaste of diligent proof-readers.

H. N. C. STEVENSON

EUROPE

A Scientific Survey of Merseyside. *Edited by Wilfred Smith for the meeting of the British Association held in Liverpool, 2–9 September, 1953. Liverpool (U.P., for Brit. Assn.), 1953. Pp. xv, 299*

256

This comprehensive study of Merseyside was produced under the general editorship of Professor Wilfred Smith of Liverpool University who has been most fortunate in gathering together an excellent team of contributors. They have succeeded in producing a volume which should serve as a model to others who contemplate making similar surveys. Part One is devoted to such subjects as the Physical Landscape and Landforms; Weather and Climate; Botany; Zoology. Part Two describes the history of Merseyside with special reference to the growth of Liverpool—the development of the docks and industry. Part Three deals with the history of the Merseyside district extending back to the Roman Occupation, but includes chapters on Prehistoric Archæology, the influence of the Scandinavians and a note on Place Names of North Wales.

The volume is well written and produced and amply illustrated with excellent graphs, photographs and charts. In such a carefully and skilfully documented publication the absence of an index is a regrettable blemish.

ROBERT R. HYDE

Die Nachbarschaft der Deutschen und Slawen an der March. *By Anton Schultes. Veröffentl. d. Österreich. Mus. für Volkskunde, IV. Vienna, 1954. Pp. ii, 161*

257

The author, a headmaster in Hohenau, presents a well-balanced investigation of the many-sided problems of the March, a German-Slav borderland: its history and population, language and oral traditions, religious life, costumes, folk character, medical statistics and economic conditions. The introductory remarks to the chapter on 'trade' are somewhat unsatisfactory, quite apart from the fact that the amber came from the Baltic countries and not from the North Sea. Some literary references to the gypsy villages might have been quoted. But all well intentioned folklorists will respect Direktor Schultes's impartiality and welcome this fourth publication of the Austrian Folklore Museum as a fine contribution towards a good-neighbourly understanding.

E. ETTLINGER

OCEANIA

Die Unambal: Ein Stamm in Nordwest-Australien. *By Andreas Lommel. Monogr. zur Völkerk., Hamburg. Mus. für Völkerk., No. 2. Hamburg, 1952. Pp. xii, 90, 12 plates, 6 text figs., map*

258

This publication of A. Lommel is another report of the expedition of the Frobenius Institute to North Kimberley, Western Australia, which took place in 1938. It has been supplemented by the publications of Helmut Petri, the leader of this expedition, namely, the 'Wandlungen in der geistigen Kultur nordwestaustralischer Stämme' (*Veröff. Mus. Bremen*, 1950, pp. 33–121) and 'Der Australische Medizinmann' (*Ann. Lateran.*, Vol. XVI, 1952, pp. 159–317). Both ethnologists became well known in England through the exhibition of their excellent copies of aboriginal cave paintings in London, January, 1947.

The concise introduction to the ecological, ethnical and economic situation contains instructive details of the daily life of the Unambal (A. Capell and I both heard it as 'Wunambal'). The next chapter, on the material culture, describes the weapons, tools, rafts and style of camping of this tribe. The chapter on their 'world picture' handles more difficult subjects: the tribal heroes, creation, totemism (classificatory and cultural), kinship terms, initiation, death and the life after death. The paragraph on 'Creation' informs us about the meaning of the cave paintings, which are mainly representations of the *wondschina* spirits (the author always transcribes the palatal *dj* as *dsch*), the descendants of the mythological Rainbow Snake or *Ungud*. The importance of 'dreaming' as a factor in procreation and its connexion with the 'spirit children' is discussed. The native term for 'dreaming' is *buga*, which has been widely dispersed not only in Kimberley, but even on Bathurst Island where we discover it in *puca-mani*, always expressing an imaginative contact with a spirit. The chapter about the 'Medizinmann' shows that all magical practices rest on a personal psychic power (called *djalnga* in West Kimberley) which is communicated by the *wondjina*. The author's research into the institution of the medicinemen is another contribution to the recent literature on this subject, *e.g.* A. P. Elkin's *Aboriginal Men of High Degree* (Sydney, 1945) and Petri's 'Der Australische Medizinmann' (*loc. cit.*). Dr. Lommel touches the same problems of the Australian profession of magic, but he begins from a different starting point and adds new material observed among the Wunambal, while Dr. Petri compares his personal findings

which he made especially among the Ungarinjen, a neighbouring tribe of the Wunambal, with those of the rest of Australia, relying on the corresponding literature. Both describe the development of a sorcerer, his magic activity with regard to healing or destroying, his communication with spirits, his visionary travelling and telepathic aspirations. I have observed similar phenomena among the Yaoro in West Kimberley (*cf. Ann. Lat.*, Vol. VI, 1942, pp. 234ff.) with the difference that here it is not the medicineman who officiates but a group of initiated elders.

Lommel presents 65 magic songs in the language of the Worora, the southern neighbours of the Wunambal. One appreciates the wise restraint of the author in abstaining from giving an interlinear translation, restricting himself to a general indication of the content of these verses, a method not always observed by fieldworkers not sufficiently acquainted with local idioms. These short verses conceal valuable linguistic and ethnological elements which await further research. Their poetical value would perhaps have been increased by marking the accent, thus revealing the aboriginal sense of rhythm. In his final chapter, on 'Migrating Cults,' Lommel comes back to the mysterious but very important *kurangara* rites, which his friend, Dr. Petri, has mentioned in both of his publications. I agree with both German authors as well as with Dr. Capell (*cf. Oceania*, Vol. IX, 1939, pp. 382ff.) that these rites are not autochthonous and that they have sprung from a country to the south in historical times; I was able to trace their routes southward to the Great Sand Desert, to the regions of the Gogadja, Bidungo and Indjibandji (*cf. Anthropos*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 554ff.) which fall under the collective Aranda signification of 'Luritja.' This is the term for their westerly neighbours. The author ascribes the ceremonies to the Warmala, a linguistic variation of 'Walmadjeri,' a tribe living on the northern border of the desert district. His frequent mention of the name *Dschanba* (better *Djanba*), the supernatural being connected with *kurangara*, clearly points to its origin in the desert parts where it proceeded not only to the Kimberleys but to East Arnhem Land (*cf.* R. M. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Melbourne, 1951) and to the back country of Port Hedland. Whether the author has correctly distributed various culture elements between the more recent spiritual movement and the old indigenous beliefs of the Wunambal in one or two prominent supernatural beings needs further investigation. His hard-earned *kurangara* songs can serve as reliable text patterns for explorers trying to discover the remotest channels of the 'Migrating Cults.' Large-sized photos give the reader an idea of the character of the regions of North Kimberley. He can observe stone points being fitted to spear shafts, 'clothing' and decoration of the bodies by painting with clay and ochre, the interesting thread crosses, the phallocrypts made of large pearl shells, and even the swelling of artificial cicatrices covering the chests, arms and buttocks of the aborigines—all things which are now quickly disappearing under the rapid invasion of European culture into the highlands of the Unambal.

But this small tribe of the lonely north-western areas of the Australian continent is not fated to fall into oblivion. The author's valuable and attractive essay has procured it a conspicous leaf in the annals of ethnography.

E. A. WORMS

CORRESPONDENCE

The Lapps and their Names. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 99, 174

259 SIR,—I do not think Professor Gjessing's use of the words Same (for Lapp) and Samish (for Lappish) can go unchallenged. If one is to transliterate the Lappish name for themselves as an ethnic group, the form adopted by the Russians (but of course in Cyrillic script) is phonetically nearer: Saami. In this form the long *a* is reproduced, and such a word could be used as both noun and adjective without risk of confusion with similar words such as Samian or same (*i.e. idem*).

One is, however, tempted to question the necessity of renaming all the peoples of the world by their own name for themselves. The word 'Lapp' has no derogatory connotation in English, German or French, and a change of usage will reduce facility in communication until the new term is incorporated in dictionaries and works of reference. Some forms such as 'Thai' and 'Iran' have been generally adopted, but most of the recent changes in the nomenclature of Russian groups are quite unknown, *e.g.* 'Luoravetlan' for 'Chukchi,' 'Nentsy' for 'Samoyed,' 'Komi' for 'Zyryan' or 'Syrjenian.' The resulting confusion is detrimental to the ideals of the reformers. And if we are to write Saami or Same for Lapp, should we not also write 'Suomalainen' for 'Finn,' 'Svenskar' for 'Swedes,' and a 'Deutsch' for a 'German'?

IAN WHITAKER
School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh

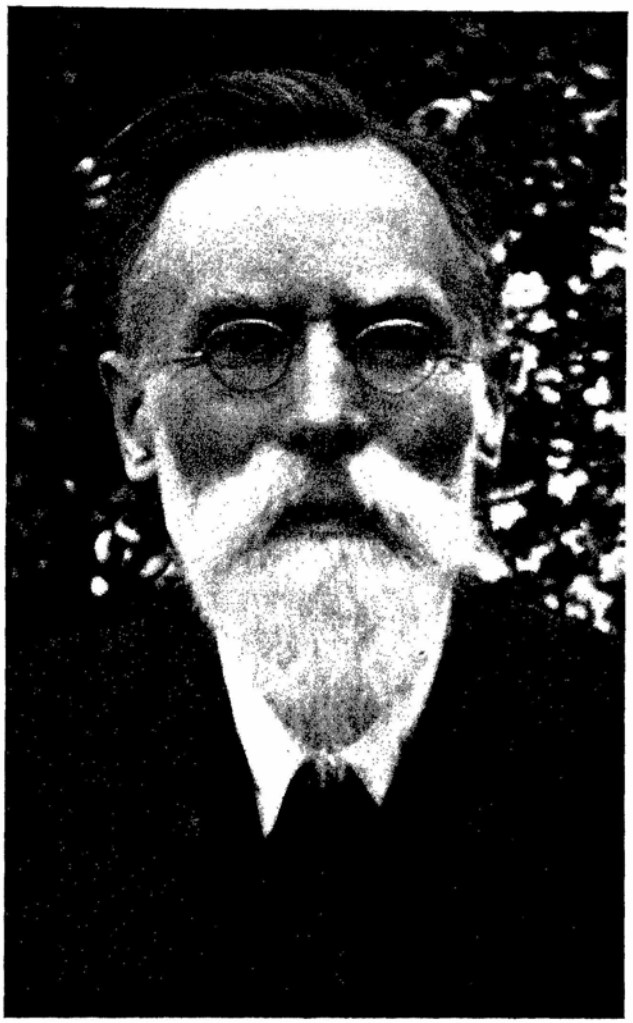
Phallus and Fallacy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 151, 228

260 SIR,—I hope it may not be thought presumptuous in an amateur to put forward comments on some of the points raised by Professor Hatto's stimulating contribution to the sexology of our ancient monuments. In the first place, it may be asked, do the trilithons of Stonehenge represent 'cyclopean thighs' at all? Their uprights do indeed taper at the top, but they also taper at the partly buried foot, and their shape surely results from the need to obtain approximately prismatic blocks from approximately ellipsoidal sarsens, a 'primitive' (for the use of this word see Hatto, *loc. cit.*, note 3) example of the principle of least work. Similarly the use of trilithons 'to frame the entrances in places of burial' expresses the fact that, without resource to the sophisticated principle of the arch, this is the simplest way to frame an entrance of any kind, as Professor Hatto will probably see on examining the door of his study. There is thus no need to adopt the curious view of burial as a return to the womb, a concept which would, of course, account for the notorious frequency of *head-down* contracted burials if any such were known (for a more rational explanation of primitive burial postures, *cf.* A. J. H. Goodwin, *Method in Prehistory*, Cape Town, 1953, p. 99). As regards the ground plan of the arrangement of bluestones and trilithons at Stonehenge, the idea that they represent a mystical megalithic mousetrap for the solstitial sun seems, at the very least, far-fetched. If, as now appears (*cf.* Atkinson, *Nature*, 1953, Vol. CLXXII, p. 474), the *Y* and *Z* circles represent an alternative (although abandoned) arrangement of the bluestones, the construction of a 'womb-like horseshoe' cannot have been the *conscious* aim of the architects; their original conception has more in common with the cuckoo pound of Gotham. The question of the intrinsic sexuality of Prescelly bluestone and Marlborough sarsen appears an interesting but complex one. Evidence that some of the 'male' bluestones once stood as 'female' trilithons cannot be so lightly dismissed as irrelevant. Nor should the use elsewhere of 'female' sarsen for 'male' monoliths be ignored. The labelling of the 'female' trilithons with male symbols (that is, if the 'axes' are in fact male symbols and not merely axes), far from being 'natural,' seems to add further confusion.

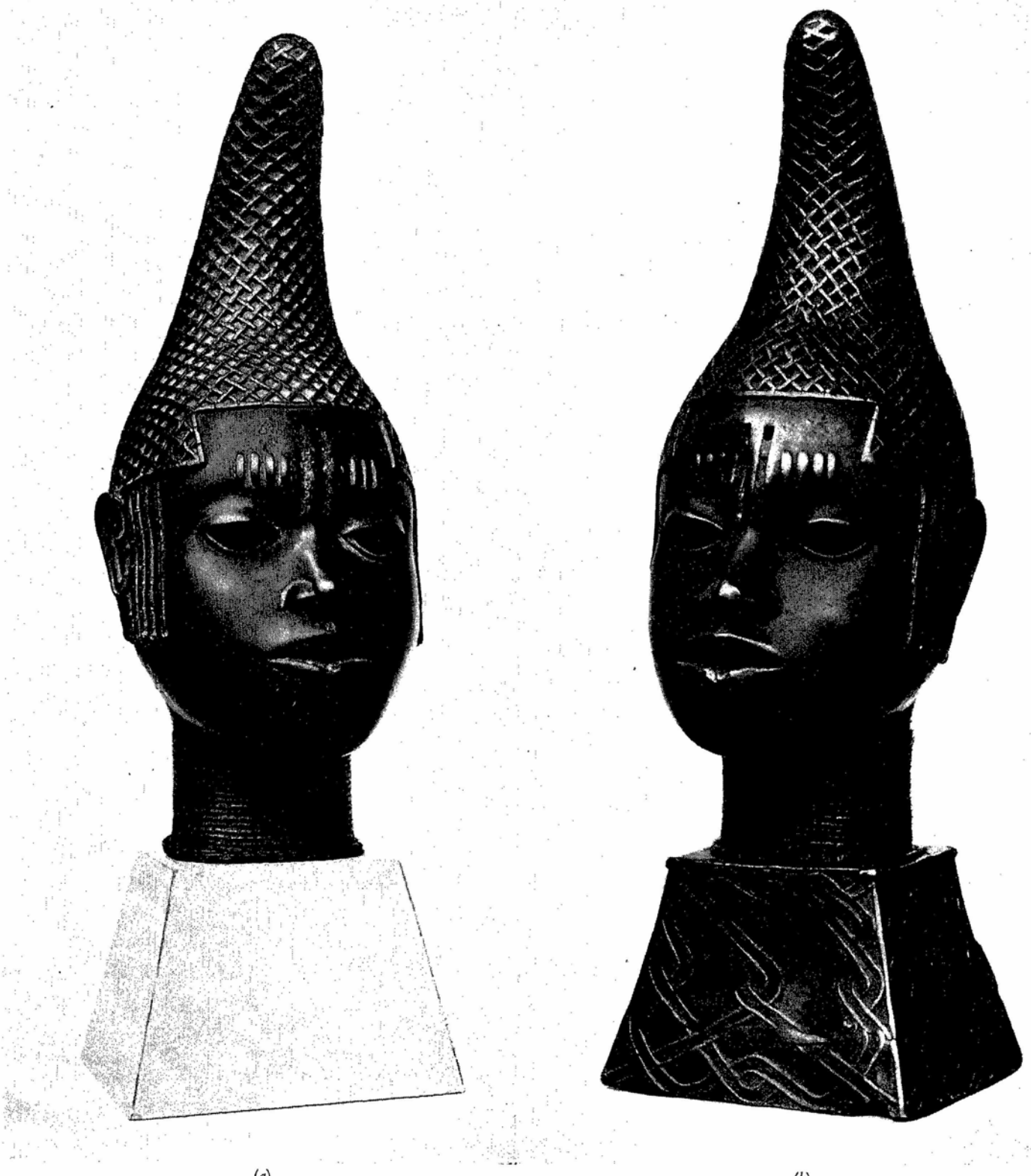
Professor Hatto's argument would be more convincing, on these as on other points such as the calendrical significance of the monument, if it did not largely ignore the archæological evidence, summarized recently by Atkinson (*loc. cit.*), that Stonehenge only reached its final form after several phases of construction, dismantling and rearrangement, over a period of three or four centuries or even longer. One point of great significance should however be remarked. In every phase, each circle, whether of thighs, phalli, holes, or plain bank-and-ditch, preserved in the ratio of its circumference to its diameter a remarkable approximation to the accepted value of Π, the Hellenic trilithon.

These observations must not be taken as implying the total rejection of Professor Hatto's view of Stonehenge as a cosmic bawdy-house. Rather do they suggest the modified hypothesis, more plausible than any involving the actions of fully rational beings, that Stonehenge is the tangible result of a series of collective exercises in occupational psychotherapy, and that it was built by the mentally deranged of Neolithic and Bronze Age Wessex. This theory has the advantage of explaining everything.

University of Manchester J. D. BU'LOCK



The Honorary Editor of MAN *deeply regrets to announce the death on 6 March, 1954, in his eighty-fifth year of Sir John Linton Myres, the Founder and first Honorary Editor of* MAN. *His life of great service to science and to mankind will be commemorated in the issue of* MAN *for March, 1954, which it is hoped to publish in July. The readers of* MAN *will wish to join with the President and Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute in expressing their deep sympathy for Lady Myres and for all Sir John's family.*



(*a*) (*b*)

TWO BRONZE HEADS OF QUEEN MOTHERS FROM BENIN

(*a*) *The Ingram specimen in the British Museum. H.* 15¾ *inches.* (*b*) *The Allman specimen. H.* 20 *inches. Photographs by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*

THE ALLMAN COLLECTION OF BENIN ANTIQUITIES*

by

WILLIAM FAGG, M.A.

Department of Ethnography, British Museum

261 Dr. Robert Allman, C.M.G., of the Niger Coast Protectorate Force was the Principal Medical Officer on the Benin Expedition of 1897. Although he was one of the best recorders, in articles and photographs, of what happened and was found there (see for instance *The Lancet*, 3 July, 1897), the fact that he formed one of the largest and finest private collections of Benin antiquities seems to have escaped notice until it was sent recently by his son, Mr. R. B. Allman, to Sotheby's Auction Rooms for public sale. Many other objects and collections from Benin have been first described for students in the pages of MAN, and the present article is published here with Mr. Allman's kind approval.

It may here be mentioned that most of the cult objects found in Benin in 1897 (numbering several thousands, of which some 2,400 were listed by von Luschan in *Altertümer von Benin*, Berlin, 1919) were removed by the expedition as such and by its individual members, chiefly because of their undoubted association with the practice of human sacrifice (which it was part of the expedition's purpose to put down) and partly (especially in the case of the great heap of bronze wall plaques, apparently discarded by an eighteenth-century Oba) as a kind of indemnity towards the costs of the expedition; in any case, the sanction of international usage had not yet been withdrawn from the ancient custom which would now be frowned upon as 'cultural reparations.'

The Queen-Mother Head

By far the most important piece in the Allman collection is the head illustrated in Plate M*b*, where it is compared with the British Museum specimen (presented in 1897 by Sir William Ingram), previously regarded as unique. These two are indeed in a class apart from the three other known heads of this type—two in the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (now in store, I believe, at Wiesbaden),[1] and one in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia[2]—all three having a base, more or less defective, in the form of a truncated pyramid as in the case of the Allman example. Of the five, the Ingram specimen seems to be in the best condition; it appears to be complete in itself and not to have been cast with a pyramidal base; perhaps it was meant to fit on to a separate base, of which it certainly seems in need, especially when seen with the Allman piece, so well set off by the proportion and delicate tracery of its base. The Ingram head still retains a beautiful greenish patina, whereas the Allman specimen, like most Benin round sculptures which have been in private hands, has been rather too heavily cleaned—probably very soon after the expedition, to judge by its dark brown colour. The depression, due to a blow or fall, on the forehead does not seriously impair the features; there is also a slight dent (as also in the Ingram specimen) in the occipital region, where, in each case, the founder has with great skill concentrated all the slight faults due to detachment of small bits of clay from the core and investment by the running bronze, in order to leave the face perfect.

The Allman head is, indeed, of exceptional interest technically. The irregular line which is seen passing round the base about an inch from the bottom proves the head to have been cast upsidedown (and this, if we remember the identical position of the occipital imperfections, must also be true of the Ingram head); the founder was interrupted in the course of pouring when the molten metal had filled the mould to this point, presumably as a result of misjudging the amount of bronze required to complete the casting, and had then to finish the job in a second operation by means of the burning-in method (an application, like the original casting, of the lost-wax principle[3]). The repair, though by no means invisible, seems only to set off the delicacy, perhaps unexampled in Benin bronze work, of the interlacing. The thickness of the casting, apart from the irregularly thicker burnt-in portion of the base, is about three millimetres, considerably greater than that of the thin male heads (such as one in the British Museum—only one millimetre thick), which are thought, on this ground and in point of style, to be the earliest extant works of Benin; heads of the middle and later periods, on the other hand, are normally six or more millimetres thick (like modern European bronzes), no doubt because of the plentiful supplies of metal imported by the Portuguese and other Europeans.

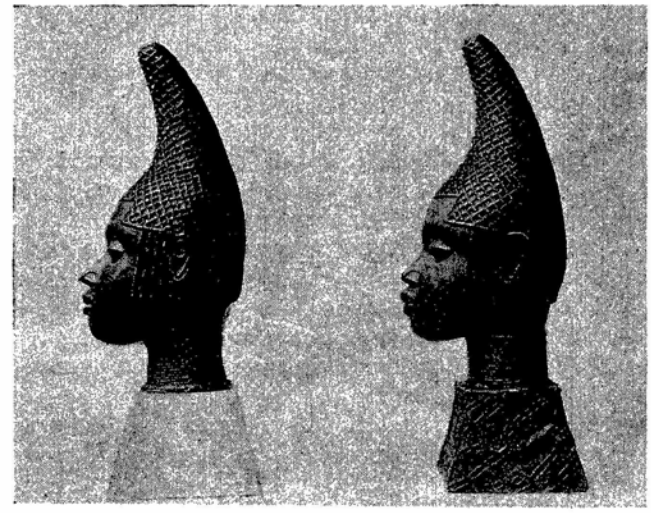


FIG. 1. THE QUEEN-MOTHER HEADS IN PROFILE

If, as is usually supposed, the thinnest and most naturalistic heads were made shortly before or after the time of the first Portuguese settlement at Benin (A.D. 1486), then it seems reasonable to assign the heads shown in Plate M to a somewhat later period, the early or middle sixteenth century. Both types, with their coral-bead collars closely fitting

* *With Plate M and 7 text figures*

the neck, must antedate the period of the rectangular plaques and 'middle-period' heads, by which time the collar was invariably large enough to take in the chin.

But the chief importance of the Allman head surely resides in its extraordinary likeness to the Ingram specimen, and this may lead us to provisional conclusions of some importance in African art history. The West African founders never developed (or, probably, felt the need of) a method of casting which would allow them to produce two or more exact copies from the original model as is done in modern Europe; the model and its core were necessarily destroyed in the course of casting, and the artist must begin the same process all over again, if further copies were required; and these would always be distinguishable in detail from each other. Of a large number of comparative measurements which I have taken on these two heads, none shows a difference of more than five millimetres, and few, especially in features such as the eyes, nose and mouth, more than two millimetres, while several are actually identical. Far more convincing, however, are the subtleties of design and contour which, though not readily amenable to measurement, make it immediately obvious that the two heads must be from the same hand: there is, further, a strong presumption that they were made at the same time.

It follows that if the heads are realistic portraits, in the European sense, as has generally been postulated of the British Museum head, then they must be portraits of the same person, or of twins. But a strong tradition at Benin declares these heads (as well as the later ones with similar headdress and larger collar) to be representations of deceased Queen Mothers from the Altar of the Mothers in the Oba's palace.[4] (It is quite clear that women are represented, since in Bini iconography only women are shown with the forward-curving hairdress; but the King's usually very numerous wives are unlikely to have been thought worthy of commemoration by bronze heads, and we may accept the traditional explanation as entirely plausible.) We may rule out the possibility that twin sisters could both have become Queen Mothers; it would therefore appear that if these heads are true portraits they must represent a single Queen Mother, but it is difficult to see why she should be represented twice. I therefore conclude that they are not portraits, but idealized representations with little or no relation to the actual physiognomy of the person represented; in that case each artist might be expected to have his own variation on the traditional style.[5]

Since a similar and even stronger case (not dependent on traditional evidence) can be made for two of the Ife bronze heads (Nos. 1 and 8) and since two of the life-size but fragmentary terra-cotta figures from the grove of Iwinrin at Ife seem to be similarly identical, it appears to me that no firm evidence remains for the occurrence of realistic portraiture in Negro Africa or for the use of an artist's model, unless it be in the case of the second-burial figures at Owo.[6]

Other Bronzes and Ivories

The bronze horseman. At least 10 bronze figures of horsemen were collected on the Benin Expedition. They fall into two main groups, both clearly representing the same kind of personage, but with certain iconographical differences. Of the explanations given by Bini informants to various inquirers, the most plausible states that they represent visitors from the north, and indeed the headdresses especially bear a general resemblance to those worn to the present day by the mounted bodyguards of the Fulani Emirs of Hausaland. The Allman horseman belongs to a group of four or five which are remarkably similar to each other in design and execution and may well be all from the same hand; besides the Allman and Beasley (now British Museum) specimens (fig. 2), there is one in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Farnham, Dorset,[7] and another (collected by Admiral Sir Harry Rawson) in the Nigerian Museum collection at Lagos.[8] Of the other main type, generally somewhat larger in size, one example is in the British Museum,[9] another is shared between the British Museum (which has only the head[10]) and the University of Zürich collection, and a third, of cruder workmanship, is in the Berlin collection.[11]

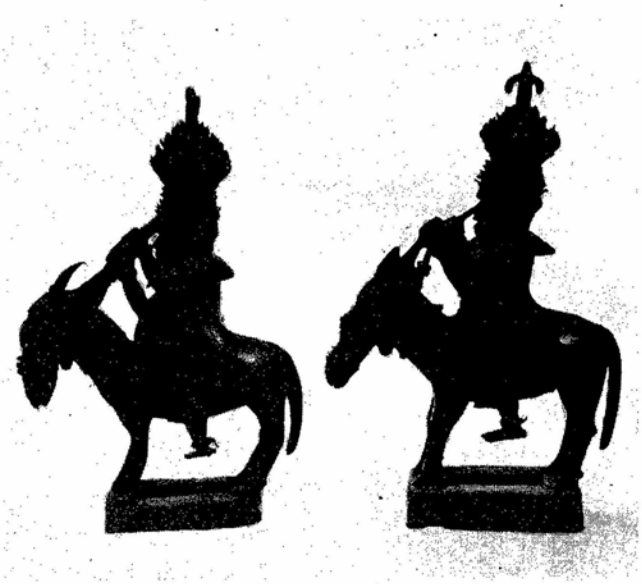


FIG. 2. BRONZE HORSEMEN
The Allman (left, 18 inches high) and British Museum specimens

Another horseman, in the possession of Mrs. Beasley, is of a type slightly different from the other two. There is, further, a much smaller version of the subject in the Benin collection of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Farnham,[12] but this is not in the Bini style at all, though certainly influenced by it (somewhat in the manner of the figure of a huntsman described in MAN, 1952, 210).

According to Dr. F. N. Roth's account, these bronze horsemen were placed as attendant figures on the Altars of the Fathers in the Oba's palace, standing between the heads (Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, p. 175). (It is a pity, though hardly surprising, that the collectors of the antiquities of Benin did not generally make systematic records of the contents and arrangement of the various shrines. A few of them were photographed, but these not the most important).

The bronze leopards. Of the numerous representations of leopards found at Benin, the most famous are (1) the

ivory pair presented to Queen Victoria by Major Landon on the return of the expedition, and placed on loan in the British Museum by King George V[13]; and (2) the large bronze pair from the Neville collection, sold at Foster's Auction Rooms on 1 May, 1930, subsequently in the possession of M. Charles Ratton, and recently purchased from M. Carré by the Nigerian Government.[14] The ivory pair are each about 33 inches long, the bronze pair about 28 inches. Most of the other known specimens, and among them the two now under description, are about 18 inches long (in the case of those which have the tail extended); this type normally has a hole with hinged lid in the crown, and small pouring holes in the nostrils, thus suggesting (and perhaps deriving from) the aquamanile of Europe. The Allman leopards (seen in fig. 3) are chiefly remarkable

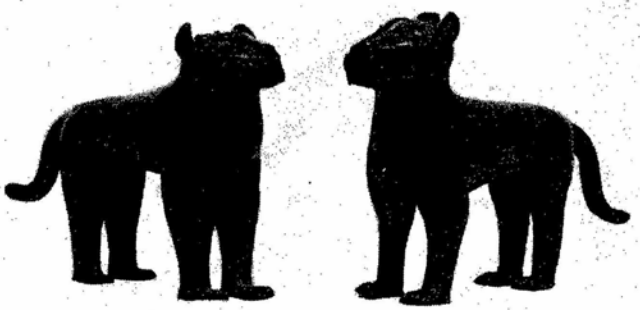


FIG. 3. BRONZE LEOPARDS (ALLMAN COLLECTION)
Length in both cases 18 inches

for the absence of any indication of spots, which are normally represented by a conventional design of double circles on a dotted ground; M. Ratton tells me that he has seen other specimens lacking the spots, but they are certainly rare. From the sculptural point of view, the Allman pieces exemplify two different methods of treating the subject and particularly the head: one (right) is more naturalistically modelled—in the manner of the Neville specimens, and of one (with the tail curled over the back) presented to the British Museum in 1949 by Mr. A. C. Goolden, a member of the expedition—than the other (left), in which the head is markedly flattened and broadened (the relative head dimensions being, for the former, length 4⅝ inches, breadth 2⅞ inches, depth 3 inches, and, for the latter, 4⅝ inches, 3¾ inches, 2⅜ inches). The artist of the left-hand specimen seems less sure in his handling of the body and has perhaps escaped less fully than the other from the influence of relief sculpture as seen in the bronze pendant 'masks' in the form of leopard heads which are found in most Benin collections; yet at the expense of beauty he has perhaps conveyed the leopard's forcefulness more imaginatively.

The bronze cock. The Allman cock does not differ much in treatment from about ten or twelve others of the type, among which the best are probably the British Museum specimen (seen with the Allman piece in fig. 4) and that now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which was formerly in the collections of M. Ratton and of the late Mrs. E. S. Harkness.[15] The hollow rectangular base of the Allman cock has suffered a strange distortion, the upper surface having become markedly concave,

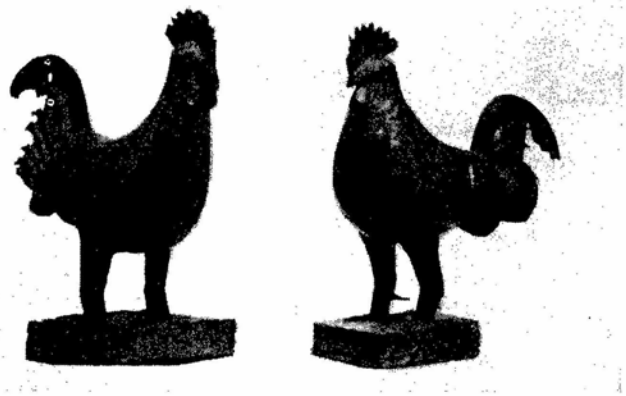


FIG. 4. BRONZE COCKS
The Allman (left, 20¼ inches high) and British Museum specimens

so that the ends of the iron armature of the bird's legs have been depressed beneath the level of the lower border of the base; it is by no means clear how or when this could have occurred, for although it must surely be associated with the great weight of the bird, still containing much of its clay core, it seems impossible that it could have happened before the wax model was translated into bronze, since the wax would itself have been worked on a hard clay core; yet the bronze surface seems stout enough to withstand a great deal of hard use.

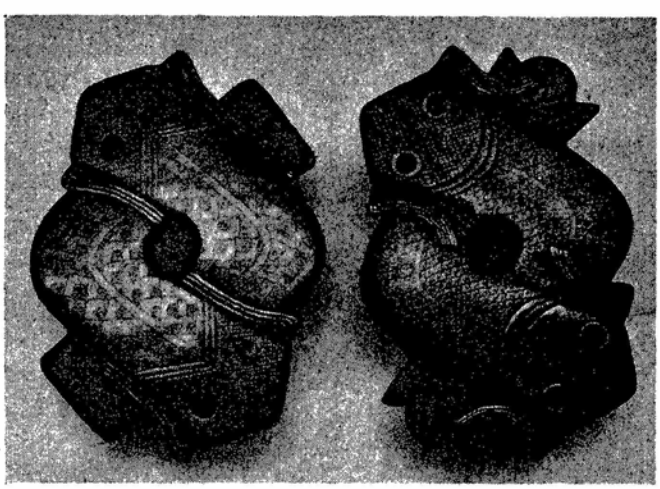


FIG. 5. BRONZE STANDS (SEEN FROM ABOVE)
The British Museum (left) and Allman specimens; both 14½ inches long

The bronze stand or seat. This is the only specimen of the kind known to me apart from the British Museum specimen, with which it is compared in fig. 5. The two mudfish which make up the design are treated with

somewhat more elaboration in the Allman example, and this applies also to the flaring pedestal. The purpose of these pieces is unknown.

The bronze jug. The Allman jug is seen in fig. 6 with the very similar piece in the British Museum.[16] Three others of the type are known to me, one at the Pitt-Rivers

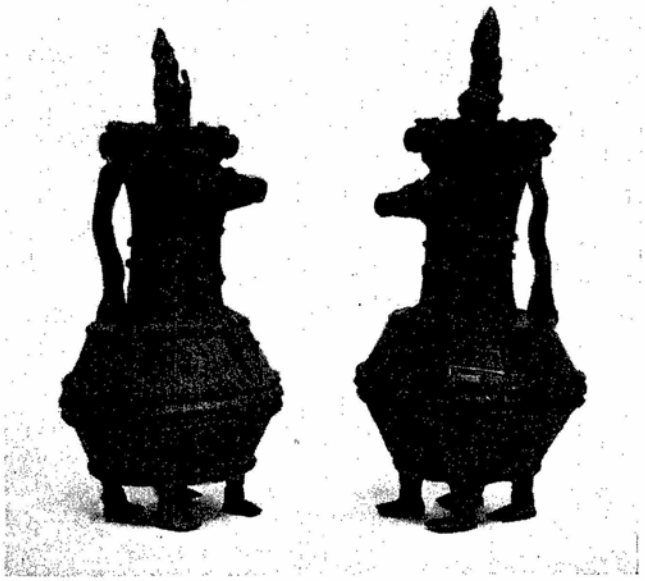


FIG. 6. BRONZE JUGS

The British Museum (left, 14¼ inches high) and Allman (15 inches high) specimens

Museum, Farnham,[17] one at Leipzig,[18] and one, of which I have recently seen a photograph, in the National Museum of Ireland; besides these there are closely related specimens (lacking much of the decorative detail as well as the human feet at the base) at Farnham[19] and in the Berlin collection.[20] The figure whose mouth frames the spout in all seven cases seems to be a monkey, and not a leopard as von Luschan averred. The British Museum example was collected by Dr. F. N. Roth, one of Dr. Allman's medical colleagues, who 'obtained it out of the wall at the back of the king's compound'[21]; this may well refer to a shrine of the Oba's good luck (Orunmila), like that illustrated by Mr. Arthur Foyle in MAN, 1953, 1, fig. 3, with rectangular compartments in which various objects (including, in one case which I myself saw, a china Toby jug) are placed.

The ivory box. This annular box, of which the upper and lower halves are each made from two sections of a tusk joined together with bronze strips, is illustrated in fig. 7, together with the lower half of an exactly similar box, given to the British Museum by Mr. Louis Clarke in 1918 (described and illustrated by Sir Hercules Read in MAN, 1918, 72, Plate I-J). This latter had previously been regarded as the lid of some vessel of undetermined form (*e.g.* a pedestal bowl such as those illustrated by von Luschan, *Altertümer*, p. 487, figs. 838–841); but it is shown to be the base by the absence of the stylized floral decoration on the inner surface of the exterior, in which it corresponds to the base of the Allman box. The plaited design round the outer edge runs opposite ways in the two bases, and this seems to indicate that the two boxes were made as a pair. I do not know whether the upper half of the British Museum specimen still exists, and should be very glad of any information bearing on this.

While the carving of the ivory and the bronze inlay do not, in point of mere delicacy of craftmanship, approach the best that Benin could do, the artistic composition, with its stylized Portuguese heads and angular plait designs, shows a feeling for ivory which is rare indeed in Benin work; greater finesse of detail could only have reduced the

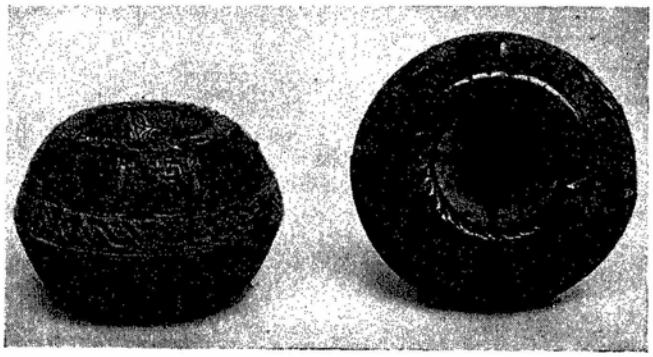


FIG. 7. IVORY ANNULAR BOXES

The Allman (left) and British Museum (lower portion only) specimens; diameter 6¼ inches

effect. The difference between the technique natural to ivory and that appropriate to work in wax (for metal-casting) is well appreciated in a comparison of these pieces with what appears to be the upper half of a similar vessel, made in bronze, in the Pitt-Rivers collection at Farnham.[22]

According to Dr. Allman, 'the box was found in the king's harem and contained coral and agate beads.'

The ivory armlets. This pair of armlets, each about 5½ inches long, is not illustrated here because the design, of alternating human and leopard heads, is much obscured by long wear; the patina is of a rich deep brown colour. A study of the grain and thickness of the ivory of the two armlets shows clearly that they were made from contiguous sections of the same tusk, one of them being remarkably thin, and also tapering slightly, towards one end, while the other correspondingly thickens.

Miscellaneous pieces. The remaining pieces in the collection offered at Sotheby's are as follows: two bronze or brass dance wands, 33 and 36 inches long, with cast human figures on the handle,[23] 'said to be used by virgins in their dances' (according to Dr. Allman); a large dance sword, 42 inches long, of the 'fish-slice' type known as *ebere* or *eben* (which all the numerous lesser chiefs are given on appointment by the Oba, and which they twirl in the air in a ceremonial dance before him), but unusual in having a finely designed covering of brass cast on to the transverse loop handle and the grip; three swords, 30, 27, and 24 inches long, of the type seen in use in war on some of the plaques in the British Museum and elsewhere, and somewhat similar to the larger ceremonial swords (*ada*) carried

as a badge of office before the Oba and the most senior chiefs. Of the first of these, Dr. Allman wrote: 'This sword, covered with human blood, was found by me amongst upwards of 60 recently decapitated human sacrifices. So there can be no doubt as to the use it was intended for.' Finally, there were two tusks, 36 inches long, one being plain except for the 'king's mark,'[24] the other covered with figures and devices in the crude manner obtaining at the time of the expedition.[25]

Notes

[1] F. von Luschan, *Altertümer von Benin*, 1919, Plates LI and LII.

[2] U. of P. *Museum Journal*, Vol. XIII (1922), p. 114, and H. A. Wieschhoff, 'The African Collections,' in U. of P. *Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XI, Nos. 1–2 (1945), fig. 21.

[3] For a fuller account of the *cire perdue* process, see Fagg and Underwood, 'An Examination of the So-called "Olokun" Head of Ife, Southern Nigeria,' MAN, 1949, 1, and especially note 9, which includes a description of the burning-in method.

A similar fault due to interrupted pouring, this time near the top of the head, may be seen in one of the bronze heads of Ife, No. 9; as Underwood points out in discussing the Ife technique in his *Bronzes of West Africa*, 1949, p. 7, this shows the head (and presumably all the Ife heads) to have been cast nearly upright.

[4] According to Chief Jacob U. Egharevba, the present court historian, in his *Short History of Benin*, 2nd edition, 1953, p. 88, the mother of the king had no special position or prestige until the early sixteenth century, when the great Oba Esigie instituted the title of *Iyoba* (*iya oba*, mother of the king) for his own mother, Idia, and made the village of Uselu, three or four miles outside Benin, her official residence. Thereafter the king's mother was normally elevated about three years after his own accession. A plaster cast of the British Museum head in the Benin N. A. Museum has been labelled, by Chief Egharevba, as representing the *Iyoba* Eson (elevated *c.* 1643), the mother of Ahenzae, but apparently only on the strength of a tradition that she was exceptionally beautiful.

All the subordinate chiefs of Benin maintained altars of their mothers in their own homes, and some of them still do. On them, the chief's mothers were represented not in human form but by turkeys carved in wood (see, *e.g.*, Pitt-Rivers, *Antique Works of Art from Benin*, 1900, Plate XLII, figs. 320, 321).

[5] Of the two Berlin Queen-Mother heads (*loc. cit.*, see note 1 above) the more orthognathous may conceivably be a third work of the same artist, though probably done at a different time, but I should rather think it to be by another artist at about the same period. The prognathous one, and the Philadelphia specimen, in both of which all surface finesse is sacrificed in favour of a much more forceful sculptural conception, may well be from a third hand.

[6] See my accounts in MAN, 1951, 124, and in *J. R. Soc. of Arts*, No. 4902 (1953), p. 581.

[7] Pitt-Rivers, *Antique Works of Art from Benin*, 1900, Plate XIII, figs 79–81.

[8] *Traditional Art of the British Colonies*, Royal Anthropological Institute, 1949, Plate VIII.

[9] Leon Underwood, *Bronzes of West Africa*, Plate XLII.

[10] Read and Dalton, *Antiquities from the City of Benin*, British Museum, 1899, p. 61.

[11] Von Luschan, *op. cit.*, Plate LXXIII.

[12] Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXIX, figs. 299, 300.

[13] MAN, 1953 (June), Plate G.

[14] Sweeney, *African Negro Sculpture*, New York, 1935, No. 280; Kjersmeier, *Centres de Style de la Sculpture Nègre Africaine*, Copenhagen and Paris, 1936, Vol. II, Plate XXXIII.

[15] Segy, *African Sculpture Speaks*, 1952, fig. 94.

[16] Read and Dalton, *op. cit.*, Plate X, 1.

[17] Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, Plate VIII, fig. 45.

[18] Von Luschan, *op. cit.*, p. 417, fig. 643.

[19] Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, Plate XXIV, figs. 151, 152.

[20] Von Luschan, *op. cit.*, Plate LXXXVIII.

[21] Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, 1903, p. 219.

[22] Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, Plate XXX, figs. 225, 226.

[23] Similar to those illustrated by von Luschan, *op. cit.*, Plate CII.

[24] Ling Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fig. 96.

[25] At the auction on 7 December, 1953, all the above described objects from the Allman collection (with the exception of the two unimportant tusks last mentioned) were bought on behalf of the Nigerian Government, and are now at Lagos, where the new Nigerian Museum is under construction. The Queen-Mother head broke all previous records for African art, being sold at £5,500; this does not necessarily imply any general increase in prices, since this is doubtless the finest Benin bronze ever offered for sale, and one of exceedingly few Benin pieces in which rarity is combined with the highest artistic sensibility and imagination instead of with a stolid and fashionable mediocrity.

Two other pieces, not from the Allman collection, were bought for Nigeria at this sale: (1) a water vessel or aquamanile in the form of a bronze figure of a ram exactly similar to that illustrated in *Traditional Art of the British Colonies* (R.A.I., 1949), Plate X, and now in the British Museum (both were collected by Captain, afterwards Lt.-Col., Walker, on the expedition, and were later in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, having been sold by auction at Foster's as a pair on 16 July, 1931); and (2) a remarkable head of sub-conical form, terminating in a tapering tube, decorated with snakes, etc., in relief, and almost identical with two others from the Beasley collection (of which one—stated to have been collected by Dr. Allman, and now in the British Museum—is illustrated in Nancy Cunard, *Negro Anthology*, 1934, p. 666, the other, still in Mrs. Beasley's possession, in Underwood, *Bronzes of West Africa*, 1949, Plate XXXIII); these three heads, together with three or four others of the same style but of different form, constitute a discrete substyle within the Benin tradition, and deserve full description and illustration at a future date.

After the sale of 7 December, 1953, it became known that several further pieces collected by Dr. Allman were in possession of members of his family, and these may be the subject of a supplementary note shortly. They include an excellent figure of a Portuguese soldier (probably commemorating Portuguese help to the Oba Esigie in the Idah War of 1515–16), and a finely cast bell of Yoruba rather than Bini type, which have been acquired respectively by the Nigerian Government and the British Museum.

THE GAME OF *KUBUGUZA* AMONG THE ABATUTSI OF NORTH-EAST RUANDA*

by

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262 *Mancala*, or *wari*, as it is most often known generically in Africa, has received considerable attention in recent years from anthropologists and connoisseurs of games, but detailed descriptions are still lacking for many peoples and areas. The present discussion, designed to fill in information for one such group, deals with the game as played among the Abatutsi, Nilotic

* *With five text figures*

people of Ruanda, specifically in the Mutara and Bugesera regions of north-eastern Ruanda, on the edge of what is ordinarily considered to be East Africa.[1]

Among the Abatutsi, the game is called *kubuguza*, and the board itself *igisoro*; the pieces, or counters, are called *inka*. While the names for game and board seem to have no other significance, *inka* means literally 'cows,' and

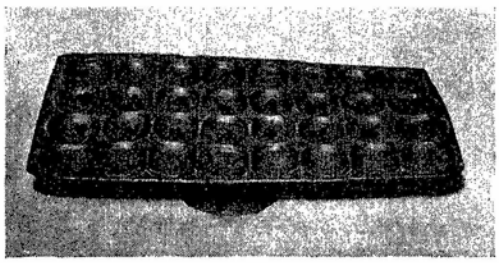


FIG. 1

specifically, cows of common breed as opposed to the royal cattle called *inyambo*. The object of the game is to capture the opponent's pieces in such a way that he is eventually rendered immobile; a stalemate is never declared. Carved boards or holes in the ground are used; the holes are arranged in four rows of eight holes each (see figs. 1 and 2[2]). The two rows nearest each player are those in which he plays exclusively; he never places men in the two rows farthest from him.

Back row	A	*B*	*A*	*P*	*O*	*N*	*M*	*L*	*K*
Front row		*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*I*	*J*
Front row	B	*j*	*i*	*h*	*g*	*f*	*e*	*d*	*c*
Back row		*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*a*	*b*

FIG. 2

Movement of pieces is in a counterclockwise direction with certain exceptions to be noted below. The moves on which the game is based are of two types, simple and cumulative. A player may pick up pieces from any cup he desires provided that there are at least two pieces in it; a single piece cannot in any circumstances be moved. As an illustration of the simple move, let us suppose that two pieces rest in cup *f*; to move, the player picks them up and drops one into cup *g*, the other into cup *h*, moving counterclockwise, of course. In the cumulative move, let us suppose that two pieces rest in cup *f*, while two more rest in cup *h*; in this case the second piece of the original pair drops into a cup already occupied by two seeds. The player picks up all three pieces and continues around the board placing them singly in cups *i*, *j* and *k*; the move, then, is cumulative, and may be continued as long as the player's last seed falls into a cup already occupied by one or more of his own men. When the last piece falls into an empty cup, the turn is completed, and the other player moves; thus play alternates. It must be emphasized that a seed is not dropped into the cup from which pieces are lifted. Thus in the two illustrations outlined above no pieces remain in cup *f*. However, if a player must distribute 16 or more seeds from a single cup, he does not skip the cup from which he lifts the pieces on his return to it, although it remains as his basic point of orientation.

The opponent's pieces may be taken in one way only. If the player drops his last seed into a hole already occupied by one or more of his own men in his front row, and if his opponent has any number of pieces in both his front and back rows directly opposite, these pieces may be picked up. A player cannot take his opponent's pieces from his own back row, nor can he take pieces if either the front or back cup directly opposite on his opponent's side is empty. In other words, three holes in a row across the board must contain men before there is any potential capture. In all cases in which the player's last seed falls into a cup which makes capture possible, he must take his opponent's men; he can never refuse to take, provided that his and his opponent's seeds are in proper position. By this it is not meant that the player is forced to take advantage of any potential situation; should his opponent have several groups which could be taken, the player may take his choice, or ignore them all. He can accomplish this, however, only by arranging his move so that his last seed does not fall into a hole from which he can capture.

Once a player has taken some of his opponent's pieces, he plays with them, returning to the last hole but one from which he last took his own men, and beginning to drop the captured pieces, one to a hole, around the board. This means that by adroit manœuvring the player can use his opponent's captured pieces to take more pieces. Thus in the hypothetical situation noted in fig. 3, player B begins at cup *b* and moves to cup *d*, where he takes three seeds from *IL*. Returning to the last cup but one from which he has picked up his own men, he drops the captured seeds, starting at cup *c*, picking up in turn the counters at *HM* and *GN* and finally finishing his move at cup *i*.

B	*A*	*P*	*O*	*N*1	*M*1	*L*2	*K*
C	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*4	*H*3	*I*1	*J*
j	*i*	*h*	*g*1	*f*1	*e*1	*d*1	*c*
k	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*a*	*b*2

FIG. 3

These, then, are the moves on which the game is based; subsidiary rules, however, make things considerably more complex. A player may not take his opponent's pieces on his first move; this rule is inviolable. Certain cups on the board are 'backward' holes or, as Driberg puts it, constitute a 'turning base'[3]; these cups are *b*, *d*, *k* and *i* for player B, and *B*, *D*, *K* and *I* for player A. From these cups a player may move in a clockwise direction, provided that with a simple move he can take pieces from his opponent. The player cannot begin a backward cumulative move from a backward hole, and further, any move starting from a backward hole must end in capture. If, when the player is moving forward, his last seed drops

into a backward hole which is occupied by one or more men, he may change direction provided that he can take pieces from his opponent on his first subsequent simple move. He may then continue to move backward from the backward hole as long as simple moves allow him to capture; when he can no longer capture he moves forward again and completes his move. Thus in fig. 4, player B begins his move at *c*, ending the first simple move at *i* which is already occupied by one piece. Turning backward, he drops seeds at *h* and *g* and picks up his opponent's pieces at *FO*; with the three captured pieces he moves backward again through cups *h*, *g* and *f* to pick up the four counters at *GN*, which in turn allows him another backward move to pick up the five pieces at *HM*. Since he can then move backward no longer, he must continue counterclockwise beginning at cup *j* (it will be recalled that he never drops a seed in the cup from which he last picked up some of his own men) and ending at cup *n*. It will be further noted that in a cumulative move which ends in capture, the captured seeds are distributed from the last hole from which pieces were lifted; this is by no means necessarily the cup from which the original cumulative move began.

B	*A*	*P*	*O*1	*N*1	*M*1	*L*2	*K*2
C	*D*	*E*	*F*2	*G*3	*H*4	*I*	*J*
j	*i*1	*h*	*g*1	*f*1	*e*1	*d*	*c*6
k	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*a*	*b*

FIG. 4

It is apparent that the backward holes *b*, *d* and *B*, *D* are less often used than *k*, *i* and *K*, *I*, since a player must accumulate a considerable number of pieces before a backward move is possible; at least ten from *d* and *D*, and at least eight from *b* and *B*. Holes *i*, *k*, *I* and *K*, however, are very often used since the minimum of two men could conceivably capture from any one of the four. The backward holes are a constant threat throughout the game, and the possibilities must be closely watched by both players.

In beginning play four pieces are placed in each of the sixteen cups of the two centre rows—a total of 64 pieces. The first man to move is normally the loser of the preceding game; if no previous game has been played the two players determine the order between themselves. The opening moves must be concentrated in spreading men around the board, for as long as the cups in the back row are empty the player has no means of getting his last seed to drop into a cup in the front row, thus enabling him to capture. In this connexion the holes *abcd* and *ABCD* have importance; if these four cups are empty the player will have difficulty bridging the gap, for he must have a minimum of five pieces in cup *p* or *P* to gain his front row again. When a player captures his opponent's pieces from these four cups he is said to have 'eaten the goat' of his opponent; when he makes a move which leaves these four cups bare on his own side, he has 'eaten his own goat'. It is further apparent that since no pieces are retired from the board, and since captured pieces are instead incorporated into the men already held, it becomes more and more difficult for the winning player as the game progresses—the more pieces he must manipulate, the more cups are likely to be filled, and thus more combinations of cups are open to his opponent's attack; at the same time, the opponent has fewer men and thus fewer filled cups and fewer combinations of cups open to capture. Thus the game is progressively difficult for the winning player.

Finally, it may be pointed out that a player can lose a game while still in possession, technically, of as many as 16 pieces. In this hypothetical situation he would retain one seed in each cup; it will be remembered that a single seed cannot be moved under any circumstance. In actual fact, games are usually won with the loser holding perhaps three to eight seeds, each alone in a cup.

There are several outside factors which contribute to the game and which, in certain cases, influence its outcome. One of these is institutionalized cheating; either player may cheat, provided that he goes undetected, and detection is not easy. If he is caught at cheating no penalty except ridicule is invoked. Contributing to the possibility of cheating is the speed at which the game is played; a high premium is placed upon swift manipulation of the pieces. Indeed, should a player move slowly his opponent is quite likely to pick up his own pieces and move them about the board to confuse the hesitant player further. 'Kibitzers' give all manner of advice to the laggard, and may well pick up his pieces and move them for him if he takes too much time.

There seems to be no gambling on the outcome of the game, nor is gambling reported for other peoples who play it. A player never outwardly counts the cups in plotting a move; pointing is considered extremely bad form, and the player who counts cups with his finger is the subject of much ridicule. It is reported by informants that experts at *kubuguza* play blindfolded, and further that they may play multiple opponents simultaneously, as do chess masters in Western nations.

In order to teach children manual skill in picking up the pieces, as well as the basic kinds of moves, the Abatutsi have devised a complex exercise played by a single individual. In this case the pieces are distributed two to each cup on the board, and a single man is then removed from cups *j*, *l*, *h*, *n*, *f*, *p*, *d* and *b*. Thus the player holds eight pieces; the object is then to remove all the pieces from the opposite side of the board in a prescribed series of moves. The player starts dropping the eight seeds which he holds into the cups, moving counterclockwise and beginning with cup *c*. Ignoring the possibilities of taking pieces from the other side, he continues 19 times around the board in one long cumulative move. During the operation he combines no fewer than 94 simple moves and, provided that he has made no error on the way, he will not pick up from cup *i* until he puts the nineteenth counter into it. At this point the seeds are distributed as in fig. 5.

The player then drops the 19 seeds at cup *i* backward, dropping one seed in each hole and including *i*, thus beginning the series of moves which allows him to sweep

B2	*A2*	*P2*	*O2*	*N2*	*M2*	*L2*	*K2*
C2	*D2*	*E2*	*F2*	*G2*	*H2*	*I2*	*J2*
j	*i19*	*h1*	*g*	*f1*	*e*	*d1*	*c6*
k1	*l*	*m1*	*n*	*o1*	*p*	*a1*	*b*

FIG. 5

the pieces from the opposite side of the board. These moves, in order, are:

(1) Beginning at cup *i*, moving backward to cup *f*, at which point the pieces at *GN* are picked up.

(2) Since the previous move was begun at cup *i*, the player has the option of moving either forward or backward; in this case, a backward move is again in order. Using the men picked up at *GN*, the player drops seeds in cups *h*, *g*, *f* and *e*, picking up the pieces at *HM*.

(3) Since a further backward move is now impossible the player moves forward, beginning at cup *j*. It should be pointed out again that although there is a single seed at cup *i* during these moves, this cup still remains the player's basic point of orientation since he began at cup *i* and has not subsequently lifted any of his own pieces from any other cup. His present forward move on a cumulative basis now allows him to pick up pieces from *IL*, since he arrives at cup *d*.

(4) With the pieces at *IL*, and beginning at cup *c*, since men were last lifted from cup *b*, he moves on in a cumulative move to cup *k*, at which point he reverses direction, taking the four seeds at *FO*.

(5) A second backward move is impossible and thus, beginning to drop pieces at cup *l*, he moves forward cumulatively to cup *c*, where he picks up four men from *JK*.

(6) Beginning again in the usual manner at cup *p*, he moves cumulatively forward, and after making a circuit and a half around the board, arrives at cup *j*, enabling him to take pieces from *CB*.

(7) These pieces, in turn, allow him to capture from *DA*.

(8) There follows a cumulative move forward around the board which ends with a backward move from cup *k*, which removes the last four men from *EP*.

(9) To finish properly the player then moves forward again, arriving finally in the empty cup *d* which ends the exercise.

If all has gone well, he has made 119 moves in one never-ending cumulative move, cleaned off the board with eight pickups, and moved around the board 24 times. If he has made any error on the way he will not finish correctly.

References to *kubuguza* are not frequent in the literature on the Abatutsi. In 1903, van der Burgt reported for Urundi that the game was 'variously known as *ikisoro*, *ikiwuguzo*, *kusoro* and *kuwaguza*,' as well as that the pieces were rotated in a clockwise direction.[4] The clockwise movement is perhaps suspect in view of the fact that virtually nowhere in Africa are pieces normally moved in this manner. A brief description by Meyer indicates only that the board form has apparently remained consistent for some 40 years.[5] Finally, Czekanowski's account shows physical features of the board which coincide with that used today; in addition, the method of seed-distribution is identical. From his description, however, it appears that the requirements for capture were formerly more rigorous; it is quite possible, of course, either that regional variations were under discussion or that confusion exists in Czekanowski's short description.[6]

The Abatutsi game finds its closest parallel among the Acholi; the allowable backward moves seem to be its most individualistic feature. Finally, it seems significant to note that the Lango, Acholi, Didinga and Abatutsi all designate the counters 'cows.'[7]

Notes

[1] For a discussion of both generic and specific forms of *mancala* throughout its world distribution, see H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Board Games Other Than Chess*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1952, pp. 158–225.

[2] The form chosen for diagramming the board is that initiated by Driberg. See J. H. Driberg, 'The Game of Choro or Pereauni,' MAN, 1927, 114 and 127.

[3] Driberg, *op. cit.*

[4] J. M. M. van der Burgt, *Un Grand Peuplé d'Afrique Equatoriale*, Bois-le-Duc, 1903, pp. 69–71.

[5] Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi*, Leipzig (Spamer), 1916, p. 65.

[6] Jan Czekanowski, *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet: Vol. I, Ethnographie: Zwischenseengebiet Mpororo Ruanda*, Leipzig (Klinkhardt & Biermann), 1924, p. 334.

[7] This paper was presented at the meetings of the Central States Anthropological Society at Urbana, Illinois, 9 May, 1953, as part of a three-part paper entitled 'The Cup Game (*Mancala*) in Three African Tribes,' which dealt with the game among the Abatutsi, Pakot and Ashanti peoples, and which was presented in conjunction with Harold K. Schneider and Robert A. Lystad. The research upon which the present paper is based was carried out during anthropological and ethnomusicological research in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi under grants from the Belgian-American Educational Foundation and the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and in cooperation with the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale, whose combined aid is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

OBITUARIES

Sir Ellis Hovell Minns: 1874–1953. *With a portrait*

263 Sir Ellis Minns, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Senior Fellow and former President of Pembroke College and Emeritus Disney Professor of Archæology at Cambridge, who was born on 16 July, 1874, and died on 13 June, 1953, was a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1929–1937) and wrote in MAN and the *Journal*; but because his distinguished contributions to the study of mankind ranged over centuries and across two continents they often escaped the notice of the contemporary anthropologist. His versatility was matched by exacting standards of learning. Specialists in one of his many fields of knowledge would learn with surprise of his erudition in subjects far removed from their own. Yet there was an underlying unity of outlook and of purpose.

Son of the Revd. George William Walter Minns, Vicar of Weston, Southampton, he came from Charterhouse to Pembroke as a scholar and took a first class in both parts of the Classical Tripos. He proceeded at once to Paris, studying Russian under Professor Paul Boyer, Director of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and then travelling widely in Russia, encouraged by a Craven Studentship and, from 1899, a college Fellowship. Here he acquainted himself with spheres of Russian scholarship inaccessible to the West, and in the course of tireless visits to museums and libraries earned the respect of Russian scholars which was to result in decades of fruitful interchange of ideas and publications. With this rich background, the quiet years in Cambridge as Librarian of Pembroke (1901–1927) and University Lecturer in Palæography (from 1906) could be used to mature the monumental *Scythians and Greeks* (1913), offering 'a summary of what is known as to the archæology, ethnology and history of the region between the Carpathians and the Caucasus.' But this region proved to be only a starting point, for 'the unity of the Asiatic and European steppe has led me on occasion right across to Siberia, Turkestan and China without any feeling that I was trespassing beyond my borders' (p. *vii*). Indeed he described the history and ethnology of 'The Scythians and Northern Nomads' in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1925) and 'The Art of the Northern Nomads' (1942), his final views being embodied in 'The Frozen Scythic Barrows of the Altai,' a MS. completed a few days before his death.

Church art and architecture, heraldry and mediæval buildings represented another cluster of interests, centering in the Middle Ages. These found one of their expressions in a life-long friendship with Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, Fellow of the Russian Academy, whose guest he had been in Russia, and in the English translation and annotation of Kondakov's *The Russian Icon* (1927). Professor Elizabeth Hill writes in the *Slavonic Review* (December, 1953) that Sir Ellis was 'the creator of the English terminology' of iconography, one of many services to Slavonic studies to which the Editor, Professor W. K. Matthews, adds his tribute.

When Minns was gathering material for his great work on the Scyths a young Swedish-Finn, A. M. Tallgren, was starting along the same path of research. It was characteristic of both men that, instead of leading to a sterile rivalry, their common preoccupations should prove a strong bond; and in 1934 Professor Tallgren, founder and editor of *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, was among the 32 authors from 13 countries who made the journal's *Minns Volume* (1934) 'an outstanding contribution to their subject.

As Disney Professor of Archæology Minns followed Sir William Ridgeway, to whom he paid tribute in an 'Introductory Lecture' (25 November, 1927; unpublished) which was characteristic both of his learning and his modesty. Miles Burkitt, Secretary of the Faculty Board at the time, writes in the *Cambridge Review* (10 October, 1953)[1] that the 'combination of Professor Minns as Chairman of the Board and Professor Hodson as the first holder of the newly created William Wyse professorship of Social Anthropology led to the growth of the present Cambridge School of Archæology and Anthropology, which has blossomed into the foremost in the country.' In the Museum, exhibits illustrating the history of writing recall his devotion to calligraphy and his annual course of lectures on this topic, while the bright blue metal bookshelves of the Haddon Library witness to his passionate concern with the detail of every aspect of Faculty administration.

Sir Ellis was also keenly interested in the history of his college, writing often in its *Annual Gazette*; and his regard for Cambridge antiquities in general found expression in his activities on behalf of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, of which he was twice President.

In the First World War Sir Ellis worked in the Censorship Department, where according to Lady Minns he censored books and letters in 24 languages, a charge which he did not strenuously deny. In the Second World War he advised the Admiralty; it was also a source of pride that he was called upon to write the inscription for the Sword presented to Stalingrad by H.M. King George VI. He was knighted in 1945. Among his other honours were the Hon. Doctorate of Letters of the University of S. Vladimir, Kiev; membership of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, and of the Imperial Historical and Antiquarian Society, Odessa; hon. membership of the Royal Irish Academy and the Kondakov Institute in Prague; corresponding membership of the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture,



SIR ELLIS HOVELL MINNS
After a drawing by Dorothy Hawksley

the Finnish Archæological Society, and the Bulgarian Archæological Institute; and Fellowship of the Archæological Institute of the German Empire. He was awarded the Gold Medal of the Society of Antiquaries.

Foreign scholars will, however, remember not the formal honours but the brilliant, indefatigable correspondent, who would take infinite pains to answer either simple or intricate questions; the colleague who was never evasive or condescending when an established professor suddenly became an exile or refugee. His name, whether in Stockholm, in Peking, or at a New Year's Eve party in Urga, Outer Mongolia, was a talisman. Cambridge friends will remember an indomitable figure on a bicycle, always with a fresh eye for the beauty of his University and showing a youthful zest for current events, eager to hear or pass on the latest

academic or personal news. A puckish sense of humour, expressed in subtle anecdotes, was as typical of him as the generous admiration which he accorded to honest achievement in any one of the many fields where he himself had achieved so much.

Cambridge University ETHEL JOHN LINDGREN

Note

[1] Other obituary notices of interest which have already appeared can be found in *The Times* (15 June, 1953), and the *Manchester Guardian* (16 June, 1953), and in the Pembroke College Cambridge Society's *Annual Gazette* (No. 27, December, 1953), initialled by the Master, S. C. Roberts, M.A., LL.D.

264 With Sir Ellis H. Minns has passed the last of the founding fathers of Eurasian archæology; Kondakov, Veselovski, Spitsyn, Borovka, Ebert, Tallgren are long dead; Rostovtsev died last year; the heroic age of Scythic and Sarmatian studies has come to an end.

Except for once, Sir Ellis gave no lectures on the northern nomads; he wrote only one book; the list of his articles dealing with Eurasia septentrionalis antiqua—he liked the sonorous term—is brief. His name is not connected with any finds; during his one and only visit to Russia he stayed in museums and libraries. He believed in the spade but his tool was the pen.

And yet this scholar—shy, unassuming to a fault, sceptical about the value of his work to a degree that at times drove his friends to desperation, who in the last 40 years wrote only when he could no longer free himself from obligations he had undertaken in 'moments of black-out,' as he used to say—was the great old man of Eurasian archæology.

Minns was still a young man when he published *Scythians and Greeks* (1913). It remained (apart from his translation of Kondakov's *The Russian Icon*) his only book. But what a book! Today it is still as indispensable to the student of the ancient civilizations of the Eurasian steppes as it has been to the last generation and will be to the next. Sir Ellis liked to refer to it as '*the incunabulum*' (he wore his learning lightly). He would concede that the work was not bad for its time but insisted that it was long obsolete and of purely antiquarian curiosity. Now, it is true, the finds at Noin Ula and Pazyryk, in the Semirechie and Khwarezm, to name only a few of the regions which in 1913 were white spots on the archæological map of northern Eurasia, the excavations on the lower Volga and in the Urals, territories within the more special field of Sir Ellis's interest, have widened our knowledge far beyond that of the early tens of the century. But *Scythians* and *Greeks* is anything but outdated.

That the western scholar who seldom has access to earlier Russian publications, and hardly ever to such *rarissima* as *Smela* or *Sobranie Khanenko*, finds in the hundreds of illustrations a material to be found nowhere else would be the least of its lasting merits. What makes the book unique and a source of unending inspiration is Minns's power of synthesis. He was the first to fit the literary evidence, the inscriptions, the coins, and the ten thousands of finds from Scythic, Sarmatian, and Greek tombs into a convincing picture of life in the cities on the Euxine coast and the camps of the nomads. His classical schooling did not blind him as it did so many before and not a few after him, among them such eminent scholars as Farmakovski, who regarded Scythian art as a poor relation of Ionic art. He recognized in it an art *sui generis*.

Forty years ago it required courage to derive the bronze cauldrons dug up near Olbia from the small clay vessels which Klements found in South Siberia. It needed imagination to discern in the hybrid, depraved and often crude productions from the hinterland of the Greek colonies the features of an art *toto cælo* different from that of the great civilizations of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Sir Ellis was a cabinet scholar. But his eyes were sharper than the eyes of all the field workers. His look gave body to the pendants, pole tops, and bridle ornaments pictured on the pages of the Reports of the Archæological Commission. Over his desk hung a copy of the deer from Kostromskaya Stanitsa; the original is hammered out of a thick plate of gold. Sir Ellis cut out of wood a model of it. Making it confirmed him in his belief that the first vehicle of Scythic animal style was horn, bone or hard wood.

In 1942 he read before the British Academy a lecture which was printed in its *Proceedings*. Modestly entitled 'The Art of the Northern Nomads,' it says more about the economic and social life of the ancient peoples between the Danube and the Yellow River, their burial rites, dress, weapons, and art than ten books on the same subjects together. Only there are no such books. For the second time Sir Ellis's tremendous erudition, unfailing grasp of essentials, and genius for creating history out of a chaotic mass of data produced such a work as nobody else could have done.

It was his last one. But he kept on working, with the same devotion to minutiæ, the same ability to visualize them as tesseræ in a gigantic mosaic, that inspired him through a long life. In a letter written ten days before his death, Sir Ellis summarized his final views: 'I still hold that the Scyths must contain an element which came from above the reindeer line, only there can they have got steeped in the regard for the reindeer which is evident in their art. I think they rode them once upon a time. The Scyths got hold of horses, but never forgot the hind with the golden horns. Of course we don't know where in the Taiga these seminal Scyths lived: but *Schrägschnitt* which is the special feature of the steppe beast style was more or less endemic in it. *Schrägschnitt* is allied to the curved Chinese line, as against the West Asiatic right angle. It took two hundred years to blend *Schrägschnitt* and West Asia modelling, still violently contrasted in Melgunov and Ziwiye, but blended happily in Pazyryk, less happily in Pontic Scythia as the Greek rival spoilt the marriage.'

Archæologists all over the world bow in mourning and pride at the tomb of a great scholar and a great man, sorrowful at their loss and proud that he was theirs.

O. J. MAENCHEN-HELFEN

University of California, Berkeley

265 As one of those fortunate enough to specialize in Literature in Part II of the Classical Tripos (in 1935–36), and therefore to sit at Professor Minns's feet as he gave his course on Palæography in the Library at Pembroke, I should like to testify briefly to his extraordinary qualities as a teacher, and above all as a teacher of scholarship as an end in itself. Even on first meeting him, and almost before he spoke, one seemed to recognize instinctively in him not merely a real, but an ideal scholar, who ought not by rights to exist at all; one felt lucky to have been born in his time and to have come in his way.

There was nothing pedestrian or dry-as-dust about his love of minutiæ. They always seemed, under his influence, to illuminate whole fields of learning. I can never think of the perhaps somewhat otiose word 'celt' without remembering its origin in the error of that mediæval copyist who, at a time when *r* and *l* were written almost alike, misinterpreted the Latin word '*certe*' and inferred from the context that it must be another word for an axehead. *Humanitas* informed all that he did and said; and the humour with which he transmitted his learning was no mere gilding of the pill to beguile the impatient undergraduate, but rather something so fundamental to it that the longing to share more fully in his delight became one's chief incentive. That Olympian giggle was, in a way, the very essence of his scholarship.

WILLIAM FAGG

Peter Williams-Hunt: 1918–1953

266 Although some months have elapsed since the death was announced of Peter Williams-Hunt, F.S.A., F.R.A.I., A.M.A., it is proper that his valuable contributions to anthropology in south-east Asia should be summarized in the pages of MAN, for which he had written in the past. The fatal accident occurred on 3 June, 1953, near Tapah in the Cameron Highlands of Malaya while he was examining an aboriginal kampong and clearings. A rotten log gave way and he fell onto a sharp bamboo stake below. He died in Batu Gajah hospital eight days later.

Williams-Hunt was Adviser on Aborigines, and acting Director of Museums, for the Federation of Malaya. He was only 35, but already he had done much original work, and had prepared the way for still more. It has been a tragic loss to his many friends, and to both ethnology and archæology. Some aspects of his career were outlined by Mr. William Fagg in *The Times* (16 June, 1953), and I have summarized others in the *Museums Journal* (August) and in *Antiquity* (September). It is possible to write of him from many different points of view, for in the great breadth of his interests lay one of his outstanding qualities (an outlook that is all too rarely found in this period of excessive specialization). I have listed his discoveries and published work in archæology in *Antiquity*, and here it will be best to write chiefly of his devotion to anthropology. Few people at the present time combined the twin subjects better than he did.

He was self-trained in observation and recording, making a start with field archæology in Berkshire before the war. It is a testimonial to the value of local archæological activities in Britain, and to his own energy and tireless enthusiasm, that he was able to build on this limited early experience and prove his ability to deal with entirely different and weightier problems on the other side of the globe, when the opportunity arrived.

During the war he spent several years as an Intelligence and Paratroop officer, showing great ability in air-photographic interpretation. We served in the same unit in North Africa and Italy, and flew together in Apulia in 1945 to photograph and discover many prehistoric, Roman and mediæval sites from the air.

Soon after—to his regret at the time—he was posted to the Far East. Characteristically, however, he devoted himself with unsparing energy to military mapping in south-east Asia. His great experience in air-photographic interpretation enabled him to make many important archæological discoveries from the air, of which the most remarkable was that of a great number of ancient city sites in eastern Siam. During 1946 he was in Bangkok, Saigon and Singapore, being for some time in charge of the most extensive air-photograph library in south-east Asia. In 1947 he visited Australia and did very valuable pioneer work on the location of the archæological sites of aboriginal camps along beaches in the Melbourne area, from the study of air photographs. He published an account of his methods in *Antiquity*, 1948, pp. 103–5. It is very much to be hoped that Australian anthropologists and archæologists will follow up this lead.

When he was demobilized, with the rank of Major, he turned his attention still more to anthropology, especially after receiving a copy of the sixth edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* which I sent him at this time. He and I kept in constant touch and collaboration. In MAN he published an important article on 'Anthropology from the Air' (1949, 63)—the first paper in an English journal, as far as I know, to show exactly how tribal settlements and land-utilization could be studied with great advantage from the air. In the *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum* (Singapore, December, 1949), he published 'A Technique for Anthropology from the Air in Malaya,' illustrated with some of his own photographs. His articles were full of new facts and original ideas, and he proved the value of this method of study in his own very difficult region—a notable display of British initiative in opening up this new field of anthropological study. In university work, air photographs (used as lantern slides) have proved of the greatest use in teaching ethnography, and at Oxford I have used them extensively and regularly in courses of lectures in this subject ever since the end of the War. Some of these photographs were supplied by Williams-Hunt, who was always glad to make them available and useful.

He collected ethnographical specimens from Malaya for the British Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, and other institutions. It must not be thought that all his attentions were given to aerial research. He did an immense amount of very arduous fieldwork on the ground among the tribal peoples of Malaya, and revelled in the ethnographical problems associated with them. Williams-Hunt was an intensely practical man, who had no patience with vague theorizers; instead, he would go to see for himself. He even went out with a patrol on one Christmas Day, collecting data about the aborigines, when things were at their worst. But he used to tell me that too much of his time was still often taken up with red tape and unessential administration.

Early in 1952, his book *An Introduction to the Malayan Aborigines* (reviewed in MAN, 1953, 254) appeared, with a foreword by General Sir Gerald Templer, who wrote that 'everyone who reads this book will be impressed by the immense detail that the author has so painstakingly and devotedly acquired and so clearly arranged.' The book was intended primarily for our Security Forces, but is of great value for general use. It can be ordered from the Government Printer, or from the National Museum, Singapore, at a cost of 11*s.* 8*d.* Following the opening Summary, 'to aid those who are too busy (or perhaps too lazy!) to read the whole,' later chapters deal with the environment, tribal distribution and social organization, language, music, health, dress, ways of life, customs and beliefs, advice on collecting for museums, etc.—all full of the latest information and first-hand observation. Even the way in which he acknowledged some errors (due to uncorrected proofs being returned when he was absent) had a welcome forthrightness and characteristic intellectual honesty. The book is illustrated by the author with a map, drawings, and about 80 photographs of aborigines, their dwellings and equipment. Williams-Hunt took the best ground-photographs of tribal peoples that I have ever seen. His book displays throughout the qualities most needful in original work done in difficult conditions—a strong sense of humour, confidence and commonsense, *plus* imagination unaffected by 'bees in the bonnet.'

Williams-Hunt developed his anthropological talent with remarkable speed, and chiefly through his own initiative. The driving force was not academic training, but his innate enthusiasm for constructive and creative work. We can see, even from the material he had time to publish, how great would have been the achievements to come.

In his manifold activities he gave help to many, notably to Dr. Ivan Polunin and Dr. P. H. A. Sneath during their work on blood groups in Malaya (to be published shortly). Dr. Sneath tells me that his assistance with the arrangements was invaluable, and has kindly given particulars. He collected orchids for the Botanical Gardens at Singapore and ethnological and zoological specimens for the Raffles Museum. Chinese export ceramics and the study of trade goods were other interests of his. He had also assembled an extensive personal collection of Senoi material, and had preserved a lot of the late Mr. H. D. Noone's unpublished records. He took endless trouble to get good re-settlement arrangements

made for the aborigines, and to make authority understand their special needs. His work amply maintained the high traditions set by earlier anthropologists in Malaya.

Deep sympathy will be felt for his wife, Wa Draman, and their young son. Williams-Hunt was buried in his wife's jungle village in Perak. He had won the true friendship of the aborigines, and their rites were fittingly bestowed on the grave, in final tribute.

JOHN BRADFORD

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

267 Both parts of Vol. LXXXIII of the *Journal* of the Institute are at an advanced stage of preparation and are expected to appear successively about the middle of 1954. They will contain the following papers:

PART 1

'Anthropology as a Hobby' (Presidential Address), by J. P. Mills, C.S.I., C.I.E.

'Gusii Initiation Ceremonies,' by Professor P. Mayer.

'The After-Life in Indian Tribal Belief' (Frazer Lecture in Social Anthropology, 1952), by Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf.

'Musicology in Uganda,' by Dr. K. P. Wachsmann.

'A Survey of South American Archæology,' by Professor G. R. Willey.

'Loess Balls from the Lower Mousterian of Achenheim (Alsace),' by Professor F. E. Zeuner.

'The Haua Fteah Fossil Jaw,' by Dr. C. B. M. McBurney, Dr. J. C. Trevor and Dr. L. H. Wells.

'The Physical Anthropology of the Vikings,' by Professor J. Steffensen.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, Reports of the Council and of the Hon. Treasurer.

PART 2

'On the Diversity of Morals' (Huxley Memorial Lecture, 1953), by Professor M. Ginsberg, F.B.A.

'Konkomba Sorcery,' by Dr. D. Tait.

'The Age-Set Organization of the Jie Tribe,' by Dr. P. H. Gulliver.

'Cultural Stability and Change in American Indian Societies,' by Dr. W. N. Fenton.

'Christian Saints or Pagan Gods? The Lough Erne Figures,' by T. C. Lethbridge.

'A Critical Study of the Techniques for the Measurement of Cranial Capacity,' by Miss M. L. Tildesley.

'The Physique of Native East Africans,' by Mrs. P. M. Danby.

'Blood Groups in South-East Asia,' by Dr. I. Polunin and Dr. P. H. A. Sneath.

LIST OF FELLOWS

It is hoped to publish at the end of Part 2 the complete list of the Fellows of the Institute, which last appeared with Vol. LXXVII, Part 2 (correct to 31 March, 1950).

INDEX TO MAN AND THE JOURNAL

The Hon. Editors of the *Journal* and of MAN have been making informal inquiries into the utility of the combined index to both which has been published at the end of each volume of the *Journal* since the foundation of MAN in 1901. The annual preliminary pages published with the December issue of MAN each year include a form of classified index which has certain advantages over a single alphabetical index such as that published in the *Journal*. Most of those canvassed seem to feel that, unless the *Journal* index is to be a fully detailed subject index (in which case there would be good reason for combination), the considerable duplication of printing costs is hardly justifiable, especially at a time when publication is inhibited by inadequacy of funds. However, the Hon. Editors are far from wishing to withdraw or reduce any services which are considered to be of real value, and they would be glad to hear from readers of MAN who have views on the subject. Such views may be addressed to the Hon. Editor of MAN at the Institute.

SHORTER NOTES

Cyanide-Smelling Deficiency among Africans. *By A. C. Allison, D.Phil., B.M., Clinical Pathology Laboratory, The Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford*

268 That some individuals cannot smell cyanide has long been known, and Kirk and Stenhouse [1] reported that this deficiency is probably a sex-linked Mendelian recessive character. Of 132 Australian European males tested 24 (18·2 per cent.) were unable to smell cyanide solutions, but only five out of 112 females (4·46 per cent.) were non-smellers. Family studies in general supported the view that this is a sex-linked recessive trait.

It is of interest to know the frequency of this trait among individuals of other races. During the course of a recent visit to Kenya 71 adult male Africans from the Luo and Kikuyu tribes were tested. Solutions of 20 per cent. sodium cyanide with cotton wool in stoppered bottles were used, the solutions being made up fresh daily. Four such bottles had to be correctly distinguished from four similar bottles containing only distilled water to succeed in the tests. The presence of an intact olfactory system had been previously confirmed by the recognition of coffee, and an interval of a few minutes was allowed between tests so that the sense of smell would not be fatigued. It was found that 18 out of 71 African males (25·4 per cent.) were unable to smell cyanide solutions. There was no apparent difference between members of the two tribes. Unfortunately the adequate co-operation of female Africans could not be obtained in a sufficiently large number to give a reliable record.

Hence it seems that the difference in frequency of cyanide-smelling deficiency between Africans and Europeans is small (χ^2=1·447 for 1 d.f.). This is in marked contrast to the frequency of inability to taste phenylthiocarbamide, which is about 4 per cent. in East Africans[2] but 25 per cent. or more in Europeans.[3] These observations do not contradict a balanced polymorphism in the case of the cyanide-smelling deficiency character.

This work was undertaken during tenure of the Staines Medical Research Fellowship of Exeter College, Oxford, assisted by a grant from the Medical Research Council. It was made possible

by a grant for travel made by the Colonial Office on the recommendation of the Colonial Medical Research Committee.

Notes

1 R. L. Kirk and N. S. Stenhouse, 'Ability to Smell Solutions of Potassium Cyanide,' *Nature*, Vol. CLXXI (1953), pp. 698f.

2 A. C. Allison, 'A Note on Taste-Blindness in Kenya Africans and Arabs,' MAN, 1951, 205.

3 H. Harris and H. Kalmus, 'The Measurement of Taste Sensitivity by Phenylthiourea (P.T.C.),' *Ann. of Eugen.*, Vol. XV (1949), pp. 24–31.

The 'Sociological Review,' New Series

269 The Hon. Editor of MAN has received, and publishes with pleasure, the following communication from Professor W. A. C. Stewart of the University College of North Staffordshire:

The Sociological Review has been in existence for 45 years. It has been produced by Le Play House which since the end of the second world war has had its headquarters at Ledbury in Herefordshire. For many years it was the only journal devoted to sociological matters in Great Britain.

In 1953 the University College of North Staffordshire took over the production of *The Sociological Review* from Le Play House and the first issue of the New Series appeared in June of that year. The second issue appeared in December, 1953, and for the time being the *Review* will appear twice a year.

The policy of *The Sociological Review* is to encourage the publication of work by established scholars and those as yet relatively unknown and to bring together material from the fields of general sociology, social or industrial psychology, social anthropology, economics, politics, social philosophy, or the sociological aspects of geography, history and the sciences. *The Sociological Review* intends to publish material which is of interest both to specialists and to the more general reader in this country and abroad.

The Editorial Board invites contributions for publication from scholars in the field of social anthropology and related studies.

The first issue of the New Series contained articles by: Nevitt Sanford (formerly Professor of Psychology in the University of California) on changes in a community during the Loyalty Oath controversy; Miss Sykes (Institute of Education, University of Bristol) on school and work; Professor the Rev. E. F. O'Doherty (University of Dublin) on the logic of the social sciences, with a rejoinder by Dr. J. O'Connor (University College of North Staffordshire) on value judgments and the social sciences; Professor T. S. Simey (University of Liverpool) on the analysis of social problems; Professor B. R. Williams (University College of North Staffordshire) on economic science and public policy; and a section of book reviews and notices.

The second issue, appearing in December, 1953, contains articles by: Professor E. A. Shils (University of Chicago) and Michael Young (Institute of Community Studies, London) on the meaning of the Coronation; Professor H. J. Fleure (formerly of the University of Manchester) on Patrick Geddes; Dr. W. Stark (University of Manchester) on peasant society and the origins of romantic love; Mr. M. Banton (University of Edinburgh) on the economic and social position of Negro immigrants in Britain; Mr. E. J. Cleary and Mr. H. Pollins (University College, Swansea) on Liberal voting at the General Election of 1951; Mr. G. W. S. Robinson on British conurbations in 1951; and Mr. W. M. Williams (University College of North Staffordshire) on social aspects of recent changes in agriculture in West Cumberland.

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REVIEWS

GENERAL

Rudolf Virchow: Doctor, Statesman, Anthropologist. *By Erwin H. Ackerknecht. Madison (U. of Wisconsin P.), 1953. Pp. xv, 304. Price $5*

270 T. H. Huxley described himself sometimes as an engineer *in partibus vitae*; Virchow was primarily an engineer trying to understand the breakdown of vital machines; and both, in their respective countries, were leaders who won recognition for the search for truth, the driving force of science. Virchow's enormous output of scientific papers on pathology developed from the basis of a belief in *omnis cellula e cellulo*, a belief which was, with difficulty, superseding old fancies about humours and the formation of cells from unorganized material. Virchow was one of the chief pioneers of modern pathology and of the consequent reform of medical practice. But Virchow without relinquishing science was drawn into the leadership of opposition to Bismarck and his policy that led through triumph to the disasters of the twentieth century. Virchow's ideas and policies of social welfare and toleration might have saved his country from its breakdowns under William II and Hitler, and Europe from its modern miseries, but he was too authoritarian in temper to lead social democracy, which he distrusted. In middle life Virchow turned more and more to anthropology, as the science of man in the widest sense and a guide to welfare. His pathology rather misled him into diagnosing the Neanderthal skull as a pathological specimen, and, perhaps as a result of this serious mistake, he was not encouraging to workers on the subject of fossil men. He fought against the idea of a superior race, and his famous survey of millions of German school children showed that blondness was far from general in Germany. Virchow thought of himself as a thoroughly germanized Slav. His long friendship and help for Schliemann is immensely to his credit. In general theory, he admired Darwin but thought of evolution as a hypothesis and feared it might become a dogma, and he admired Pasteur but criticized Koch and took a lot of convincing about bacteriology. The author gives what seems to be a fair picture of a great man, achievements, mistakes and all; he writes a very understandable English and appears to do his thinking largely in German. H. J. FLEURE

Curious Customs of Sex and Marriage. *By George Ryley Scott. London (Torchstream Books: privately printed), 1953. Pp. xvi, 312, 25 plates. Price £2 2s.*

271 This mildly entertaining rather than particularly instructive book is a kind of popular anthology of the more harmless customs relating to sex and marriage in various parts of the world, by the author of the *Encyclopædia of Sex*. He shows a marked predilection for the more old-fashioned authorities; the absence of references in the text or bibliography to modern social anthropologists suggests, what is not always the case, that they have remained quite unconscious of human sexuality. WILLIAM FAGG

AFRICA

Les Civilisations africaines. *By Denise Paulme. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1953. Pp. 124*

272 In this little book of only 124 pages Mlle Paulme has produced a thumbnail sketch of the present state of African studies with the clarity and assurance which one is accustomed to take for granted in French works of popularization. The presentation of her material reflects the growing interest among continental scholars in the historical approach to the cultures of Negro Africa. In her first sentence she rebuts the long-accepted dictum that Africa is a continent without a history, and fully one-third of the book is devoted to an exposition of the available historical data. She points out that European assessments of African political institutions have been unduly coloured by the scene of widespread chaos and degradation which met the early colonial administrators, at the

turn of the last century, a state of affairs which was in no small measure the product of the abnormal conditions which had prevailed for several generations through the intensification of the slave trade and the 'opening up' of the interior. While drawing attention to the impressive bulk of historical material, already assembled on the basis of oral traditions, she rightly stresses the importance of archæology, upon the findings of which any worthwhile elucidation of these traditions must largely depend.

In the ethnographic survey which occupies the remainder of her book, the author distinguishes several great cultural areas in each of which she recognizes, in spite of local and ethnic divergencies, a basic identity of structure; the Sahara, East Africa, from the Upper Nile to the Zambesi, the Congo Basin, and the Bantu societies south of the Zambesi. The least homogeneous of her regions is the West African, where there is a fairly sharp division between the half-Islamized societies of the Sudan and the pagan kingdoms of the forest belt. Sections are also included on the Bushmen, the Hottentots and the Pygmies. D. H. JONES

Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa. *By William J. Burchell; reprinted, with an Introduction by I. Schapera. London (Batchworth Press), 1953. 2 vols., pp. xxix, 381, xvi, 473, illus., maps. Price £5*

273 The reissue of this famous work, first published 1822–24, is an event. It is particularly welcome for the reproduction of the original 16 coloured plates and 96 vignettes which some people will regard as of more value than the text. The text is virtually intact. It is not strictly accurate to say that in 1811–12 Burchell went further north than his predecessors; Cowan and Donovan went further, but unlike Burchell they did not live to tell the tale. He trekked by ox wagon from Cape Town to Griquatown and then to Dikhatlong (Litakun, Takoon) where he stayed three months. His narrative ends with his departure from there, but it is known that he proceeded north to Chue, some distance short of the Molopo: it was on this part of his journey that he discovered the white rhinoceros. Primarily he was a botanist and zoologist, and in those capacities won fame for his extensive collections, but, as he says (Vol. II, p. 260), he travelled to gratify a desire of beholding human nature in its uncivilized state. Genuinely interested in his fellow men he was able to establish friendly contact with Boers, Bushmen, Griquas, Koranas and Batswana and to write entertainingly of them. As Dr. Schapera remarks in his useful Introduction, he had definite limitations as an ethnographer. What he saw he described accurately. He recognized that to deal with other matters required a better knowledge of the language than he possessed, but from this salutary precept he departed when treating of religion: in this field his prejudices led him astray. He claimed (Vol. II, p. 221) to be the first to compile any considerable vocabulary of Tswana but the specimens he gives fall short of accuracy. Burchell wrote in an attractive style; the book is a pleasure to read, especially for anyone who is familiar with the region through which he passed. The publishers are to be congratulated on their enterprise. There is a slip on p. *x* of Vol. I: the President of the Royal Geographical Society was Sir Roderick Murchison, not Sir Roger. EDWIN W. SMITH

The Missionary Factor in East Africa. *By Roland Oliver. London (Longmans), 1952. Pp. xviii, 302, 4 maps. Price 17s. 6d. (in paper covers 12s. 6d.)*

274 Though this is a work of history and not of anthropology, its subject matter is important for everybody, including the anthropologist, who wishes to understand the present state of any of the African peoples of the area. For there is scarcely one of them which has not been affected, to a greater or less extent, by the work of the Christian missions, and among most of them organized communities of native Christians play an integral part in the social organization. No contemporary social study can afford to neglect this element, the form it takes, and its relations with the other groups with which it co-exists and interacts. It is no longer fashionable to decry the relevance for sociological studies of historical material; where it is available it provides one (though of course not the only) type of explanation for social phenomena, and the student's understanding of what he describes will be incomplete if he neglects it.

The story which Dr. Oliver unfolds is, as the dust-jacket 'blurb' claims, an exciting one: the parts played by missionaries in the suppression of the slave trade, in the instigation of European political control and often in the liberalization of Government policy, and, in general, in the emergence of the present East African social situation, have been recorded, at least in part, in various places, but they have not before been combined in a continuous and documented narrative as a systematic study of a particular historical process. The 'struggle with tribal paganism' was, as Dr. Oliver points out, only a part, and not always the dominant part, of mission activity; the relation of the missions to the other outside forces which were busy changing the African scene was historically a factor of major importance. And it still needs saying that it is at best a grave misrepresentation to describe the early missionaries as merely 'attacking innocent superstitions and substituting one fear for another.' Of particular interest is Dr. Oliver's account of the increasing but varying 'Africanization' of the various missions.

Dr. Oliver has provided a historical account of the development of one major factor in the evolution of contemporary East Africa, and of its relations with other contemporaneous factors of change. So far as a social anthropologist can judge, he has performed this useful task with sympathy and skill. JOHN BEATTIE

The Wurtzburger Collection of African Sculpture. *With an introduction by Paul S. Wingert. Baltimore (Museum of Art), 1954. Pp. 30, 35 illus.*

275 This slim catalogue, handsomely produced in a rather modernish way (the designer exhibiting the customary preoccupation with Gill Sans Bold), celebrates a loan exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art, which is shortly to be translated, according to the foreword, into a gift. To judge by the illustrations (of which there are 35), the Museum is to be congratulated on the prospective acquisition of a number of good specimens of African sculpture, notably Nos. 9, 26 (probably), 36, 39, 52, 60, 77 and 91—although I am somewhat mystified by the use of the word 'great' of Nos. 26 and 91 in Dr. Wingert's generally helpful and moderately phrased introduction. Since this catalogue will no doubt appear on the shelves of many students and collectors, it may be well to correct one erroneous attribution : No. 6, a woodcarving described as from the Dogon of the French Sudan, is in fact an *ikenga*, typical of the simpler sort, from the Ibo of Nigeria ; in the circumstances, it would be interesting to know on what evidence it is said to be 'used in rain cult rites.' The fine pottery head of a cow, No. 36, here called 'possibly Bron,' was in fact collected by Mr. Leon Underwood in 1945 at the Ewe village of Beme near Kpandu in Togoland. A little more could with advantage have been said about some of the specimens, even if they are not documented. There are a few displaced tribes (Guro, Bron, Ibo, Ibibio, Bena Lulua) on the map. WILLIAM FAGG

Sistemi Monetari Africani al Lume dell'Economia Primitiva. *By Giovanni Tucci. Naples, 1950. Pp. 132*

276 This brochure is divided into three sections. The first part deals with the origin of barter, the second with the development of primitive money, and the third describes some of the African primitive monetary systems.

The author endorses the views expressed in recent books on the subject—notably by Mrs. Quiggin, Professor Gerloff and myself—about the non-commercial origins of currency. He also shares the view that barter, and even some form of money, must have preceded division of labour and private property in the generally accepted sense of these terms. Unfortunately it seems that our findings have made little or no impression on economists. Textbooks on economics and on money published in the last few years continue to rely on the unsupported theory, inherited from Aristotle through Adam Smith, that money had originated through division of labour and barter, without regard to the wealth of factual evidence, produced by anthropologico-economic research in recent years, that points in other directions.

Signor Tucci deals in detail with the origin of the monetary use of cowries in Africa. He is inclined to accept the theory that predynastic Egypt employed cowries as a medium of exchange, and

that various parts of the continent adopted that system through contact with Ancient Egypt. He points out the similarity of numeration used in Ancient Egypt with that used in recent primitive communities in West Africa, based on multiples of 6 and of 60. It is open to doubt, however, whether this evidence proves the Egyptian origin of cowrie currency.

The author points out that since the war the value of shell money in Africa in terms of modern money was inclined to fluctuate in sympathy with the fluctuation of commodity prices in terms of modern money.

The book contains much interesting material, and those who are interested in the subject but do not read Italian may find the bibliography of 18 pages useful. PAUL EINZIG

The Nandi of Kenya: Tribal Control in a Pastoral Society. *By G. W. B. Huntingford. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1953. Pp. xiii, 169. Price 18s.*

277 The Nandi are one of the small pastoral tribes living in the high grasslands of Africa. These areas, thinly populated, often ill supplied with timber, and seldom enjoying a more than barely adequate provision of water do not appear to offer a promising environment for the support of a robust and far from simple form of human society. But the tribes of the African savannas, hardy, vigorous and warlike, are communities with a high degree of tribal organization carefully and intelligently devised to make the best possible use of their natural resources. In the aggregate they form a considerable part of the population of the continent, and they are an important section of African society. A great number of them now live under a European administration, so that a proper understanding of their traditional mode of life conduces to good government and is no longer a matter of interest only to a limited circle of experts.

Mr. Huntingford's latest work deals with the political structure, past and present, of a tribe of this kind and his account of both aspects of their history is of great value. The Nandi came into existence some 300 years ago in the late seventeenth century. A useful result of his investigations is that he has recorded the political structure of a pastoral tribe at a time when it was still a comparatively young society not yet subject to the influences which in other tribes with a longer span of tribal life have possibly obscured an early history of much the same kind.

His analysis of the traditional connexion between authority and domicile which governed Nandi tribal administration is of special interest. The Nandi had no chiefs. The system functioned on a territorial and representative basis expressed in local councils. These were of two kinds: the *koret* (group of villages) council, consisting of elders only (*kokwet*), dealing with the affairs of the *koret* and having no more than a local jurisdiction; and the *pororiet* (a territorial unit), consisting of elders and warriors representing a wider but still strictly localized area, and dealing with matters of public welfare the chief of which were circumcision, war and the planting of crops. A *pororiet* council had jurisdiction within its own area only.

In military matters the *pororiet* council was under the control of representatives of the men of fighting age, and until late in the history of the Nandi these councils were completely independent bodies. But by the time the British arrived it had become the custom to refer all military decisions to the chief *Orkoiyot* ('witch-doctor') of the tribe who was also specially represented on the council. (In passing, it may perhaps be observed that the time has now come when the term 'witch-doctor' should be replaced by something more neutral in its implications. Mr. Huntingford offers 'ritual expert' which is much nearer the mark and might well be generally adopted.) His description of the peculiar origin and formidable powers of the chief Nandi *Orkoiyot* is of great interest.

So also is the chapter on age sets in which he describes the Nandi method of initiating circumcision ceremonies at intervals of 15 years; the custom of using the end of each 15-year period to mark a change in the status of all male members of the tribe except those under 10 years of age; and the use of the 4-year circumcision period to determine the membership of the self-governing units of warriors which constituted the fighting forces of the tribe. In the light of the present situation in Kenya, Mr. Huntingford's account of the relation during the past 50 years between the Nandi war organization and the chief *Orkoiyot* merits close attention, which might further be usefully bestowed on his description of the control, exercised in the past, over young warriors from the time of circumcision to the age at which they were permitted to marry.

Mr. Huntingford has chosen to place at the beginning of his book a fine photograph of a young Nandi warrior and so to focus our attention on the growing point not only of the Nandi but of every tribe in Africa. Young Africans today, orphaned from the security of the traditional pattern of behaviour and the old tribal sanctions, face the future with a doubtful gaze. Their destiny might perhaps have been less unpredictable had investigators like Mr. Huntingford been in the field 50 years ago. As it is we must be grateful for his competence and insight and hope that his excellent matter and beguiling manner will bring him a wider audience than is usual for a work of this kind. K. C. SHAW

La Langue des Peuls ou Foulbé. *By H. Labouret. Mém. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Afr. Noire, No. 16. Dakar (I.F.A.N.), 1953. Pp. xi, 286. Price 1,600 francs metro.*

278 Previous books and articles on the language of the Fulani have dealt either with a single dialect or with certain limited features of grammar or phonetics. M. Labouret, while basing his manual mainly on the Senegalese dialect, Poular, as described by Gaden, has included much information on other dialects of French West Africa. His work well illustrates the basic grammatical unity underlying the many variations of vocabulary and grammatical forms found in the dialects.

Intended primarily as a manual for the Frenchman learning Fulani, the book appears excellent for this purpose, at any rate for Poular, though, as often, syntax receives insufficient attention. Variants occurring elsewhere are given wherever possible: but, Poular examples being more numerous and not necessarily valid for other dialects, it would not be safe to rely on this book alone as a textbook for other dialects, least of all those of Nigeria. But the clear presentation of the grammatical system would make a valuable introduction to the language. The comparativist will appreciate the inclusion of so much material in a single volume.

Besides the section on grammar there are short Fulani-French and French-Fulani vocabularies and a good collection of texts—a dozen or so from each of five dialect areas (Fouta Sénégalais, Fouta Djalon, Massina, Upper Volta and Niger Colony). These are annotated and translated into French. Apart from their value to the language student, some of them, describing local customs, will be of interest to the sociologist, who will also appreciate the short note on secret languages, or codes. D. W. ARNOTT

CORRESPONDENCE

Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 75, 122, 223

279 SIR,—May I add several quite distinct points to this stimulating discussion. A marked characteristic of recent social anthropology has been an increasing precision in the use of simple technical terms. Thus it has lately become clear that much past theorizing was in error simply through failure to make adequate category distinctions, *e.g.* as between marriage and cohabitation, polyandry and secondary marriage, incest and adultery. The stress that Dr. Schneider and Professor Gluckman have now placed upon the distinction between divorce and conjugal separation fits in with this general trend.

My first comment is that precision of statement, though highly desirable, does not always serve to clarify ethnographic facts, for the category mistakes of the anthropologist may well be shared by his informants. Thus the Kachins of North Burma share Professor

Evans-Pritchard's interest in the distinction between levirate and widow-inheritance, but, since Kachin succession disputes not infrequently turn on the nice legal point as to whether the children of an inherited wife (born after the decease of her first husband) are properly to be considered the children of the first husband or of the second, we cannot assert that the Kachin norm is either one rule or the other. We need to be careful that in refining our categories of analysis we do not impose an artificial rigidity upon material that is in fact flexible and capable of many different interpretations.

I would protest too at the current tendency to couple precision of terminology with extreme elasticity of definition. It is not so very long since the Africanists' lineages were all exogamous by definition, and I find it a trifle disconcerting to learn that Arab societies, with their relatively endogamous form of organization, 'have agnatic lineages of the Zulu-Nuer type'. Dare one ask what are the special characteristics of this comprehensive type? The fact that in Arab societies there is a preferred marriage with the girl in the next tent (the father's brother's daughter) is surely not wholly irrelevant to a discussion of the ease and frequency of divorce and conjugal separation. Is it helpful to ignore this factor simply by asserting that Zulu, Nuer and Arabs have lineages 'of the same type'?

My main point, however, is more positive. The discussion concerns three sets of variables: (*a*) marriage payments: high or low; (*b*) stability or instability; (*c*) marriage or divorce. Schneider and Gluckman between them have done a good deal to clarify the ambiguities inherent in previous arguments about (*b*) and (*c*), but so far (*a*) remains almost completely unanalysed. What is meant by a *high* marriage payment as opposed to a *low* one? Does *high* denote (*i*) numerous objects of one kind, (*ii*) numerous objects of different kinds, (*iii*) high total economic cost, (*iv*) a prolonged period of payment, (*v*) the involvement of numerous relatives? In Gluckman's argument the crucial sentence is 'the amount of goods transferred and the divorce rate tend to be directly associated.' As if this were not vague enough, it is immediately qualified: 'the amount of goods transferred . . . will obviously be influenced by factors extraneous to the kinship marriage complexes.' But what does this word 'amount' mean?

We are all surely agreed that marriage payments are in part 'symbolic acts,' but they are also undeniably economic costs and to that extent they serve to 'buy' something. It may well be that 'stability of marriage,' however defined, is one of the things that can so be bought, but to demonstrate this and to analyse out what such a statement might mean, it is clearly a prerequisite that the vague category 'marriage payments' be broken down into more precise sub-categories.

I would suggest that a relevant factorization might result from the following set of questions:

(1) Is the payment fixed or variable in kind or quantity?

(2) If variable does it vary with either the geographical or status distance embraced by the marriage?

(3) Are the goods concerned of the nature of consumer goods, capital goods or ritual symbols?

(4) Is economic labour—of man or woman—to be reckoned among the 'things transferred'?

(5) Are payments completed in a single transaction or are they extended over a long period?

I am not suggesting that these are the only relevant questions, but certainly, until they are considered, argument about whether marriage payments are or are not correlated with marriage stability becomes almost meaningless.

One final point. It was Professor Gluckman's original thesis that 'the frequency of divorce is an aspect of the durability of marriage as such, which in turn is a function of the kinship structure.' 'Kinship structure' in Professor Gluckman's hands may prove to be an elastic term: does it include domestic arrangements? There are both patrilineal and matrilineal societies in which a husband is never seen in the company of his wife and in which almost the whole of a woman's waking existence is spent in the company of other women and their children. I personally should have supposed that the conditions of such a life had far more bearing upon the 'stability of marriage' (however defined) than the question of whether the woman's children considered themselves descended from the woman's mother or her husband's father.

The whole problem is certainly very interesting but certainly it is also extremely complex!

E. R. LEACH
Faculty of Archæology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge

The One-Leg Resting Position. *Cf.* MAN, 1950, 64, 216; 1953, 95

280 SIR,—Professor A. P. Elkin's note on some Australian occurrences of the one-leg resting position (*cf.* MAN, 1953, 95) prompted me to embark upon a world-wide survey of both standing and sitting attitudes, a preliminary report on which I read at the December, 1953, meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Tucson, Arizona. The *Nilotenstellung* (which can be broken down into several subtypes) turned out to have both Southern Asiatic and American distributions in addition to the African and Australian instances previously reported.

Iran: Tehran athletes in a 'House of Strength,' illustrated in C. Singer and C. L. Baldrige, *Half the world is Isfahan*, Oxford, 1936, p. 43.

India: Bhilala (Central India), illustrated in W. Koppers, 'India and Dual Organization,' *Acta Tropica*, Vol. I (1944), p. 83.

Ceylon: Vedda, illustrated in G. Buschan (ed.), *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, Vol. II, Part 1, fig. 365. Perhaps this instance is spurious, since the individual is leaning against a tree, and the sole of the bent leg is not in contact with the opposite leg.

Santa Cruz Islands (Melanesia): illustrated in H. W. Krieger, 'Island Peoples of the Western Pacific,' *Smithsonian Institution War Background Series*, No. 16, Plate 18. The same reservation applies to this occurrence.

South America: Nambicuara (Plate 37) and Yecuana (Plate 108) illustrated in J. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. III (1948). The Yecuana photograph was reproduced from Koch-Grünberg, 1923.

Western North America: 'Men rest standing, one foot against knee,' reported but without pictures, for Eastern Navaho, Northern Tonto, San Carlos, Cibecue, Warm Springs, Huachuca Mountains, Mescalero, Lipan Apaches, Southern Ute (sometimes), Walpi (Hopi pueblo), Zuni, and Kikimai Papago, with the further note that Walpi men rest this way while hoeing, in E. W. Gifford, 'Culture Element Distributions: XII —Apache-Pueblo,' *University of California Anthropological Records* 4 : 1 (1940), p. 41. O. C. Stewart, in his Ute—Southern Paiute element list, same series, 6 : 4, 1942, p. 276, adds occurrences of this postural trait for the Goshute and all the Ute bands of Utah and Colorado. As yet, I have found no photographic evidence for these reports.

A more exhaustive search of the literature of ethnography and exploration would doubtless yield many more instances of this culturally determined habit. I hesitate to advance any elaborate explanation for the wide distribution of the one-leg resting stance, which perhaps no longer should be described as 'Nilotic.'

GORDON W. HEWES
Division of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.

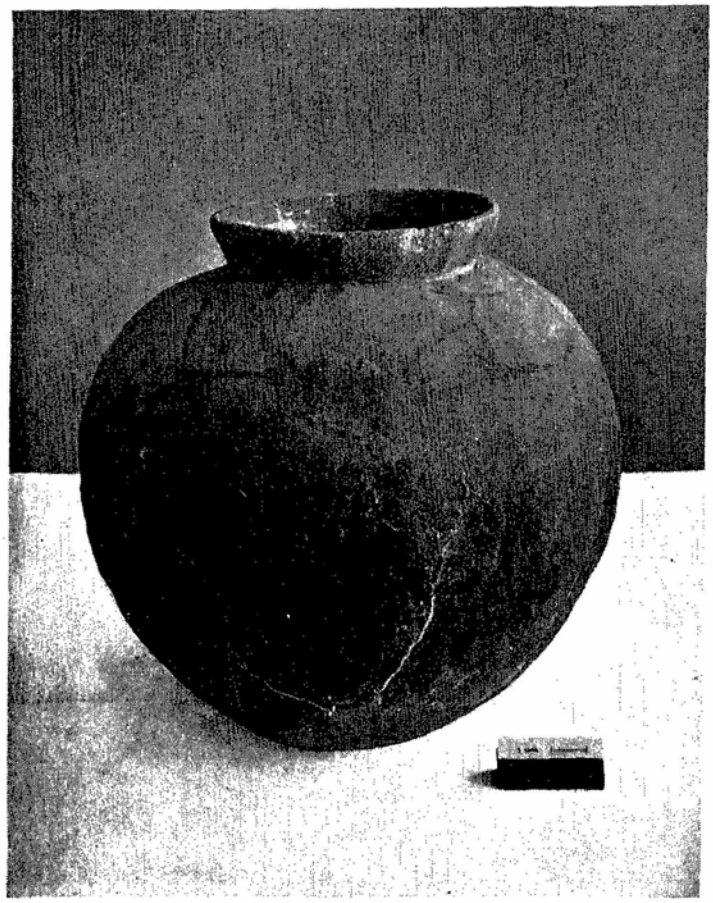
Webs of Fantasy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 152, 229

281 SIR,—I believe that a fantasy is something different from either an unsupported hypothesis or an invalid criticism. Modern social anthropologists know that Lord Raglan considers their criticism of certain diffusionist theories to be invalid. It is not quite so clear which of their hypotheses he considers to be unsupported. But if I am right in thinking that a fantasy is a representation of a specific situation which has no counterpart in observed fact, I should be interested to learn what examples Lord Raglan has in mind.

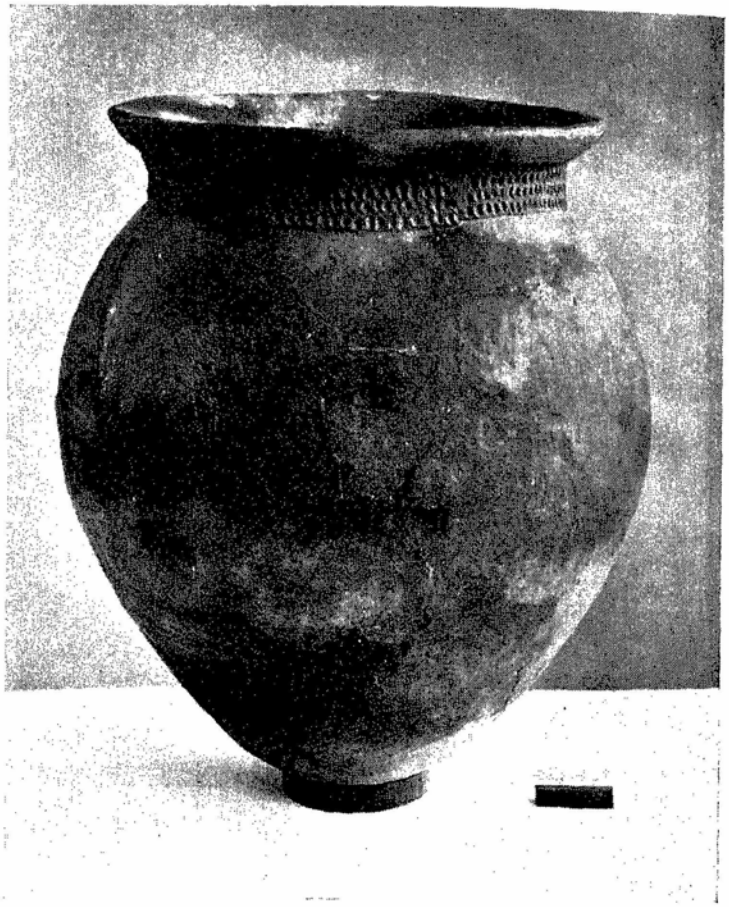
LUCY MAIR
London School of Economics and Political Science

A Correction. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 218

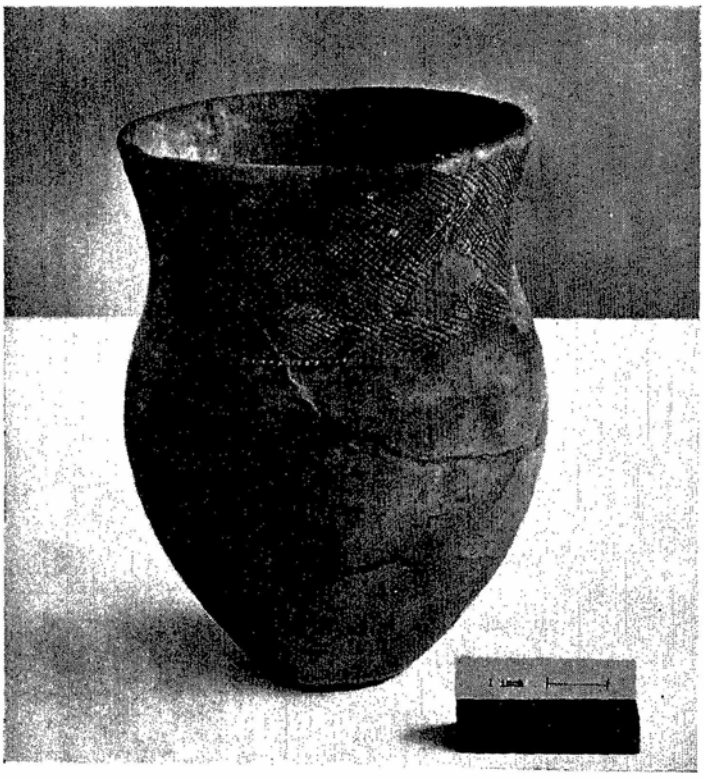
282 In the heading to the review of Max Weber's *The Religion of China*, it should have been mentioned that the London agents for this book are George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.



(*a*) *Vessel B*



(*b*) *Vessel C*



(*c*) *Beaker D*



(*d*) *Beaker E*

VESSELS AND BEAKERS FROM MUBENDE HILL, UGANDA

Reconstructed by the Uganda Museum

SOME VESSELS AND BEAKERS FROM MUBENDE HILL, UGANDA*

by

E. C. LANNING

283 Mubende is the name given to a massif nine miles in extent, which rises about 700 feet from the surrounding country to an average height of 5,000 feet; it is situated half-way between Kampala and Fort Portal. The District is named after the hill, and the administrative headquarters are to be found on the easternmost summit of the range.

In tradition the hill has always been spoken of as the headquarters of the Bachwezi invaders who, it is considered, entered south and west Uganda several centuries ago.

In May, 1952, I found sherds and animal bones in a road cutting at the District Headquarters. Excavations carried out in the area have shown an enormous number of potsherds. The sherds are concentrated over an area of about 12 acres. This area includes a place known to have been a centre of worship of the spirit of smallpox for centuries.

These notes deal only with pots which are described conveniently, under two headings, as vessels and beakers. I am thus making no reference to fumigators, funnels, beads and one bone implement also found in various excavations on this east summit of the hill.[1]

The Vessels

Apart from potsherds three almost complete vessels were uncovered. They were found within 15 feet of a giant forest tree.[2] Here the ground forms a sloping bank of about two to three feet.

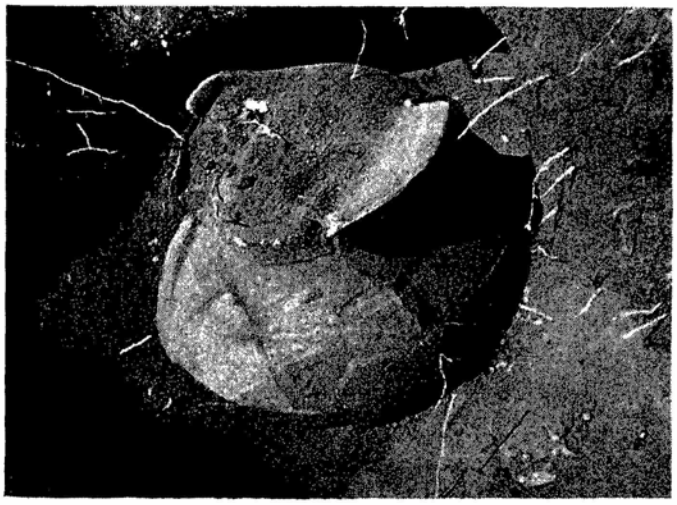


FIG. 1. VESSEL 'C' IN SITU, MUBENDE
Photograph: Mrs. M. J. Lanning

These vessels stood upright in the bank, in red soil beneath a 6-inch layer of soft laterite covered by 24 inches of top soil. Two vessels, *A* and *B* (fig. 2 and Plate N*a*), rested close to one another, on the same level. The third, *C* (Plate N*b*), of the same type as *A*, rested three feet away, closer to the tree where the slope of the bank levels out.

All three vessels were badly cracked, not only as a result of the pressure of earth, but through the action of roots which had broken through two of them. All three were found to be filled with earth and, after removal, the portions were sent to the Uganda Museum for restoration. Apart from soil the contents of the vessels were:

Vessel *A*: 1 cowrie shell, 7 small querns, a few fragments of apparently animal bones and a number of sherds forming no part of the main vessel.

Vessel *B*: nothing other than earth.

Vessel *C*: 2 cowrie shells, fragments of what appeared to be small animal and bird bones as well as numerous sherds forming no part of the main vessel.

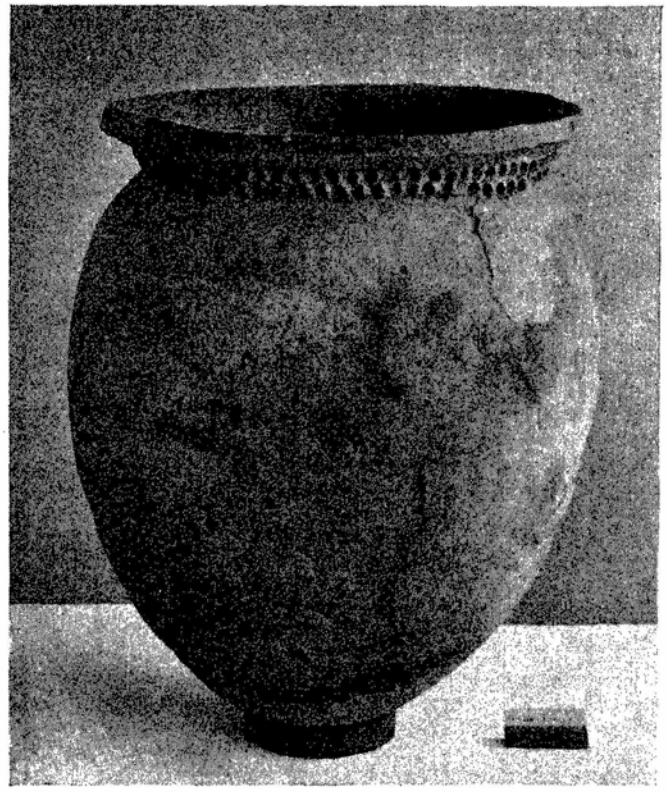


FIG. 2. VESSEL 'A' FROM MUBENDE
Reconstructed by Uganda Museum

The excavated area around the three vessels produced a large number of sherds bearing different decorative patterns. Some iron objects were also found among these various sherds.

Vessels *A* and *C* are approximately the same shape. Measurements of *C* are: height, 26⅝ inches, diameter of mouth, 19½ inches, maximum circumference, 73¾ inches.

* *With Plate N and two text figures*

Both vessels have round bases. A finger-tip motif covers the neck of each vessel.

This finger-tip decoration is rare in Uganda, though a number of sherds with variations of this design have been recovered from this same site. Only two other sites are known to have yielded such sherds: (*i*) Semwema Hill (15 miles north of Mubende Hill), 2 sherds[3]; (*ii*) Ntusi settlement (38 miles south of Mubende Hill), 1 sherd.[4]

I have been informed by Mrs. Leakey that, in Kenya, this style of decoration is fairly general amongst pottery from a number of different sites as well as in dimple-based pottery.

Vessel *B* (Plate N*a*) is a large globular pot, height, 16 inches, diameter of mouth, 8½ inches, maximum circumference, 50¾ inches. The base is round. The rim is encircled by a rouletted design. In addition, three smears of a dark red paint have been applied on one part of the rim only, probably by means of extended fingers.

Mrs. Leakey has advised me that the rouletted decoration in Kenya is the most usual motif from Gumban *B* onwards and is, in fact, used by various tribes today.

In Uganda, the additional use of a smear decoration in paint is known from three sites only. Sherds so decorated have been recovered from (*i*) Semwema Hill, dark red paint only, (*ii*) Mubende Hill, dark red, brown, black and a dark blue paint, (*iii*) Ntusi settlement, dark red and black paint.

The Beakers

Subsequently, I came across a number of scattered sherds in an overgrown and disused murram pit to the south of the area discussed so far, *i.e.* 255 feet in a straight line from where the three vessels had been found earlier. These fragments seemed to belong together and on being assembled for reconstruction by the Uganda Museum were found to form two beakers (Plate N*c*,*d*).

It appears to me that both beakers had been accidentally dislodged by road-menders during past digging operations and had probably been damaged in the process. Numerous sherds and a complete bowl[5] (daubed with large red spots) were later recovered from and around this pit.

Measurements of the larger of the two beakers, *D*, are: height, 9¾ inches, diameter of mouth, 7⅜ inches, maximum circumference, 24 inches.

Little can be said of these beakers except to call attention to their form and the flat bases. Such bases were unknown in Uganda at the date of discovery and are certainly not in use in present-day Uganda. I have been unable to find any reference in literature to the flat base in Uganda, in either modern or prehistoric specimens.

I am informed by Mrs. Leakey, with regard to Kenya, and by Mr. Arkell, with regard to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, that the same style of decoration occurs frequently among the dimple-base pots from Nyanza Province, and can perhaps be paralleled in the Sudan too.

Conclusion

The pots discussed above have no counterpart in Uganda. Certain features can be traced in specimen sherds from the settlement site south of the Katonga river and the earthworks on the south and the north banks of the same river, extending northwards for at least 50 miles. All sites within this area, of which, according to tradition, Mubende Hill takes first place in importance, share in the belief of their occupation by the incursionary Bachwezi.

It is for further excavation to throw light on the origin and use of these vessels and beakers.

Notes

[1] Most of these finds have been presented to the Uganda Museum.

[2] *Pterygota sp. nov.* (*Sterculiaceæ*). It is noteworthy that W. J. Eggeling in his *Indigenous Trees of the Uganda Protectorate* refers in particular to the Mubende Witch Tree which he records, is known as *ndaula* in Lunyoro, Mubende dialect. This is also the name given to the god of smallpox. With regard to the age of the tree, Mr. I. R. Dale, Deputy Chief Conservator of Forests, Uganda, has said—'As an intelligent guess I estimate the tree to be 350 to 400 years old. The maximum age of such a tree I put at 500 years' (personal communication, 1954).

A fourth vessel, apparently similar in shape to *A* and *C*, was recovered in 1953 in the vicinity of the site of the three vessels under discussion. This vessel was complete except for the rim of which there was no trace (Uganda Museum).

[3] Uganda Museum.

[4] British Museum. There are in addition in the British Museum collection two sherds from Luzira which have similar impressions. It has been suggested that these particular impressions are likely to have been made with the use of a flat round-ended spatula.

[5] Uganda Museum.

THE ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN SETTLEMENT IN FIJI*

by

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284 Indians[1] first came to Fiji in 1879 as labourers indentured to work on the developing sugar-cane plantations. During the period until 1920, when the indenture system was abolished, 62,837 men and women came to Fiji, of whom 24,655 were repatriated under the terms of the contract.[2] At present Indians number 143,332 of the Colony's total population of 301,954,[3] and over 90 per cent. have been born in Fiji. Indians and Fijians live apart in the rural areas, each with their distinct forms of territorial settlement and social relations. It is thus possible to isolate the Indian settlement pattern for analysis.

* *With two text figures and four tables*

Most Indian settlements measure about one or one-and-a-half miles square and contain about 500 people. The pattern of settlement is of a non-nuclear kind. We find no discrete group of houses surrounded by open or cultivated land. Instead, each homestead stands in the middle of the block of land leased, though there are small concentrations of population in the vicinity of a shop or rice mill, a ford in the river, or around some other natural feature, such as higher ground where floods are prevalent. The reason for this is that formerly each man, as he reached the end of his period of indenture, leased a block of land from its Fijian owners. The selection of the block was a matter of individual choice, based largely on the fertility of the land and its nearness to a road or the market town. For it must be stressed that Indians came to Fiji as individuals; there are very few cases of groups of kinsmen being indentured together, or of fellow villagers migrating together to Fiji. According to informants, the pattern of settlement which grew up was thus 'haphazard' both in that people of all castes and religions from different parts of India came to live in nearby leases, and in that it depended on the varying size and position of the leases.

The scattered nature of the settlement, often with long distances between adjacent homesteads, is also conditioned by the environment. The countryside often contains creeks which rise rapidly in the rainy season and are then impassable for several hours at least. Roads within the settlement are rare, and there remain paths which may often be seas of mud in the wet weather of three or four months annually. In one settlement, for instance, it was sometimes easier for some householders to go to the town, six miles away, by bus, than to wade rivers and go to the shop on the other side of their own settlement.

We see that there is a close connexion between the type of people who came to Fiji, and the way in which they settled in an area. If Indians had been recruited in large kin groups, or at least from the same districts, it is possible that nuclear settlements would have been set up, mirroring the type of village left behind. Since, however, there appears to have been little feeling of community or communal responsibility—beyond the varying affection between shipmates—a scattered settlement grew up. This type of settlement still exists in Fiji, and the rural cane-growing areas cannot have changed greatly in appearance since the end of indenture, save perhaps for a greater overall density of population. But the types of homesteads have changed considerably, and so has the social connexion between them. For homestead inhabitants may now be linked by kin ties which did not formerly exist, and the settlements tend to be divided into wards, comprising several homesteads forming an extended kin group.

In the terms that I use, the word 'homestead' denotes any spatially discrete compound of houses. 'Household' will mean a group of people living in the same homestead and sharing a common budget in which there is only one male adult wage-earner or, if there is another, he is an unmarried youth. A 'joint household' denotes a group having a common kitchen and a single budget, but more than one adult male wage-earner. Finally, when a group of adult male wage-earners lives in a single homestead but has separate kitchens and budgets, it will be said to form a 'house group.' None of these terms implies any reference to kinship ties within the homesteads; for homesteads may include men who have no kin ties with the other inhabitants. Generally speaking, however, each type of homestead corresponds to a particular kinship unit. The elementary family goes with the household, and the extended family can either be organized jointly in a joint household, or with separate budgets in a house group. In Table 1 are listed the main types of homestead in three settlements.[4]

TABLE 1

Type	*Settlement*			*Total*
	Vunioki	*Delanikoro*	*Naboulima*	
Household . .	40	37	47	124
Joint household .	15	14	21	50
House group . .	8	3	11	22
Total . .	63	54	79	196

These figures show that the types of homestead are fairly uniformly distributed. The only major difference is the relative lack of house groups in Delanikoro. This can be related to variations in climate and housing. Delanikoro is in a part of Fiji with a much heavier rainfall than the other two settlements. Because of this, more houses are built of rain-resisting corrugated iron, containing all sleeping and cooking accommodation under one roof. In the other settlements the climate allows several one-roomed thatched huts to be built around an open compound which does not flood in the wetter weather.[5] It is clearly less easy to make a separate kitchen and yet remain together in a single iron house than it is when all that has to be done is to build a new thatched house in a compound of several separate houses. If there is a family division in Delanikoro, then, people tend to build an entirely new house for themselves and, at the same time, to build it apart from the one they are leaving. Two households are thereby formed, rather than the single house group.

Table 1 shows that the majority of homesteads are simple households. It must be remembered, however, that many of the households contain only elementary families, while each house group has numerous inhabitants. Table 2

TABLE 2

Type	*Settlement*			*Total*
	Vunioki	*Delanikoro*	*Naboulima*	
*Household** . .	234	221	312	767
Joint household .	169	184	209	562
House group . .	111	52	157	320
Total . .	514	457	678	1,649

* *Including households of single people*

gives the number of inhabitants for each type of homestead.

Table 2 shows that those who live in the household type of homestead are, in fact, in an overall minority, though they comprise the largest residential category. What is the internal organization of the more complex types of homestead? Table 3 shows the kinship pattern for the adult male inhabitants of the joint households and house groups alone.

TABLE 3

Type	*Settlement*					
	Vunioki		*Delanikoro*		*Naboulima*	
	No.	*Pop.*	*No.*	*Pop.*	*No.*	*Pop.*
Joint households of agnates	13	150	12	170	17*	177
Joint households of affines	1	14	2	14	3	25
Joint households of no kin ties	1	5	—	—	1	8
House groups of agnates	3	52	1	29	8	125
House groups of affines	4	53	2	23	2	21
House groups of no kin ties	1	6	—	—	1	10
Total	23	280	17	236	32	366

* *One of these joint households is composed of uterine kin.*

Different possibilities of both types are represented. Thus, agnates include brothers together and a father and his sons; affinal groups contain two brothers-in-law or a man with his daughter's husband. Several homesteads fall between the various types. Thus, there is a house group of a man with his married son as well as his daughter's husband. These cases have been treated on their merits, taking into account the relative status of the inhabitants. In the above example, the son was young and only recently married, whereas the son-in-law was older with a large family of his own, and the homestead was thus classified as a group of affinally related kin.

In the settlement, Table 3 indicates, these two more complex types of homestead are primarily composed of agnates; few men go to live with their affines in such close association. In both types of homestead there are those people who have no kin ties to link them. This is usually the result of indenture. Older men who were companions at that period may still live together, or sometimes a family will be aided in work by a single India-born man—often single because the shortage of women during and immediately after indenture meant an enforced bachelorhood for some men. None of these homesteads were formed of Fiji-born people alone, and the type will probably cease to exist as the India-born die out.

Homesteads are thus small territorial units containing kinsfolk for the most part. There are also wider areas of kin groups in the settlement. Thus, a majority of the men of the 63 homesteads in Vunioki can be arranged in three groups, defined not only by cognatic but also by affinal ties, and occupying roughly discrete wards of the settlement. An example of such a group is given in fig. 1, simplified by the omission of all children and those who have moved away from the settlement.

As will be noted, the group goes back no more than three generations. There are India-born people still alive, and the child in homestead 7 represents the fourth generation. I never recorded a group whose India-born founders had been linked by previous kin ties in India. An observer

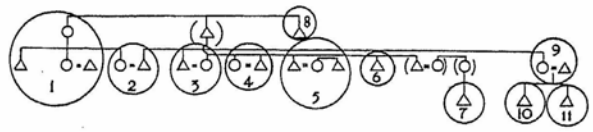


FIG. 1

Homesteads are shown by circles.

returning in 50 years' time might find a large number of agnatically related homesteads, but only 75 years after the start of immigration these ties have hardly yet developed.

These wider kin groupings are limited by endogamy, based on principles of religion and caste, and place of origin in India. Hence, in any single settlement there will be several such groups corresponding to the number of bases for endogamy. Table 4 shows the relative sizes of the main extended kin groups in two settlements, and indicates endogamous groupings. Though inter-religious and inter-caste matches occur, people in rural settlements prefer to avoid them if a good match can be made within the caste. Some castes have insufficient representation in Fiji to remain endogamous, however, and economic or other considerations may play their part in the decisions of others to cross caste lines. The children of such inter-caste unions belong to the father's caste. The Sudra, Kshatriya and other kin groups shown in Table 4 are thus not entirely endogamous, though more marriages take place within the groups than outside them. Even when there is inter-caste marriage, however, it is kept within the three main cultural groups of Muslims, Hindus from North India, and those from the South. Only among the educated urban class are these boundaries crossed to a significant extent, and the Table also shows these more rigidly endogamous units.

Table 4 shows that Vunioki contains three large groups of related homesteads, corresponding to the main groups of Northerners, Southerners and Muslims. Together, they total 36 of the 63 homesteads, and 308 of the 514 people. Similarly, in Delanikoro, there are three large groups—not including Muslims here—the Southerners, the Sudras and the Kshatriyas. Together, these groups total only 25 of the 53 homesteads, but have 279 of the settlement's total population of 457. There has been a natural tendency for enlarging groups to occupy a discrete area of the settlement. Thus, sons who split from their father's joint household will often settle nearby, and so may affines who come to live in the settlement. Further, men of the same endogamous group also tend to settle nearer each other, even when they are not related. Thus the pattern of settlement, at first an

almost random grouping of unrelated men of all backgrounds, is now more of a pattern of wards, each occupied by a different extended kin group and perhaps some other

TABLE 4

Group		Settlement			
		Vunioki		Delanikoro	
		Homestead	Pop.	Homestead	Pop.
Hindu:					
Southerners (Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam)	*group A*	11	93	12	139
	*others**	2	16	5	25
Northerners (Sanatan Dharm, or orthodox)	*Sudras A*	13	111	7	81
	Sudras B	5	25	—	—
	*others**	13	106	7	41
	Kshatriyas A	—	—	6	59
	Kshatriyas B	—	—	4	30
	Brahmins	—	—	3	29
Northerners (Arya Samaj, reformed)	*Kshatriyas*	2	34	—	—
Muslim: (mostly Northerners and Sunnis)	*group A*	12	104	3	24
	group B	3	18	—	—
	*others**	2	7	3	17
Sikh		—	—	3	12
Total		63	514	53	457

* *By 'others' are meant people comprising many small kin groups. I have made only the most general caste classification into* varna, *because a more detailed appraisal of these castes as* jat *is not necessary here.*

members of the endogamous cultural unit. Distribution charts show this tendency in all settlements studied, and an example is given in the accompanying map (fig. 2).[6]

To conclude, my data have shown that the territorial organization of Fiji Indians reflects an emerging pattern of social groups. The early settlement pattern can be correlated with the lack of kin ties, and called 'atomistic.' Groups have thereafter emerged at two levels. The first is that of the homestead—a territorial unit which can be classified into types by criteria of economic and kinship organization. Second, there is the ward, also of a discrete territorial nature, and correlated to correspondingly wider social groupings. It is significant to note that agnatic, cognatic and affinal ties are all used to define the kin ties in homestead and ward. This is partly, no doubt, because in the early stages of settlement there were only affinal ties present, and they are still regarded as important along with more recently evolved kin links. But it may also be explained by the fact that the settlement is divided into endogamous groups. Any kin tie that defines these groups is acceptable, and affinal links meet this criterion. There are, of course,

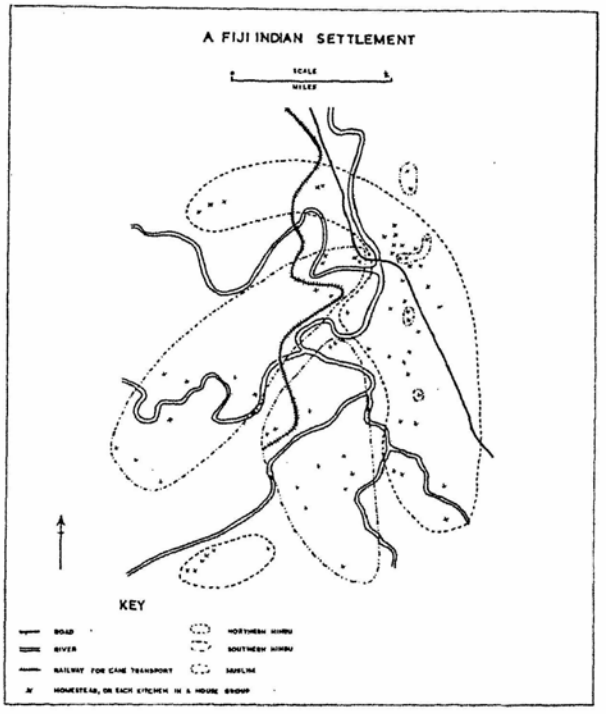


FIG. 2

cultural differences which support endogamy—caste, religion, language, for example. Recognition by Fiji Indians of the importance of these differences is a reason for the emergence of wards, and supplements kinship as a basis for patterns of territorial organization.

Notes

1 By 'India' is meant the whole sub-continent, whether now India or Pakistan. Similarly, the term 'Indian' is used to denote those descended from inhabitants of the entire sub-continent.

2 R. A. Derrick, *The Fiji Islands*, Suva, 1951, p. 138.

3 *Fiji* 1951. *Colonial Reports*, London, 1953, p. 10.

4 The settlements have been given fictitious names.

5 For instance, Vunioki consists of 115 thatched and 44 iron houses; Delanikoro has 45 thatched and 46 iron houses, and of its 54 homesteads 29 are composed of a single iron house.

6 For diagrammatic clarity the settlement with the least interdigitation of cultural groups has been chosen, though all settlements studied show the tendency to some degree.

SHORTER NOTES

Ordeal by Fire : An Eyewitness Account. *A note by D. W. Ravenhill, A.M.Inst.C.E.*

285 Mr. Ravenhill has communicated to the Hon. Editor the following account, written from detailed notes which he made at the time, of an incident which he witnessed on 29 June, 1924, when he was a Civil Engineer on the Bengal and North-Western Railway.

One hot afternoon on my way to my home in Chupra (in Bihar, India), I saw not far from the road a group of Indians standing by a large fire at the side of a grove of mango trees. Something about it struck me as strange, so much so that I walked over and enquired what they were doing. They told me that a woman was accused of unfaithfulness by her husband and that to prove her innocence she was going to carry a red-hot iron on her hands without it burning them.

She had to carry it seven paces, the paces being marked by lines on the bare earth. The woman sat a little apart, mute and resolute. I could not be shown the iron just then as it was in the fire still being heated.

After some time an oldish man who seemed to be master of the ceremonies told the woman to kilt her skirt, and she shortened it to knee length. He led her to the starting point, the first of the marked paces, and spread *ghi* (clarified butter) on her upturned palms. He told her to keep her thumbs well down and he placed on her hands a few banyan leaves which he tied in place with coarse country cotton.

Two of the Indians then raked the iron out of the fire. It was a heavy knife, some 18 inches long and nearly two inches wide and glowing red hot. They picked it up on two twigs but they burnt through and the iron fell before they could place it on her out-stretched hands, and the men had to skip out of the way to avoid getting it on their bare feet. Twice this happened and it must have been nerve-racking for the woman, but she showed no sign of flinching. At last they got it on to her hands. The leaves must have burnt through instantly but she stepped out steadily one, two, three, four, five paces. Then, I suppose, the pain became unbearable, for with a convulsive movement of her arms she shot the iron far ahead, and leaping forward at the same time she reached the seventh mark before the iron touched the ground. I was afraid she had failed, but we all examined her hands and saw that there was no burn or mark on them. Only on her wrists were there slight burns where the iron had touched them when she shot her arms forward. And the Indians present decided that she had passed the ordeal successfully and had proved her innocence. I suppose that the *ghi* on her hands had a good deal to do with no burn being apparent.

She was a Kanjar, a very low caste. How low can be imagined from the fact that a few days later I saw her husband carrying a stick with half a dozen large lizards dangling from it, and he was taking these lizards home to eat!

A Note on Left-Sided Ploughs. *By Robert Aitken*

286 The existence of a large area in south-west Europe—in southern Languedoc, eastern Gascony, eastern Guyenne and the Ampurdan (Spain)[1]—in which a left-sided plough, *i.e.* a plough with mouldboard on the left side turning a furrow towards the left, is or has been very common raises the question of the significance of left-sidedness and its relation to direction in ploughing patterns.

When working with a left-sided plough which has a single handle, as most recorded ploughs of this kind have, the ploughman must either hold the plough with the left hand or walk in the furrow. If it may be assumed that no ploughman walks voluntarily in the furrow, the first suggestion appears to be that such ploughs occur naturally among people who prefer the left-hand hold.

At first sight, the *cas chrom*, the 'Celtic spade' of Scotland, the *loy* of western Ireland and other such implements, each held in the left hand and provided with a foot-rest on the right side, to turn the sod over to the left, seemed analogous to the left-sided plough. But I now think that these implements, unlike the traction plough, are more properly to be described as 'right-foot' than as 'left-hand' implements. The mode of holding the spade was, nevertheless, one of the tests in the B.B.C. enquiry (Television, October, 1953) into left-handedness, under the auspices of a psychologist, such traits being considered (*a priori*?) as individual and psychological. Can a trait with regional distribution, however, be psychological? It can hardly be individual. I suspect that Clark Wissler, unless I have misunderstood him, would have ascribed such a 'functional motor difference' with such a distribution to a historical cause (*Amer. Anthrop.*, N.S., Vol. XVI, 3, 1914, pp. 494ff.).

But there are other considerations to be taken into account. When a left-sided plough is used, 'gathering,' *i.e.* ploughing around and towards a central line as crown of a ridge, must be a counter-clockwise process, and 'cleaving,' *i.e.* ploughing from the periphery inwards, turning the sods away from a central line left as open furrow, must be a clockwise process, the opposite directions respectively from those followed by a right-sided plough. Now gathering and cleaving, although commonly combined in ploughing patterns today, to economize movement or avoid sharp turns, may be assumed to have been kept apart when the asymmetric plough first appeared in any area, one or other being either the sole process used or, at least, the primary (used, that is, in first breaking up).

We have therefore three possible preferences to take into account: for right or left hand to hold the plough; for clockwise or counter-clockwise direction as sole or primary direction of ploughing; for ploughing outward from the centre of a strip or inward from its periphery. One must bear in mind, however, that any one of these preferences may override the others or that all may be overridden by external considerations. The 'shifting ear' and similar principles which make 'one-way' ploughing possible have made much headway although the ploughman must now use his right and left hand in alternate courses to avoid a furrow heavier under foot than with the symmetrical plough. In many districts, the convenience of 'one-way' ploughing, which leaves levels undisturbed, must override right or left hand preferences. An interesting case is perhaps the counter-clockwise movement of the Roman *circumductio*, if due to the overriding consideration (always in the same order of ritual ideas) that the right and *outer* side was proper for the bull, the left and *inner* side for the cow.[2]

As a layman in matters of ethnography, I write to ask for: first, competent opinions on the significance of left-sidedness (one tends to assume that a trait which is mappable must have some significance); secondly, the favour of any data known to readers of MAN, associating a left-sided plough with any other feature, whether one of those indicated above or not.

To turn now to what is already known. In the large area spoken of above, left-sidedness appeared when the share beam of a wooden plough (until then symmetrical?) was cut in half-arrow shape and fitted with a dowelled mouldboard on its left wing, the name *mousse*, or cognate, designating this combination; the plough was, and still is, drawn here by oxen or cows controlled by a single ploughman with goad.

If we knew the true source of a comment on the '*araire à la mousse*' attributed by Moll (*Encycl.*, 1859, *s.v.* '*Arau*') to Olivier de Serres (but it is not in his *Théatre*, 1600), we might be nearer to knowing the date when this happened, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. There may have been a focus of diffusion in southern Languedoc, where the intensity of left-sidedness is best vouched for—it appears in over 90 per cent of a large sample of asymmetric ploughs in the early factory period—but the earliest documentary evidence comes from the Gascon archives (1798), and Gascony had certainly an asymmetric plough, right-sided or left, much earlier, perhaps even in 1729. Some at least of the high Pyrenean valleys were unaffected, the word *musa* arriving at Fabian with a *right*-sided metal plough. Everywhere else in its extensive European domain, except in Lombardy where a single board on the right was introduced, the wooden plough of this type was adapted, if at all, to turning a furrow, on a 'shifting ear' principle.

Space forbids more than a mere mention of other localities of western Europe for which left-sided ploughs have been authentically recorded: in the nineteenth century, Heidelberg, Upper Alsace, central Belgium, Thomar (Portugal), all wooden ploughs; in this century, Pays de Dombes (wooden), Basses-Alpes,

Charente Maritime, Deux Sèvres, Périgord, Liège (metal), also Riom (Grisons), Tory Island (unconfirmed) and 'hilly districts' (unspecified) of west Britain (factory plough).

Evidence for associated practices is meagre and, so far as it goes, contradictory. Thus, while the Périgord ploughman was said to have had a left-hand hold at the end of last century, three early documents say explicitly that the right hand was used in the Gers (east Gascony) where the left-sided plough had a foot-rest on the left for overtreading. Moreover, in the sixteenth century, Pieter Brueghel the Elder depicted ('Fall of Icarus') a ploughman holding a left-sided plough (*cf.* R. Visscher, (*Sinnepoppen*, 1614, fig. 3, p. 3) with his right hand and jay-walking over the furrow.

So far as direction of ploughing is concerned, it appears that, to the south of Auch, counter-clockwise 'gathering' is the primary or sole system used, while in the Segre valley, where the left-sided plough came in some 50 years ago from Puigcerdá, clockwise ploughing from the periphery inwards precedes the other. But the tendency to work inwards in this way seems to be widespread in Spain: Cascón complained that, 20 years after the traditional plough of the Tierra de Campos had been displaced by a right-sided plough from abroad, cleaving (*hendiendo*) was the *only* method of ploughing used, and in southern Huelva today my friend Sr. Joaquín Caballero tells me that it always precedes gathering. It is notable also that Moll (*Encycl.*, 1864, *s.v.* '*Labour*'), although insisting that cleaving must be followed by gathering and *vice versa*, himself in fact described cleaving (*fendre*) first.

Finally, while, as one might expect in the light of the third paragraph above, no left-sided plough has been recorded in British areas of left-hand-*plus*-right-foot implements, we find this association in the Bas-Quercy (Meyer, *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, Vol. VI, 1933, p. 102). Can Tory Island perhaps match this?

Notes

[1] For detailed information about this area I rely largely on unpublished or inaccessible material kindly supplied by Mme Delamarre, joint author of *L'Homme et la Charrue;* M. H. Polge, Keeper of the Gascon archives at Auch; Sr. R. Violant y Simorra, ethnologist, of Barcelona; and Professor W. D. Elcock, of Westfield College, London.

[2] *Cf* Cato ap. Servium, *Æn.*, V, 755, and Varro, L. L., V, 32. The counter-clockwise direction cannot be inferred from Cato ap. Isidorum Hisp., *Etym.*, XV, 2.

REVIEWS

AMERICA

Les Civilisations Précolombiennes. *By H. Lehmann. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1953. Pp. 128*

287 This book forms one of a popular series of small size, and the illustrations are limited to 18 line drawings, some of them not as good as they might be, and three maps. These two factors are a severe handicap, and the task of producing a balanced summary of the pre-Columbian civilizations in these circumstances must have been an exacting and tedious one, needing a thoroughly sound knowledge of the field. No one is better fitted to do this than Dr. Lehmann, who is in charge of the American collections in the Musée de l'Homme, and has lived and worked in Latin America and travelled widely there. Some references in the book are to things and places which we have seen together.

Within the limits imposed, Dr. Lehmann has produced an instructive, readable and generally accurate account, though for some reason which I do not understand he has ignored almost all the results of radio-carbon dating, and the book is to this extent out of date. It also contains some statements which specialists will disagree with, but it is not meant for them and it would be inappropriate to criticize it in detail here.

This is the first general summary of American archæology to be published in France since 1913, and the picture has changed completely since then. An English translation, suitably amended and very much better illustrated, would supply a need in this country.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Metals from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza, Yucatan. *By S. K. Lothrop (with sections by S. C. Root and T. Proskouriakoff, and appendix by W. Harvey). Mem. Peabody Mus., Vol. X, No. 2 (1952). Pp. x, 139. Price $10*

288 This Memoir of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology is to be welcomed not only for its excellent presentation of the metals from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza, but also for the analyses and discussion of metals from other parts of America. Of the scope of the work we may say that not only is the background of the Cenote metals, metallurgy and metallurgical processes very adequately treated; but a sketch is given of metals in the United States and of the metallurgy of Arizona, New Mexico, and northern Mexico. The Cenote metal objects are described (with admirable illustrations which, in the majority of cases, are shaded line drawings of clarity and really useful size) under the following headings: objects of sheet gold; artifacts of gilded sheet copper; artifacts of cast copper; objects of cast gold. Appendix I gives the metallographic examination of gilded sheet copper and wire-like bells. Appendix II is on metallurgical tools and materials. The whole work is very fully referenced, and of particular value are the numerous tables of analyses.

The wide variation in composition of the metals treated renders their study at first sight somewhat complex. However, the author adopts a classification into four major groups. An obvious primary division is of course made from the evidence as to whether the metal has been hammered and cut to shape or has been cast. For the Cenote metals we find hammered specimens of gold and of gilded copper, and also cast specimens of gold and copper. *Cire perdue* casting was much practised. It would be interesting to know to what extent more conventional mould casting, as practised in the Old World, was used. For instance, how were the copper celts cast? Of a number of tables of analyses of gold, Table III shows that Mexican gold may contain a large amount of silver, but there is much variation between specimens, and the author rightly points out that the analyses should be used with extreme caution in determining the source of individual objects. There is need for more analyses before any serious measure of grouping or averages can be obtained. The analyses make it clear that the metals were derived from various sources. Concerning copper, this metal may be of high purity. For instance, we find analyses of copper objects from Oaxaca (Table IV), in which the specimens are over 99 per cent. pure copper. While it is of course dangerous to argue from the aspect of purity alone, surely this copper is at least in part derived from the native metal. Here the section upon the metallurgy of Arizona, New Mexico and Northern Mexico, with the accompanying analyses, will be read with interest. Alloys dealt with include copper-tin, copper-lead, and gold-copper. The gold-copper alloy (*tumbaga*), has the practical advantage of a lower melting point than either gold or copper. If it can be made as hard as bronze by cold hammering (p. 14), a Brinell hardness figure, and particulars of the bronze to which it is compared, would have been of interest to complete the data given.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to a discussion of the objects made from sheet and cast gold, which were numerous and important. Concerning the preparation of the sheet metal, the author points out (p. 28) that while ductile metals such as gold, silver and copper may be altered in form by hammering them upon an anvil, the hammering not only shapes certain metals, but hardens them and sets up internal stresses which cause brittleness. Further,

cold hammering would merely crack the material and so spoil the workpiece. Hence, until annealing was discovered, nuggets of native metal could not be radically altered, and could certainly not be shaped into thin plates suited to the sheet-metal worker. Old World prehistory would indicate that the knowledge of annealing must be almost as old as man's use of copper. No doubt the discovery of annealing was due to the application of the 'fire test' to an unsatisfactory piece of material (copper or gold), and observation of the result. Metallurgical research upon some of our oldest copper artifacts should give interesting results in this connexion. Again, under 'Properties of Copper' (p. 74), it is stated that annealing cannot be detected by eye, and it is necessary to employ hardness tests or microscopic examination of sections. This is of course true, but the skilled metal-beater, today as in prehistoric times, can feel the metal hardening under his hammer. He knows, perhaps almost by instinct, when the appropriate time has come to anneal or re-anneal his metal.

Does not the statement (p. 16) that 'copper alloyed with more than 0·1 per cent. of lead is unworkable' require modification? One would not expect difficulty in working until at least 1·0 per cent. of lead was exceeded.

As so often in so-called primitive metallurgical operations, stone tools found an important place. Fig. 113 illustrates certain Peruvian metal-workers' tools, including six stone hammers. It is stated (p. 120) that these hammers weigh from one to 36 ounces, and that for the most part they are beautifully finished with a texture like ivory. Although chronologically and geographically so widely separated, these Peruvian tools afford useful support to the theory that many of our finely polished European and Asiatic hammers, so often dismissed as 'ceremonial,' are in fact to be associated with the craft of the gold-beater or 'fine' metal-worker.

It is difficult to find anything to criticize in this work, but for those interested in the actual technique of manufacture we may perhaps say that some more detailed discussion of the methods used in casting and sheet-metal work would have been welcome. In conclusion, I express the hope that we may some day see memoirs of this kind published by our own museums. While we must remember the excellent manuals published by our national, and other, museums, and the very valuable series of Occasional Papers produced by the Pitt Rivers Museum, there remains need of works to deal with the origin and evolution of the metals in this country. It is now time that the hitherto scattered research upon British metals should be co-ordinated, and the geological and metallurgical problems, as yet scarcely touched, should receive due attention on a regional or, better, a national basis. H. H. COGHLAN

Urnas de Oaxaca. *By Alfonso Caso and Ignacio Bernal. Mem. del Inst. de Antrop. e Hist., II. Inst. Nac. de Hist., S.E.P., Mexico,* 1952. *Pp.* 389, 527 *illus.*

289 These two distinguished specialists have collaborated to produce a monumental study of the so-called Zapotec funerary urns which are so characteristic and striking a feature of the ceramics found in and around the valleys of Oaxaca, and which were made continuously from Period I of Monte Alban to the time of the Spanish conquest. The authors have made the most patient and searching study of the apparel and adornment of the deities both male and female portrayed on the urn. By means of an exhaustive comparison of the urns and of a comparison with the representation of the deities on figurines, whistles and other objects, they have formed a classification consisting of 11 groups and sub-groups which supply with admirable clarity the most invaluable information concerning the Zapotec pantheon. Following Linné's establishment of cultural relationships between the Zapotecs and other Meso-american centres, Caso and Bernal have been able to demonstrate it in one important case, namely, the '*Dios del Moño en al tocado,*' with the mask of a god to be found on the so-called 'Temple of Quetzalcoatl at Teótihuacan.'

Of special interest is the matter concerning those urns which bear the figure of an '*acompañante.*' These figures are portrayed without any of the symbolical adornment which is often so elaborate in the case of the portrayal of the gods. The exact purpose of these urns still remains a mystery which the authors have not been able to elucidate as unfortunately those urns which are strictly funerary have not been found to contain any object whatever.

Urnas de Oaxaca is a beautifully produced book containing a very large number of illustrations and several finely coloured plates. In short it is a masterly study and a work of the highest order carried out by two of the most eminent scholars in this field of American archæology. IRWIN BULLOCK

Florentine Codex: General History of the Kings of Spain, by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: Book 2, The Ceremonies. *By Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. Monog. Sch. Amer. Res., No.* 14, *Part III. Santa Fé, New Mexico,* 1950. *Pp.* 216, 11 *plates*

290 **Códice Xolotl.** *By Charles E. Dibble. Publ. del Inst. de Hist., Ser. I, No.* 22, *Mexico City,* 1951. *Pp.* 123, 20 *plates*

These two volumes form a welcome addition to the increasing flow of original texts now becoming available in the field of Americanistics, thus making it possible for a more precisely scientific approach to be made to the large number of problems still inviting and awaiting solution. The object of the two scholars responsible for the publications under review is well expressed in their Temporary Foreword prefixed to the Florentine Codex, where they say that Sahagún's work 'was to be regarded as a major source book for the student, yet presented so as to be of value to the scholar and of interest to the general reader.'

Part III of the Florentine Codex as here published is the second of the full thirteen which will appear in due course, Part I to be the last of all, containing apparatus such as Preface, Bibliography and General Index. This accounts for the absence of explanatory material in the present volume, where footnotes are severely restricted, and mainly confined to points of textual elucidation. It must be admitted that this rather limits the interest of the work as far as the general reader is concerned, as he will find himself plunged, without much assistance, into the bewildering intricacies of Aztec ritual; but this is greatly outweighed by the value of having a full translation of the Nahuatl text so laboriously compiled under Sahagún's direction. Not all will agree with the translators' decision to parallel the flavour of Sahagún's sixteenth-century Spanish version by English generally of the style of the 1611 Bible. Since the complete Nahuatl text is set out in columns alongside the translation, the value of the work might have increased if a more strictly literal rendering had been made, especially to students of linguistics, but this is a somewhat carping criticism, particularly in view of the freedom, approaching paraphrase, of Sahagún's own version.

The 11 plates, carrying 66 illustrations (after Paso y Troncoso), are extremely clear, and the work (especially for a post-war production) is singularly free from misprints.

The *Códice Xolotl* is a full-dress monograph, ably rendered into lucid Spanish. After an admirable résumé of the history of the codex and a brief but complete description of it, Dr. Dibble discusses each of the ten pages in detail, commenting on historical problems and paying much attention to the glyphs. The appendices (in the form of genealogical tables), the map and the index of persons are of great value to historians of ancient Mexico, and the author has given us a most useful list of personal and place names (the latter in italics) facing each plate, these having been ruled off into numbered and lettered squares to facilitate reference.

Each plate is accompanied by a reproduction of the León y Gama copy of it, but it must be confessed that in general the photographic quality (particularly of the plates of the original codex) is rather poor, and the details not clear, but ancient American documents are notoriously difficult to photograph well. Dr. Dibble's scholarly book, while not definitive, is a contribution of lasting worth, definitely superseding Boban's edition of 1891.

A. S. JENKINS

Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America: Selected Papers of the XXIX International Congress of Americanists. *Edited by Sol Tax. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. Agents: C.U.P.),* 1952. *Pp. x,* 410. *Price* £2 16*s.* 6*d.*

291 These papers are concerned almost exclusively with tribes regarded as 'marginal' to the great civilizations of ancient America.

Robert Lowie's paper on 'The Heterogeneity of Marginal Cultures' provides a stimulating introduction. The other 48 papers are arranged in geographical order, commencing with a review of the present status of the Eskimo Problem by Kaj Birket-Smith and ending with some South American studies. The variety of subject matter makes a brief review impossible, but fully justifies the bringing of this volume to the notice not only of students of American Indian problems but also of workers in fields as diverse as linguistics and physical anthropology, archæology and folklore. S. J. JONES

Caste in a Peasant Society. *By Melvin M. Tumin. Princeton (U.P.) (London Agent: Cumberlege), 1952. Pp. xiii, 300. Price £1 12s. 6d.*

292 Mr. Tumin's subtitle for his work is 'A Case Study in the Dynamics of Caste,' and he gives an account of an agricultural society in Guatemala which consists of two main classes—Indians, in a numerical majority, and Ladinos, of Spanish descent and culture. He has made a contribution to the evaluation of class as a factor in the stability of society, but it is to be regretted that he has made use of the term 'caste' at all, for, while there is a very strong and marked class distinction between the two groups composing the society studied, there is no real difference of a kind to be described as 'caste.'

It is true that, generally speaking, there is a ban on commensality and intermarriage between Indians and Ladinos, but it is perhaps little if at all more severe than the corresponding taboo on inter-class marriage and social intercourse in this country a hundred years ago or less, which could never properly have been described as 'caste.' There are only the two classes; there are no restricted and inherited occupational groups; there is no question of pollution and purification as a result of contact; and there is no sort of religious sanction. On the contrary, in the atmosphere of religion the two classes come nearer equality than in any other, and the inter-class barrier is to some extent bridged by important god-parental relationships, and that in spite of the fact that Indian religion is tied up with economics and the agricultural year, while Ladino religion is almost entirely confined, as far as ritual observance is concerned, to women and children. The church is the cultural centre of the village for both classes.

In their own theory there is a hard and fast racial distinction between the two groups; but in point of fact the physical difference is only a matter of degree, both classes being of mixed origin. The differences between the two are really cultural and linguistic, and are indicated by clothing, housing and economic reward. The separation between the two classes exists because 'there has never been a tradition for close unity between Indians and Ladinos. There are not now any serious reasons why that custom of distance should be abrogated.' There is nothing here that is really distinctive of 'caste" in the true sense of the word, and individuals of the two classes seem readily to intermarry when removed from their natal environment. There is nothing that forms an absolute barrier against an Indian rising to the higher class of Ladino, nor is there anything comparable to the system under which an East Indian Brahman can cook for a rich Sudra (since anyone can take food from a Brahman) but would regard a marriage with his employer's daughter as an unthinkable discredit to himself.

The volume is well printed and has an excellent index, and a plan of the town studied showing the distribution of the two classes.

J. H. HUTTON

The Impossible Adventure. *By Alain Gheerbrant. London (Gollancz), 1953. Pp. 390. Price 16s.*

293 The author with three companions made an adventurous journey from Colombia across the Parima mountains, which separate Venezuela from Brazil. According to the blurb, they brought back 'a mass of material of the greatest value to anthropologists and others,' but little of this appears in the book. Some interesting rock paintings from the Guaviare river are figured, and an initiation ceremony of the Piaroa is described, as are dances of the Maquiritare and Guanaribo. There are 32 good photographs of the tribesmen, their dwellings and their ceremonies.

RAGLAN

Buzios Island. *By Emilio Willems with Gioconda Mussolini. Monogr. Amer. Ethnol., XX. Locust Valley, N.Y. (Augustin), 1952. Pp. viii, 116. Price $2.75*

294 Buzios is a small island situated off the coast of Sao Paulo, Brazil. Its population is of Portuguese-Indian stock and, together with neighbouring islands and rural regions on the coast of the Brazilian mainland, it is part of an exceptionally homogeneous culture area known as Caicara.

In 1947 a research group of four, including the authors, carried out a few weeks' research among the total island population of 126, divided into 24 individualistic households. The survey was part of a series of studies of Caicara culture and the main object of this brief and somewhat heavily staffed expedition was to ascertain what significant culture variations might be found existing on the 'apparently isolated' island.

The research reveals that the islanders are not, in fact, isolated, for they have always had important contacts with mainland Caicara communities from which they differ far less than had been expected. The attitudes and pattern of behaviour of the Buzios islanders, however, differ in some significant and surprising ways from those generally accepted as an inevitable part of simple folk cultures. The authors conclude that Buzios community in particular and Caicara culture in general present an unexpected assemblage of culture characteristics.

As part of a planned programme of research this fieldwork record fulfils adequately the primary aim of comparing Buzios culture with Caicara culture generally. Nevertheless, it may leave the reader with an impression of superficiality—an inevitable accompaniment to such a brief research period in which undue reliance had to be placed upon the verbal accounts of the people. Invaluable as these accounts are, there is always a significant gap between what a community thinks about itself and how it acts in specific circumstances. The most satisfactory results arise from the observation of human relationships interacting in all their complexities over a period of many months. This is especially the case in the study of simple folk communities in which accurate reporting, dates, figures and estimates are considered by the informants to have little merit in themselves. In these numerically small communities even one newly arrived anthropologist towers like a lighthouse, radiating inquisitiveness.

In the lay-out of the volume there is one most praiseworthy feature which could frequently be copied to advantage. This is the glossary which alphabetically lists the terms peculiar to the study and gives the definition for each. It saves the forgetful reader, harassed by strange words, the frustrating hunt for exact definitions and meanings which so easily slip the memory during the course of reading.

AUDREY J. BUTT

The Aymara of Chucuito, Peru: I, Magic. *By H. Tschopik, Jr. Anthrop. Pap. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., No. 44, Part 2. Pp. 137–308. New York, 1951*

295 Mr. Tschopik's study begins with a lengthy introduction describing Aymara society and personality as a background to his study of the function of magic in their society and psychology. The picture he presents of the Aymara is far from flattering; they appear as careless, dirty, lying, miserable, whining, spineless, depressed and discontented, but they are practical in that utility is their primary standard of value.

The book is a curious mixture; it begins with excessive jargon (does 'pattern assemblage magic' really need to be repeated so often, where 'magic' alone would be adequate?), and perhaps too much psychological analysis, continuing then to a purely descriptive account of the spiritual hierarchy, the training of a magician, and the details of the various magical ceremonies. His conclusions, however, are more modest than his premises lead one to expect, for he is cautious enough to write (p. 298): 'It seems desirable therefore to state explicitly that the writer does not maintain that the pattern assemblage magic in its present form originates in Aymara personality in any simple sense.' Nevertheless, one wonders whether the Aymara did not understand Tschopik better than he knew them, because the general propitiatory rite had to be performed after Mrs. Tschopik's excavations on a ruined Inca structure, but the owner of

the land, Señora X, it was learned, had had recourse to sorcery, and the Aymara participants inserted elements into the ceremony to make the sorcery 'backfire,' but did not allow Tschopik to know this until later as they knew he would have objected. He does not, however, reveal what the effect was on Señora X.

One suspects also that the Aymara have a more developed sense of humour than Tschopik allowed: 'The same individual will first avow that the period of human gestation is nine months and that infants are born with fully developed senses, and, later, assert that pregnancy lasts a year and that babies are unable to see or hear until they are several months old' (p. 185). One can well believe that one who can write in all seriousness 'Available data indicate that walking is mastered at about 16·8 months and 16·7 months by males and females respectively,' would surely be an easy victim to a quite rudimentary sense of humour.

In spite of these criticisms there is much of value in the work, in particular the conclusion, showing the congruity of the magical system with Aymara personality, but it would have been of greater use if it had been more carefully and concisely written (120,000 words is too much for a study of this kind), and this reader at least would have liked to see some attempt made to explain historically how the Aymara religion came to be the blend it is, and how the two churches in Chucuito fit into the picture.

FRANK WILLETT

ASIA

New Light on the Most Ancient East. *By V. Gordon Childe. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1952. Pp. xiii, 255, 39 plates, 111 text figs., maps. Price £1 15s.*

296 Some 15 years have passed since the last edition of Professor Childe's *New Light on the Most Ancient East.* In that period much has happened in the field of archæology in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and India. New discoveries have made much of what he then wrote out of date or incomplete. A different picture has begun to emerge, and Professor Childe has found it necessary to rewrite his book. But the reader, familiar with the older work, will find here the same confident mastery of immense detail, the same clarity and, most important, that point of view or philosophy which, whether one accepts it or not, converts accounts of digs or of pottery sequences or other meaningless series of 'facts' into real history. This is hardly a book for the general reader, but is excellent for the specialist who wishes to see his particular field of study in relation to the rest of the Ancient East. Being interested particularly in India, I found it vital for the understanding of the relations of early Indian civilization with the contemporary cultures of Persia and Mesopotamia. The account of early India—or rather of North-West India to which Professor Childe confines himself—though making no pretence at originality, admirably summarizes and enlivens the great books of Marshall and his fellow excavators of the Indus Valley sites. Here there is one small point. To say that jade was imported into India from China is rather misleading. There is of course no jade in China; it came from Khotan. The illustrations are good, and the bibliographical references full and exact.

DOUGLAS BARRETT

The Mountain of God: A Study in Early Religion and Kingship. *By H. G. Quaritch Wales. London (Quaritch), 1953. Pp. viii, 174, 4 plates, 15 text figs. Price £1 15s.*

297 This study of the dispersal of what Dr. Wales calls the 'old Asiatic religion' is an attempt to illustrate and interpret the diffusion of an ancient cult from Mesopotamia into south-east Asia generally. In any estimation of the degree of Dr. Quaritch Wales's success I am probably handicapped by not having seen his former volume (1951) on *The Making of Greater India*, but it is clear that in any case he bases his work on Frankfort's interpretation of the nature of ancient Mesopotamian religion in which the supreme position is given to the earth god whose 'energies were concentrated in the mountain, or in its symbolical reduction the ziggurat'; the king is not so much an incarnation of the god as the god's descendant who acts as the god's representative and as a mediator with the god for the people of his realm. The Mesopotamian kingship is to be distinguished in its character from that of the Egyptian divine king, who is god incarnate, and it is rather the Mesopotamian religious concepts which have been distributed both to the east and to Europe, while the material culture diffused to them was predominantly Egyptian. Moreover the ancient Chinese cult of the earth is cognate to the Mesopotamian religion, from which indeed it is actually derived, though modified by ancestor-worship. For ancestor-worship Dr. Wales regards as an older and more primitive religion than the chthonic creed of Mesopotamia, and he accounts for the existing beliefs of south-east Asia by postulating a resurgence of primitive ancestor-worship after the introduction of Mesopotamian beliefs by what he calls the older Megalithic Culture. He adopts Heine-Geldern's discrimination of megalithic cultures in south-east Asia into an older and a younger megalithic, putting the intrusion of the former at from 2000 to 1500 B.C. and associating the latter with the Dong-So'n culture in China of the seventh century B.C. This latter culture, he says, 'did not penetrate to India.' The former is to be recognized in the megalithic cults which survive among the primitive tribes of, *e.g.*, Orissa, Bihar and Assam.

This is no place to examine the validity of this main hypothesis. Too much depends on how far we are to regard as proved the theories put forward by Frankfort, Heine-Geldern, Coedès, Colani, Chavannes and others, to say nothing of the author's other work on Greater India. But there are details which do call for some comment. Thus the Khasi of Assam are treated as belonging to the older megalithic wave; but if the distinction between the earlier and later megalithic cultures is a valid one, the Khasi must belong to the later which did penetrate to India after all. The Khasi seem to have substituted a megalithic cult more suggestive of Dr. Wales's Older Megalithic for one of stone sarcophagi and vats in which the ashes of cremated dead were deposited, a culture closely analogous (as the Khasi language is to that of Cambodia) to some of the bronze age burials described by Mlle Colani from Haut-Laos, and to some reported from Sumatra. This Khasi culture seems to have needed metal tools and an easily worked stone for its phallic jars and vats, which survive in the sandstone of the North Cachar Hills, and apparently it degenerated into one of rough menhirs and unhewn dolmen memorials when the Khasi moved westwards into the terrain they now occupy. Incidentally, they have an origin myth reflecting their immigration and clearing of virgin forests, whereas the origin myths of the Naga and Kuki tribes are apt to describe the emergence of ancestors from underground and associate it with a stone. It is perhaps worth pointing out on the other hand that the snake god, or goddess, on which Dr. Wales lays some stress, reappears in the snake Pakhangba from which the royal family of Manipur is descended and which dwells underground below the royal palace. On the accession of a new ruler he was supposed to sit on a hole which led down to Pakhangba's abode to give the ancestral snake an opportunity of coming up to bite him and so perhaps of getting rid of a mere usurper. Some of the beliefs in Pakhangba among the Manipuris are closely paralleled by those about the snake god called *thlen* among the Khasi, and to that extent testify to a chthonic religion in those two tribes, though the Manipuri have no longer, if they ever had, a megalithic culture.

On the existing evidence it must surely remain a matter of some hazard to determine the comparative precedence of ancestor-worship and the cult of chthonic god or to distinguish safely between different waves of megalithic culture. Meanwhile the author's interesting and suggestive material calls for better maps than he has given us and for a full bibliography.

J. H. HUTTON

Israel between East and West. *By Raphael Patai. Philadelphia (Jewish Publication Society of America), 1953. Pp. xiv, 348. Price $4.50*

298 I have found Professor Patai's study both challenging and thought-provoking. Much of the information contained in his book has not hitherto been readily available in such an orderly and connected form.

The background of Israel's connexion with the land which

cradled her people has a number of unique features. Twice Israel has been exiled, and twice returned to achieve independent nationhood During her 3,000 years of history, Israel created a system of morals and ethics based on principles which are some of the main foundations of modern Western culture.

As a member of the Zionist Commission sent to act as liaison between the Jewish population of Palestine and the British Military Administration during the First World War, I saw the beginning of Israel between East and West in the Yemenite Jews who had migrated into Palestine before 1914, and who were living as a group with almost no social contacts with those early pioneers who had emigrated from Eastern Europe.

The main theme of Professor Patai's study is that the in-gathering of the exiles into modern Israel has brought together many differing Jewish communities—Jews from the deserts of the Yemen, industrialists and craftsmen from Poland and Russia, farmers from Rumania, city clerks from France, shopkeepers and poverty-stricken Jews from the Bazaars and Ghettos of North Africa, workers and merchants from Iraq and Iran, dons from Oxford, from Harvard and from Heidelberg. Each brought the cultural pattern of his country. Whilst this multitude of cultures and their impact on each other is of interest to the student, the task of the statesman and educator is to weld these various cultural groups in as short as possible a time into one homogeneous culture pattern, while maintaining in each group that *élan vital* which has given it organic life and purpose.

The style of Professor Patai is clear and incisive. One is never in doubt as to his meaning. His factual chapters give the impression that a great deal of statistical research has been carried out, well directed, and usefully put together. It is for the first time that it is possible to read an account of the multitude of communities from which immigrants to Israel have come. For example, the statistics of the fragmentation of the Oriental Jews gives an astonishing picture of the widely flung centres of their origin (numbering 26 in 1938), stretching from Morocco eastwards to Bokhara, and southwards to Aden. Since the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948, new communities have been tapped, including such distant centres as the Beni Israel from India, and Chinese Jews from the coast of the China Sea.

The integration of these Oriental Jews into the culture of the old Yishub, which now dominates the social life of Israel, is a problem of great perplexity and difficulty. Professor Patai stresses that as their numbers increase, so will the quality and volume of their dissidence, for they feel that they are strangers to the life and culture which they find in Israel. In his chapter on the cultural crisis, he states that the Oriental Jew 'has to find his place in a culture many of whose main features were completely unknown to him before his arrival in Israel . . . they are treated as a separate group—in fact, in a manner reminiscent of the treatment they received in the old countries at the hands of their Moslem neighbours . . . for lack of effective defence mechanisms, the realization of this situation could have created only one reaction—the one it did actually create —jealousy; resentment and bitterness, at times amounting to undisguised hatred, levelled against those who are brothers by blood and tradition.'

I have often discussed this problem with prominent Israelis. No one with whom I have so far talked has the extreme view expressed by Professor Patai. Whilst it is wise to be aware of the great cultural differences existing between the first generation immigrants, a number of these gaps are being closed, as Professor Patai admits, by Government initiative and imaginative treatment. Moreover, Army training for young people, *créches*, kindergartens and primary and secondary schools are welding together the Israeli children and the youth of East and West: the children play and fight in the same language idiom, and the men and women in the Army Training camps and in the many agricultural schools begin to learn and operate in the same cultural idiom. Like the Hebrews of the Exodus, the Hebrews of modern Israel will have to experience a cultural Sinai before they can be a harmonious whole. Much is being done to get them to the foot of the Mount. It is the continuity of historic tradition and the basic moral and ethical principles which in the end will weave the Israeli cultural and social patterns which, in their turn, will help the Jewish and non-Jewish world to understand the meaning of a renascent Israel.

We owe a debt to Professor Patai for having drawn together many threads of fact and knowledge about the fascinating social experiments now being carried out there. Indeed, Israel offers a field of much interesting and valuable work to the social anthropologist.

ISRAEL M. SIEFF

Landlord and Peasant in Persia. *By Ann K. S. Lambton. O.U.P. (for Roy. Inst. Internat. Affairs), 1953. Pp. xxxi, 459. Price £2 2s.*

299 This thorough, scholarly and highly factual study of the peasants of Persia, and of their relations to the landlord and the state, falls into two parts. The first of these gives the history of land tenure and administration from pre-Islamic times down to the rise of Riza Shah, but inevitably the discussion is limited to the topics for which historical records exist. For this reason, there is much about the doings of princes, and about legal theory, but, as Dr. Lambton continually reminds us, this gives us but a doubtful guide to what actually took place in the villages.

In the second part, Dr. Lambton gives an outline, subject by subject, and area by area, of the present position in Persia, much of which is clearly based on her own widespread field researches. These chapters are at times hard reading, for they become catalogues of customary practices, which are of very wide variety. This detailed information, which would be easier to follow were more and better maps included in the volume, is largely of a different sort from that contained in the first part. The work is prefaced by a short account of sources, in which Dr. Lambton quotes some delightful princely passages on the subject of maintaining a prosperous peasantry, and contains also a full bibliography, a useful glossary and an index.

Although Dr. Lambton has done first-hand field work in Persia, through a fluent command of Persian, and is dealing with problems of central interest to students of society, the work is disappointing from the viewpoint of the social anthropologist. Her social thinking seems a little uncritical. For example, she writes: 'It can perhaps be inferred that the original form of the village was a communal one, and that individual rights were derived from the superior right of the community' (p. 5). But what would a non-communal settlement be like? And what is meant by 'derived' in this context? Again, although she is discussing problems of land tenure for much of the book, Dr. Lambton nowhere betrays familiarity with the notion that ownership is a bundle of rights against other people. The contents of this bundle vary so widely from community to community within her field that in some contexts her unqualified use of 'ownership' is misleading. Even less does Dr. Lambton appear to think of rights and duties concerned with land as part of a general system of interpersonal relationships.

But it is unfair to expect Dr. Lambton, who has clearly devoted a remarkable amount of energy to a first-rate work of scholarship, to be any more familiar with contemporary thinking about sociological problems than most social anthropologists are with real scholarship of this sort. By and large, it is a problem of the use of limited resources of time and energy. Nevertheless, it is clear that a strong case exists for seeking to break down inter-disciplinary barriers, and rendering easier consultation and discussion of problems which, like those of this book, concern many kinds of specialist. Yet even as it stands, this book is of the first importance to any anthropologist, indeed, to anyone interested in the social problems of the Middle East.

PAUL STIRLING

Ethnographische Beiträge aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), zusammengestellt von Ch'inghai Missionaren anlässlich des 75-jährigen Jubiläums der Gesellschaft des Göttlichen Wortes. *Edited by Mathias Eder, S.V.D. Folklore Studies, Supplement No. 1. Mus. Orient. Ethnol., Catholic U. Peking (Tokyo), 1952. Pp. 354, illus.*

300 The highland province of Ch'inghai, around Kukunor, is 667,200 square kilometres with 1¼ million inhabitants. Chinese, Tibetans and Mongols have lived here for centuries, mixing together and influencing each other culturally. Tibetan and Mongol herdsmen have maintained their nomadic way of living, sharply

different from the Chinese farmer's culture. The old farming population of the region has been more exposed to the Chinese influence; but some remnants, especially the so-called T'u-jen ('people of the soil'), have retained their Mongol language and some original culture elements in spite of some sinicization. Another part of the sedentary population has retained a certain cultural independence by means of the Mohammedan religion; 12 per cent. of the inhabitants of Ch'inghai are Mohammedans, maintaining their ethnic individuality in Chinese surroundings. Chinese colonization is dominant in most of the river valleys in the eastern part of the province. The Chinese farmer's culture is comparatively old-fashioned and free from modern influences in this out-of-the-way tract.

Members of the Society of the Divine Word have for years carried on missionary and medical work in Ch'inghai; and at the same time they have performed valuable ethnographic exploration in this highly interesting region of contact between Chinese, Tibetan and Mongol ethnic and cultural elements. The memorial volume, now before us, contains 11 papers, each of them presenting original material from the field. There are important contributions to Chinese sociology, such as Johann Frick's papers on marriage rites and on female farm labourers, and Johannes Ternay's on *Familienjustiz im Trauerhaus*. An impressive representation of Chinese folk medicine is Franz Eichinger's *Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekämpfung in der Volksmedizin*. Josef Kube shows how the emperor idea lives on in the hopes and beliefs of the people. A contribution to Tibetan herdsman culture is given by Franz Eichinger in his *Fellverarbeitung bei den Chiamri-Zelthirten*. A curious cult of a dog-headed demon, described by Alois Oberle, seems to be original among sedentary Tibetans; the Chinese believe that such demons exist, but do not have the cult. Paul Cwik has described *Die völkische Eigenheit der Mohammedaner von Ch'inghai*. Josef Trippner has published 60 popular songs, sung by the Chinese of Ch'inghai. And Dominikus Schröder brings a number of marriage songs from the T'u-jen in their Mongol dialect.

GUDMUND HATT

Die Familie bei den Yakuten. *By Theophil Chodzidło. Internat. Schriftenreihe für soz. und polit. Wissensch., Ethnol. Reihe, Vol. I. Freiburg, Switzerland (Paulusverlag), 1951 (preface dated 1945). Pp. 462, map. Price 20.40 Swiss francs*

301

Mr. Theophil Chodzidło, author of an article on the dwellings of the Yakut ('Mieszkanie u Yakutow,' *Anthropos*, 1940–41, pp. 841–62), presents us now (the foreword is dated October, 1945) with a book the most striking feature of which seems to be an effort towards completeness. The conclusions already outlined in his short essay (p. 862) are here given a wide application, the treatment of the material being in the atmosphere of the historico-cultural school of Vienna, with the conception of a primeval culture (*Urkultur*) and primary and secondary cultures, etc. Thus we witness a millennium-long wandering of the Yakuts as carriers of the so-called Altai (Turanian) culture northwards along the Lena and its tributaries, and the transformations which occur within the framework of their social constitution, in accordance with their ethnical, economic and ecological contacts. Further, the study of the family (the subject around which data on the internal and external structural changes through which the Yakut have passed are gathered) brings us into contact with the modern civil-law problems of the individualized domestic constitution. Ethnological and sociological phenomena are thus combined in a unique example of social research. The sources are, however, purely literary, covering the period from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the early nineteen-thirties.

Abstracted from the ethnical background, the patrilineal nomad cattle-breeding culture which includes the horse as an early domesticated animal, and such an elementary form of worship as that of the sun, the fire and the East, is contrasted by the author with the matrilineal constitution which chooses the westward orientation. This distinction, which defines the notions of primary and secondary in terms of ecological and mythological complexes, obviates the idea of evolution in which, following the doctrine, no gaps are admitted: *cultura non facit saltus*. The author leads us backwards through time with the conception of a circular development, from cattle to horse to cattle (pp. 392f.), and also suggests a process of alternating degeneration and evolution, brought about through cultural contacts with Mongols and Palæo-asiatics (pp. 392f., 400). Similarly the matriarchal constitution succeeds, instead of preceding, the patriarchal family. The primeval totemistic marriage-class system (*Mutterrecht*) of the historico-cultural school is, again, reversed in this instance, the conception of a high divinity dwelling in the skies (*Deus otiosus?*) preceding shamanism (p. 392).

Mr. Chodzidło supports the attribution of a specific racial type to the Yakut made by several authors (pp. 25, 405f.; also p. 42, note 91). The fact remains, however, that their physical traits reveal Mongoloid, Indo-European (Russian) and Palæo-asiatic admixtures. Despite this a strong 'national' feeling separates them from peoples with whom they have been in contact:

> 'Die Jakuten besitzen ein stark ausgeprägtes nationales Selbstbewusstsein. Dieses zeigt sich vor allem in dem bewundernswerten Konservatismus, womit sie selbst unter ungünstigsten Bedingungen ihre alte Kultur beibehalten haben, und in der Energie und Zähigkeit, mit der sie diese ihre Kultur den Nachbarvölkern aufzuzwingen bzw. die fremden Völker mehr oder weniger zu jakutisieren verstanden haben. Selbst die kulturell höherstehenden russischen Ansiedler sind dem jakutischen Einfluss unterlegen und haben stellenweise nicht nur die jakutische Sprache, sondern auch die jakutische Kultur angenommen' (p. 93).

The cultural records of the 1200 years' Odyssey of the Yakuts, one of the oldest representatives of the Turkic-speaking stock, who originated from Urianghai in north Mongolia or near Lake Baikal, reveal the characteristics of the Central Asiatic higher half-settled nomads (see E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology*, London, 1946, Vol. I, p. 173) as well as traces of their contacts with the Buriat Mongols, the Tungus, the Palæo-asiatics and the Russians. The author stresses such traits as the differentiation of two seasons of the year, summer and winter (p. 363), skill in iron-working and traditional knowledge about copper, brass, silver, gold, tin and lead, which still bear their old Turkish names (pp. 268, 376). The form of the Yakut bow and the shape of their original skin clothing are described. The Balbals of the Orchon monuments of the sixth to eighth centuries wear the same cap as the modern Yakut woman villager (p. 374). Finally, the *urasse* as a form of dwelling testifies to the thesis that the origins and peculiarities of the Yakut pertain to a definite cultural area (*Elementargedanke* and *Völkergedanke*).

Yakut contacts with the Mongols are, apart from the linguistic material, recorded for earlier periods in myths about the tribal ancestor Ellei (pp. 75, 409ff.), in addition to the evidence provided by common possession of a fire cult, the *kumys* rituals (p. 373) and certain forms of ornament (p. 376).

The author considers that the institution called by the Russians *snokhachestvo*, *i.e.* the intimate relations of the father with his daughter-in-law during the minority of his son, is a proof of Chukchee influence (p. 71); whereas the prevalence of bride service instead of bride price is seen as a further trace of Palæo-asiatic culture. The killing-off of old people and the lunar mythology (pp. 295, 396) all denote, in his view, the influence of this more elementary cultural area.

Russian influence is visible in the Yakuts' physical features (p. 95), in Christianization, and in the reduction of the family unit to its basic constituent couple in the southern agricultural districts: 'Je dichter die Bevölkerung und je höher die Zivilization einer Gegend ist, desto kleiner sind die Haushalte . . .' (p. 194). The new *régime* has, moreover, deeply affected the social and economic organization (p. 31, note 49).

The basic social unit is defined as *aga-usa* (*Sippe*, phratry). Essentially exogamous (nine grades), it produces, by multiplication, the larger units *dschons* (*nasleg*, tribe) and *bis* (*ulus*, the political unit). The main problem here lies in the fact that, although structurally patrilineal, the *aga-usa* entails a parallel formation, the *ie-usa*, which owes its birth to a female ancestor. Hierarchically this matrilineal constitution is slightly dependent on, or on the same level as, the patriarchal *aga-usa*. Isolated encampments where each of the polygamous units functions independently were, the author considers, the cause of the phenomenon. For earlier stages, however, the *ie-usa* is directly related by him to women's higher status

(pp. 211f.), a conception again moving backwards from a patriarchal constitution.

Earlier phenomena such as marriage classes, the levirate, elopement, blood revenge and the selling or adoption of children are alluded to, but emphasis is laid on the bride-price (*kalym*) custom as typical of the Altai area. Mr. Chodzidło believes that at some period the wife was actually bought, hence the bride price as a survival (pp. 113 and 162); yet the material summarized by the author derives from a period when the wife reciprocated with a gift of goods of a value equal to that of her 'purchase price' (pp. 153ff., 157, 206, 231f.). It is notable that in relation to the handling of the bride price every eventuality has been carefully foreseen, with action dependent on predetermined rules (pp. 114ff.). This is, in fact, an affair in which ever widening circles of the family are involved, from parents and brothers to distant tribal relatives (p. 149).

The idea of a better 'Golden Age' recurs with the conception of an original restricted family (*kargan*). Economic, moral, and religious reasons more recently tend to limit again the domestic institution (pp. 194, 344, 368), providing more scope for individual rights.

Particular stress is laid on the life of the spirits, on symbols, and on certain natural elements or forces. Thus the sky (*Tangara*) appears as a main pattern in the world of beliefs; and, as a very important symbol, the moon. The spirit of the new-born Yakut child has close connexions with the underworld (the earth) and the skies above (p. 272). Points of the compass have also their own spirits and the East plays an important part in ceremonies (p. 176). The spirit of fertility (*Aisyt*) is thought to play a great part in the creation of children (pp. 262f.). The Yakut believe in the wandering of the soul, which involves the earth spirit, the wind (sky) spirit and the mother spirit (p. 263, note 1193). Every human or animal form, if depicted, is liable to turn into a spirit (p. 279, note 1265), and all evil is the work of bad spirits (pp. 225, 265) which live in the underworld.

The horse, and particularly the white horse, is an outstanding figure among animal symbols, as are the bear, the wolf and the eagle. The sacrifice of a horse is essential to several ceremonies (pp. 268, 372). Cattle enter as a secondary cultural element (p. 200, note 799). The fire spirit which 'murmurs his secrets' to the child and to the shaman (p. 276, note 1254) has its cult. *Kumys* feasts have an outstanding place as a primeval survival.

Mr. Chodzidło is a good disciple of Waclaw Sieroszewski, the Polish authority on the Yakut, and also draws much material from J. Ph. Strahlenberg, Joh. G. Gmelin, A. Th. Middendorf, M. A. Czaplička, R. Maak, I. A. Chudiakow, Baron Gerhard Maydell, P. S. Pallas, W. Priklonski, E. K. Pekarski, and, especially, Waldemar Jochelson. The theoretical reconstruction of Yakut society in the manner of Schmidt and the Vienna school is given a juridical touch by the author, a good, sober synthetist who does not pretend to have made great discoveries. An authority is cited for every statement, one of the outstanding merits of this well informed and solidly built essay. Kinship relationships are, however, not set out in a systematic way, and while kinship terminology is richly illustrated, it is arranged alphabetically instead of functionally. Moreover, physico-anthropological factors and the historical and cultural background are sometimes put forward as determinants of events without a due sense of the logical requisites of correlation (see for instance pp. 392ff.).

We must nevertheless welcome warmly this interesting work, which revives anthropological contact with an area now practically inaccessible to the western scholar. An accurate bibliography introduces, and a good classification of items concludes, Mr. Chodzidło's valuable study. N. P. ERMAN

The Hindu Woman. *By M. Cormack. New York (Teachers Coll., Columbia U.), 1953. Pp. xii, 207. Price* $4

302 *The Hindu Woman* is a portion of the writer's dissertation entitled *Traditional Patterns in the Interiorization of the Ideals of Womanhood by Hindu Girls*, presented for a Doctorate of Philosophy at Columbia University. In this publication Dr. Cormack has successfully described the role of Hindu women in Indian society, in which the traditional pattern of the feminine role is shaped through training at home. Most aspects of the training of girls have been discussed with sympathy, insight and real understanding of the subject together with an objective analysis of the social background.

In the course of a long stay in India and as a teacher in a Teachers' Training College for Indian women, Dr. Cormack gathered first-hand knowledge about Hindu women. The material for her present work was collected, however, from Indian women students of Columbia University. In spite of the limitation that the 'major source of data for the study is descriptive material from ten Indian informants, . . . coming from educated, urban, and middle- and upper-class backgrounds, representing various geographical areas' (p. viii), the book presents a fair picture of the life of modern Hindu women, of which readers of western countries generally have a confused notion. The strength and weakness of girls' training at home, the problems involved in parent-planned marriage and other related matters have been well brought out. This study will, in my view, be of immense help to teachers and taught alike in training colleges, particularly those where women teachers are trained.

The author's summing-up of the characteristics of a Hindu woman is both penetrating and true: 'She likes and needs affection and approval, she likes to be needed, she likes to be important to others. She does not find it irksome to be in a subordinate position, but enjoys doing things for others' (p. 203). This epitomizes the whole philosophy behind the principle of deriving satisfaction from identification of the self with the group—in this case, the family.

To students of Indian sociology this study presents a good deal of information regarding the structural position of Hindu women in Indian society, which traditionally bars women from taking part in public functions where the opposite sex is present.

It is a pity that the writer did not present the facts on 'an actual and often "inhuman" subjugation of women, especially in the lower classes'(p. *vii*) to balance and to complete the picture of Hindu women of all classes and castes. Rural India means the peasantry, whose womenfolk seem to be slowly emerging from the occasional tyranny of their ignorant husbands and often of their unsparing mothers-in-law. One looks in vain for information on these points. Moreover, an index would certainly have added to the book's usefulness as a teachers' manual. M. C. GOSWAMI

North Borneo: A Report on the Census of Population Held on 4 June, 1951. *By L. W. Jones. London (Crown Agents for the Colonies), [1953]. Pp. vi, 237, map. Price* $12 *Malayan*

303 The 1950 census of North Borneo was organized on the same lines as the 1947 census of Sarawak and Brunei, and the report is similarly arranged. There are diagrams of the growth of populations and of age distribution, and a map illustrating the density of population by administrative districts. An appendix gives a brief account of the effects on North Borneo of the Japanese occupation.

The indigenous peoples are classified as: Dusun, Murut, Bajau and Other Indigenous, comprising Orang Sungei, Brunei and Kedayan, Besaya, Sulu, Tidong and Sino-native. Certain separate figures for Kwijau and Illanun appear in some tables.

The questions asked were: name, sex, conjugal condition, age, place of birth, race, religion, number of children born, number of children still alive, literacy (in English, Malay, other language), occupation and industry. Mr. Jones is to be congratulated on deciding not to include a question on relationship to the head of the household: it would have added enormously to the enquirers' tasks, would not have been 'of use to a detailed enquiry into the structure of families,' and would have been so inaccurate that it would not have 'served any useful pupose.'

A number of interesting points stand out from the report: the weight of native population is moving steadily from the interior to the coastal areas; there has been an increase of 48·6 per cent. in the Chinese population since 1931; the Murut have decreased by 23·4 per cent. in the same period; nearly half of all Murut women over the age of 15 have no children; the probable increase in Muslim converts since 1931 is about 3,000; there is a preponderance of males among those who immigrate into Muslim communities; 237 Chinese are Muslim; 7,724 Chinese are recorded as having no religion; Christians have nearly trebled in the last 20 years, and there have been more conversions of pagans to Christianity than to

Islam. (Pagans, one is rather startled to see, are entered under 'No religion.')

It is a pity that the North Borneo census did not further follow the Sarawak one by including a chapter discussing the ethnic classification used. The Sarawak census report also included an illuminating appendix by Harrisson, the Government Ethnologist. It is true that these are also lacking in earlier North Borneo censuses, but such discussions in this would have enabled one to make more of the figures. This is not merely to instruct anthropologists. These census reports, failing professional ethnographic studies, are the chief records of the present condition of the people, and material for the future writers of the history of the country. More important for census organizers is the fact that shaky ethnography leads to untrustworthy or unusable statistical conclusions. Tables 2 and 3, for example, indicate what would be very profitable points of ethnographic investigation. There seems little getting away from the conclusion that the Murut are decreasing, but when one sees that the stable and prosperous Dusun have increased since 1931 by only 6·68 per cent. and that the Other Indigenous have increased by 70·45 per cent. one wonders how much the variations are due to the ethnic classifications used by the two censuses. The 'Orang Sungei' (a problem here) have increased by 95·70 per cent. The Kwijau, who are supposed to have increased by 205·25 per cent. in the period 1921–31, have decreased by 78·45 per cent. in 1931–51. No reliable verdict on the Murut can be reached without a separate examination of the Kwijau; but the Kwijau in their turn must be examined in relation to the Dusun, and the Dusun in relation to the Orang Sungei. The Superintendent of Census seems to have been aware of such problems to some extent (*e.g.* p. 47), and because of this one would have been interested to learn more about his principles of classification. Tribes for which there are figures in previous censuses might well have been separately enumerated: *e.g.* the Tambunwa and the Idahan were included with the Dusun, but tribes that in 1931 numbered 5,000 and 3,000 should not be submerged without strong reason.

Some specific suggestions: when the time comes to plan the next census it would be useful to engage the services of a professional anthropologist (in a university long vacation, perhaps) to help plan the ethnic classification on which to base the census statistics; the report should include a discussion of this by the anthropologist; and—what no census report should be without, and this one is—there should be an ethnic map illustrating the groups distinguished.

Mr. Jones has written a clear and instructive report, and the tables are well arranged and clearly printed. Our knowledge of the peoples of North Borneo has been considerably increased.

RODNEY NEEDHAM

CORRESPONDENCE

Webs of Fantasy. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281

304 SIR,—Dr. Mair invites me to justify my application of the term 'fantasy' to the theories of social anthropologists. I have read many recent works on social anthropology, both British and American, and have been led to conclude that in general the writers

describe savages as 'primitive,' which seems to mean that they were isolated from the beginning to the coming of the European;

believe that savage tribes developed the whole of their cultures for themselves, even if they speak a dialect of a widespread language;

believe that savages are inventive, yet never look for the inventive savage;

believe that savages devise their own rites, yet never indicate any that are not traditional;

believe that all customs arose to meet needs, though some, such as those which forbid the eating of wholesome foods, obviously did not;

describe savages as 'preliterate,' which seems to mean that they have not yet invented an alphabet;

hold that similarities in belief are due to the similar working of the human mind, while ignoring the converse, that dissimilar beliefs must then be due to the dissimilar working of the human mind;

ignore the evidence for degeneration in savage cultures;

ignore the fact, well attested by history, that cultural advance is a rare and complex phenomenon;

ignore the evidence for diffusion even when it is indisputable, such as that domesticated cattle were introduced into Negro Africa;

believe that all savage institutions are of non-historical origin, and were developed to fulfil the functions which they now fulfil, though all the institutions of civilized societies are of historical origin, and have mostly changed their function.

Some of the above seem to me fantastic in themselves, and the others to lead to fantastic conclusions.

Usk, Monmouthshire RAGLAN

The Game of 'Kubuguza' among the Abatutsi. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 262

305 SIR,—Mr. Merriam's paper is an important contribution to our knowledge of the group of *mancala* IV games, in which captured beans are not removed from the board, but are added to the capturer's beans and sown on his side of the board. It supplements an account of an Urundi variety which R. de Z. (now Sir Robert) Hall made about 20 years ago when first stationed in Tanganyika. Collation of different descriptions of *mancala* IV games is laborious, because no two recorders of these games use the same terms of notation. When dealing with *mancala* in my *History of Board Games other than Chess*, Oxford, 1952, I had to devise a common list of terms and system of notation which would serve for all *mancala* games and which I hope will be used by future recorders: *hole* for the compartments in which the beans are placed; *store* for the compartments in which captured beans are kept; *bean* for the pieces; *lap* for each element of what Mr. Merriam calls 'cumulative moves'; *lift* for the pick-ups of beans from a hole; *sow* for the deal of the lifted beans one at a time in successive holes; all of which have been used in the same way by previous recorders. Beginning from each player's end left-hand hole, and proceeding anti-clockwise, I use italic letters, upper case one player and lower case for the other—on the 4×8 board, *A-P*, *a-p*—to denote the holes.

A necessary preliminary to a game is to ascertain that both players have the right number of beans, and this is done not by counting them but by arranging them equally in the holes of the board; Abatutsi do this as in Mr. Merriam's fig. 1. Each player then rearranges his beans, generally simultaneously, to obtain the array from which he desires to begin the game. In forming this arrangement he does not necessarily observe the rules of move, nor is it necessary that the two players arrange their beans in the same way. Mr. Merriam does not give any example of this rearrangement, unless that shown in fig. 5 is one, but Sir Robert Hall gives the following:

0	0	3	0	3	0	3	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17

The full description of this children's exercise is very welcome for comparison with similar exercises, which are played on the *mancala* II board.

H. J. R. MURRAY

Heyshott, Midhurst, Sussex

Cranial Deformation in Ancient Egypt? *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 242

306 SIR,—Some demur is necessary at Mr. Siroto's bland acceptance in his review of *The Webster Plass Collection of African Art* that artificial cranial deformation existed in Ancient Egypt if only as a transitory and limited fashion during the XVIIIth Dynasty. Presumably he refers to the royal family during

the reign of Akhenaten, when heads are usually represented with such distortion that some theorists have been led to advance the suggestion, among many others, that artificial deformation must have been practised. For such general deformation in Ancient Egypt there is absolutely no evidence despite the countless human skeletons that have been exhumed and examined. The alleged fashion in Court circles during the Amarna period can be adequately explained as an artistic convention—the expression of a truly revolutionary art that for various reasons consciously attempted to break with the traditions of the Pharaonic style. Such distortion was not confined to the head; the whole body was represented in a 'new' way that is no less bizarre. Just how violent this revolution was can be seen in the remarkable colossi of Akhenaten from Karnak. That such 'expressionism' is only a convention is shown in the traditional-style reliefs from the tomb of Kheruef and in other Theban reliefs of the early co-regency, which show Akhenaten as a 'normal' Egyptian. There are also representations of Princess Ankhes-en-pa-aten in certain stelæ and in the tomb reliefs at Amarna which show her with a deformed cranium; yet no such distortion is evident in her appearance under Tut-ankh-amun, when the exaggerations of the Amarna style were avoided. Moreover in the famous painted wall fragment from Amarna in the Ashmolean Museum, the princesses Nefer-neferu-aten and Nefer-neferu-re are shown with fully deformed heads even though their ages could not have been more than three or four years at the most.

Lastly we have some proof in the mummies of Smenkh-ka-re and Tut-ankh-amun that artificial deformation was not practised even in the case of the royal family, and despite the fact that in the few representations that can plausibly be identified as of Smenkh-ka-re, he is shown in all the conventions of the later Amarna style. Tut-ankh-amun was not much younger than Nefer-neferu-ra and therefore would presumably have had his head deformed as much as hers, if such practices had been followed. Both he and Smenkh-ka-re had unusual platycephalic skulls, but they inherited this trait from their ancestor Yuya; and though both Elliot-Smith and Derry have closely examined the remains of these three men neither has advanced the least hint that their skulls were artificially deformed. Since members of the royal family were inextricably inter-married at this period it is safe to assume that all their heads were more or less platycephalic, and as such unusual but not unnatural.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh CYRIL ALDRED

Note

Mr. William Fagg, British Museum, adds the following note: 'As the too gullible perpetuator of the myth which Mr. Siroto corrected, only to be himself taken in the rear by Mr. Aldred, I should like to thank both for turning the error to such good ethnological account. I wonder, though (as one who does not think that all culture, or even all African culture, came from Egypt), whether travellers' tales of a Central African people whose standards of beauty caused them to lengthen their heads may not conceivably have had some influence upon the art forms of the Egyptian expressionists, rather as rumours of the "primitive" influenced those of the expressionists and *fauves* of the twentieth-century revolution. It is doubtful whether we can ever prove that the Mangbetu existed or deformed their heads in those days; but the trait seems likely to be a very old one.'—ED.

Stonehenge and Midsummer. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 151, 228, 260

307 SIR,—Professor A. T. Hatto's main theses may be thus stated:

(1) The complex of trilithons *cum* bluestone horseshoe *cum* bluestone circle is to be regarded as a planned unity in which the trilithons are intended as female sexual symbols (vulvæ) and the bluestone horseshoe and possibly the circle also as male sexual symbols (phalli).

(2) The concentric arrangement of the elements in this complex imitates the arrangement of participants in concentric dances connected with fertility rituals, the complex being in fact the translation into stone of such a dance.

(3) The orientation of the horseshoe 'cove' towards the midsummer sunrise is also connected with fertility rituals, the 'cove' being regarded as a symbolic uterus into which the sun's rays penetrate.

(4) The outer lintelled sarsen circle is to be interpreted as a 'ritual fence.'

(5) Any calendrical function of the structure is to be regarded as of secondary importance.

These propositions will now be considered in order.

(1) That the trilithon-bluestone complex *as it now exists* forms a planned unity may be conceded, but it cannot be regarded as certain that it was originally so. The point of importance in this connexion is that the bluestones were definitely erected later than the trilithons [1]: it is however impossible to determine the length of the interval between the two operations. If this was not more than a year or two it would not be inconsistent with the two elements having formed part of the original plan, since the erection of the whole structure must have taken a considerable time. But if the interval could be shown to have been substantial this would seem to indicate that the bluestones were an addition to the original design, which would have included only the trilithons and the sarsen circle (together, of course, with the ditch and other incorporated elements from 'Stonehenge I'). In this event, in order to preserve Professor Hatto's theory as to the relationship between the trilithons and the bluestones it would appear necessary to assume a definite change in the ritual and ideological associations of the whole structure as accompanying the addition; this of course is not impossible, but the introduction of a further assumption, incapable of proof, into his argument does nothing to strengthen it.

Consideration may next be given to his novel and ingenious suggestion that the trilithons are female symbols. On this point it seems impossible to concede any validity to the arguments from the alleged symbolism of burial chambers which he adduces in support of his theory. No evidence exists to justify his statement that prehistoric man conceived burial 'as a return to the womb which is symbolized in the burial vault,' [2] and the alleged symbolism has therefore no factual basis [3] and is in fact a mere guess that cannot legitimately be used in support of his claim that so-called 'trilithon entrances' in megalithic tombs are sexually symbolic. Properly speaking, the term 'trilithon entrance' should be confined to a portal formed by two columnar jambs and surmounted by a monolithic lintel of comparable cross-section; but such entrances are actually not specially common in megalithic tombs and are as often found in domestic and secular buildings.[4] They are generally associated with drystone masonry walling, where their use offers a simple and efficient method of forming an entrance, and there appears really to be no need to look beyond the practical advantages of this form of construction for an explanation of its use in any type of building.

The rejection of these arguments leaves, as the sole evidence for the alleged symbolism, the *facies* and styling of the trilithons. They are themselves unique; but it would appear legitimate to suggest that if either the trilithon, or the more naturalistic image consisting of the sexual triangle and lower limbs of a female figure, from which the trilithon might be derived by stylization, had been at the appropriate period a recognized sexual symbol it might be expected to be found occurring in the form of figurine or amulet. Such forms appear however to be lacking. In the absence of any such corroboration it appears to me that the stylistic features adduced by Professor Hatto are inadequate to commend his theory.

Turning to the bluestones, these are also claimed as sexually symbolic (as phalli) and Professor Hatto further contends that the bluestones in the horseshoe stand in a deliberate and definite relationship to the trilithons, considered as female symbols.[5] If, as has been argued above, the claim made for the trilithons is to be regarded as erroneous, the latter contention falls with it and it would seem unnecessary to discuss the point further here [6]; but this does not necessarily affect the proposition that the bluestones are to be taken as phalli, and on this point I am personally of the opinion that a good case may be made out for this as far as the horseshoe bluestones are concerned. This view is based primarily on the styling of the surviving stones, which undoubtedly have a certain phallic appearance; in this case, of course, we have very numerous examples of phallic representations with which the bluestones may be

compared, in contrast to the position in the case of the trilithons. In regard to the bluestones in the circle, however, the styling of the surviving stones is quite unlike that of the stones in the horseshoe and does not particularly suggest any phallic significance. (It would seem that Professor Hatto's conception of the circle stones as 'male' is based to a considerable extent on their being of the same material as the others, but it seems doubtful whether this fact has any real bearing on the point).[7]

(2) Rejection of the theory that the trilithons are female symbols results automatically in the rejection of his second thesis, since the necessary female element in the alleged concentric dance figure makes default. It might still be contended, however, that the two bluestone settings represent such a figure, without any stipulations as to the sex of the participants. But the only supporting evidence that he adduces for his 'stone dance' theory—*viz.* an alleged traditional association of Stonehenge with dancing or dancers—is of little if any value. An examination of the folklore attaching to megalithic monuments in general shows that the stories told to account for their origin are as a rule 'myths of observation' of the character that might be expected to appear among simple folk who had no recollection of the real nature of these constructions, and tried to account for them in terms consistent with their own 'climate of opinion.' It is not at all surprising in such circumstances that standing stones should be explained as petrified human beings, or that a circle of such stones came to be regarded as a ring of dancers thus stricken, and in fact such an account of the origin of stone circles is quite common in folklore.[8] A traditional element in such stories is no more likely than in the equally common tales in which the capstones of megalithic tombs are explained as 'Giants' Quoits,' and the existence of stories of the kind in connexion with Stonehenge appears without value for Professor Hatto's purpose.

(3) That the 'cove' formed by the trilithons and the bluestone horseshoe was the setting for some ritual performance seems very probable, and its axial orientation towards the point of midsummer sunrise would signify that that event played some very important part in whatever took place. It is of course in the highest degree unlikely that the exact nature of the ritual will ever be known, but my personal view is that Professor Hatto is probably correct in his belief that it was primarily a fertility ritual.[9] It will be generally agreed that such a structure as Stonehenge would never have been erected had its function not been one of the highest importance to its builders; and in communities depending for their existence upon their own crops, herds and flocks nothing could be of greater moment than the maintenance and enhancement of the fertility of their fields and stock. The correlation between seasonal changes and the 'farmer's year' would make the association of a solar element in fertility ritual quite natural; as Professor Hatto correctly observes, this does not imply any 'worship' of the sun in the ordinary sense of this term. Acceptance of the horseshoe bluestones as phallic symbols would be consistent with this view of the primary function of the structure. That the ritual performances included some form of dramatic representation is not unlikely; and I venture to suggest, very tentatively, that the five trilithons may have functioned in such proceedings as 'ritual portals' through which certain participants made their entrances and exits.

(4) That the lintelled sarsen circle represents a 'ritual fence' (not necessarily in connexion with any dance ceremony) is probably correct. It is a reasonable conjecture that the successive circles and horseshoes demarked zones of gradually heightened sanctity reaching its maximum within the 'cove'; the so-called 'Altar Stone' may mark the focal point, so to speak, of the whole structure's sacred 'potential.'

(5) Finally it is possible to agree entirely with Professor Hatto's views regarding the secondary nature of any calendrical functions that may have been attached to the structure. Quite apart from any other consideration, it is incredible that the builders would have gone to such enormous pains had their primary concern been nothing more than the construction of a pointer to the position of midsummer sunrise. I do not, however, find his remarks regarding the nature of possible *secondary* calendrical associations to be very convincing, and would in particular suggest that speculations regarding possible Egyptian influences are best eschewed—the 'Children of the Sun' have now been decently interred for some years and are best left to rest in peace.

Bristol R. D. GREENAWAY

Notes

[1] Since some of the bluestones in the horseshoe and circle were erected on the filled-in ramps used for the trilithons and outer sarsen ring respectively.

[2] It is assumed from the context of this statement that Professor Hatto here uses the term 'primitive' in the sense of 'prehistoric.' If, however, he intends to refer to modern 'primitives' his statement is, as a generalization, equally unacceptable.

[3] I know of no present-day prehistorian of standing who would sponsor the theory that megalithic burial chambers have the symbolism claimed by Professor Hatto. In some instances the character of the interments alone would put any such interpretation quite out of the question (*e.g.* in the rock-cut tombs in Sicily belonging to the Siculan cultures, where the dead are found arranged around stone tables as at a banquet, complete with cups and food bowls, *cf.* T. E. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, pp. 211, 436, 442).

[4] For examples of post-and-lintel entrances in domestic buildings, see, *e.g.*, V. G. Childe, *Skara Brae*, Plates III(1), VIII(6), XII(1); R. H. Worth, *Dartmoor* (1953), Plate XXVI and fig. 21.

[5] He writes: 'The two kinds are arranged in parallel horseshoes. This assures us that they are intimately connected.'

[6] It is, however, perhaps worth mentioning that on Professor Hatto's view of the symbolisms of and relationship between the trilithons and bluestones a point that would, in my opinion, require explanation is the very small size of the latter as compared with the former. One would in such circumstances expect the 'male' and 'female' elements to be of much more comparable dimensions—as for example in the Kennet Avenue at Avebury, where a plausible case has been made out for a conjunction of 'male' and 'female' monoliths.

[7] Professor Hatto would appear finally to concede this to a considerable extent.

[8] *E.g.* 'The Merry Maidens' (Buryan, Cornwall) and another circle with the same name at Boscawen-Un (Cornwall); 'The Nine Stones,' near Belstone (Devonshire); Auchgraney Circle, Co. Wicklow (Ireland); numerous other examples might be quoted. Since dance figures may take a linear as well as a circular form, we find also that 'stone rows' are occasionally accounted for in the same way; *e.g.* a 'row' at Langon in Brittany.

[9] I am not, however, inclined to accept the uterine symbolism suggested for the horseshoe 'cove.' Whether the ritual performances included a 'sun-trapping' rite as Professor Hatto suggests it is of course impossible to say; but it should interest him to learn that the postholes at the entrance to the 'cove,' for which he suggests that search should be made, may be said already to be known to exist (see *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 344f.). There are of course numerous other holes over the entire area (apart from the Aubrey and X and Y Holes) that may have held uprights at one time or another; some of these doubtless belong to the 'Stonehenge I' phase before the erection of the existing stones (see R. S. Newall in *Antiquity*, Vol. III, 1929, p. 88).

The Late Professor Theodor Mollison. *Cf.* MAN, 1953, 232

308 Arising from his obituary notice of Professor Mollison, Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., has received the following notes from Dr. Bruno Oetteking, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York:

> Theodor Mollison joined the Anthropological Institute of Zürich University (then under the ægis of Rudolf Martin) in 1905 as an assistant and as a fully qualified M.D.
>
> The withdrawal of Martin from the University of Zürich during the First World War caused Mollison also to leave, and he subsequently held temporary positions in the Royal Museum of Dresden and the Universities of Breslau and Heidelberg. This was preliminary to his occupancy of the Munich chair of Physical Anthropology in 1926, *i.e.* after Martin's death.

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